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CALENDARS.

Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged :—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control: 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

A. 579. Wt. 27212.

As the documents are various, the Master of the Rolls considers that they will demand a corresponding mode of treatment. The following rules are to be observed :—

1st. All formal and official documents, such as letters of credence, warrants, grants, and the like, should be described as briefly as possible.

2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c., are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

9th. The language of every document is to be specified. If, however, the greater part of the collection be in English, it will be sufficient to denote those only which are in a different tongue.

10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

⁂ Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS,

FOREIGN SERIES,

OF THE REIGN OF

ELIZABETH,

1579—1580.

PRESERVED IN THE

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

EDITED BY

ARTHUR JOHN BUTLER, M.A.

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PREFACE.

The remainder of the year 1579 was not marked in the Low Countries by any events of very great importance, though various trains were being laid which in due course were to lead to momentous results. The fall of Maestricht on June 29, which Rossel reported to Walsingham a week later (No. 5), gave rise to the usual crop of accusations against the Prince of Orange and generally to turbulence in Antwerp. It had another and further-reaching effect, that of turning the mind of the States towards a renewal of the relations with the Duke of Anjou. Since his master's somewhat ignominious departure in the early part of the year, des Pruneaux, who had remained in Antwerp to watch over his interests, had performed that duty ably and faithfully. By the end of June it had become clear that nothing would come of the Cologne negotiations, even before Parma's success at Maestricht had raised the spirits of the royalist party. Indeed it may be doubted whether any possibility of finding terms acceptable to both parties had ever existed, even if, on the king's side, there was any sincere wish to find them. The chief practical result was to afford a decent excuse for a few more of the middle party, those who while objecting to Spanish rule were either jealous of the Prince of Orange, or scandalized by the violent doings at Ghent and Antwerp, to retire gracefully. The Duke of Aerschot and the two abbots remained at Cologne, and a few months later the Marquis of Havrech withdrew to his estates in Lorraine. The present volume contains two letters from him, begging first Davison (No. 14), and sixteen months later, Burghley (No. 486) to obtain the cancelling and return of a bond by which he had made himself personally liable for £5,000 of the States' debt to Elizabeth. Whether he was ever released does not appear.

On July 13 Rossel, after indicating his belief that the negotiations were being dragged on to gain time (which under the existing conditions of a wearied army and a disintegrating enemy was clearly Parma's game) points out that this policy may not be so wholly favourable to the enemy as at first sight might appear, because it also gave the States time to mature their schemes regarding Anjou. A fortnight later, a correspondent of Davison's (No. 24) writes a little more hopefully as to the peace, but even more emphatically as to the certainty, in the event of that coming to nothing, that Anjou will be received. That the prospect was not entirely welcomed by the average official opinion of the Netherlands appears from the same letter, where Blyleven, the Secretary to the States, is mentioned as having observed that 'he was afraid we should all become French.' Harengier had, in fact, started with the States' offer on July 5.

A certain respite was however granted to persons of Blyleven's way of thinking. For the moment Anjou was more preoccupied with his marriage projects than with his territorial ambitions. On June 29 he paid Poulet a visit, when the ambassador recurred to the Queen's desire for a personal interview with her suitor, as to which difficulties had at one time been made. Monsieur was now much better disposed to assent to that proposal; while Brulart, who followed next day, brought messages which seemed to show that the king was ready to meet any difficulties halfway. On July 7 a safe-conduct was sent from England for the duke's use; and at the end of the month further courtesies passed between him and the ambassador (No. 27).

The effects of the fall of Maestricht soon began to be felt. Mechlin was handed over to the Spaniards by de Bours. Brussels was turbulent. Hembize expelled la Noue from Ghent, where Frenchmen (and perhaps honest men) were specially unpopular with the demagogues who were in power. His apology for this step, with a caustic commentary by the Huguenot veteran, will be found at No. 7. A document setting

forth the objections felt by the extreme party in Ghent to a visit from the Prince of Orange (No. 36) would appear to belong to this period, though endorsed with an earlier date. It will be noticed that one of the strongest grounds of opposition to him is his alleged wish to introduce the Duke of Anjou. William nevertheless went, and at the news of his approach Hembize and Dathenus fled; the first being captured by a captain of Ghent, and brought back, to be treated with more leniency than he deserved, and allowed to retire to Holland. The French intriguers, la Huguerie* and Sarrazin, who were promoting certain schemes in the interests of Casimir and Condé, also decamped promptly (Nos. 38, 43). Later they went to England; la Huguerie himself says "about Christmas." But he is inconsistent with himself, and Villiers's statement, that they were there by November 20, seems to have been quite true. The Prince remained some time at Ghent, sending Sainte-Aldegonde to the States with his suggestions as to the measures to be taken for the settlement of affairs. No. 55 (which again has been assigned to an earlier year) contains a summary of his views, together with (apparently) some note of the debate to which they gave rise. It will be seen that he attaches great importance to the establishment of good order at Ghent, not only on general grounds, but also because 'it will be impossible to make any fruitful treaty with the Duke of Alençon until this cause of discontent be removed.' His introduction is now treated as a matter of general consent. There seems even to have been a rumour current that the English marriage had been broken off in consequence (No. 26).

So far from this last report having any foundation, matters were prospering in that quarter. Early in August Anjou

* In the person who appears as 'la Juderie' in the letter of Sept. 9 from Les Pruneaux to the Duke of Anjou, printed by Messrs. Muller and Diegerick (vol. iii. No. CCCCXV) may we identify la Huguerie? In any case these papers contain plenty of the evidence which those authors express themselves unable to find, for the participation of Frenchmen in the operations of Hembize.

travelling *incognito* as M. du Pont-de-Cé, with a very small train, started for England, arriving at Greenwich (as we learn from other sources) on the 17th. Very little seems to be known of what took place on this occasion. Only two references to the visit occur in these papers, both of them in letters to Davison from his correspondents in the Low Countries, one of whom adapts some lines of Virgil in honour of the occasion. Later on (No. 105) we find the accounts of John Hawkins and William Holstock for the charges incurred in his transport and that of Simiers back to France. Anjou was at Boulogne by the end of August; his confidant remained in England another three months. During the duke's stay in this country he received news of the death of his favourite Bussy at the hands of an injured husband (not, it was reported, without the complicity of the wife). No mention of this event occurs in these papers, though Mendoza duly reported it, but there are references in Nos. 113, 131, 132 to the quarrel which arose among Anjou's followers in consequence of the bestowal upon Simier of an abbey formerly held by the dead man; a disposal of his property resented by Bussy's father, and his brother-in-law Balagny. The latter, with Fervacques (both of them in after times to be Marshals of France) now became prominent in the military operations arising out of Monsieur's schemes.

The first step in those operations was taken by an agreement (No. 69) between la Ferté-Imbault, acting for the Duke, and M. d'Inchy, the governor of Cambray. Inchy held the town nominally for the States, though, strictly speaking, it formed no part of the Netherlands territory; as a matter of fact he is believed to have cherished ideas of making for himself an independent principality out of it. The Malcontents however were pressing the place, and the Bishop, Louis de Berlaymont, was a royalist. Inchy was glad enough to acknowledge Anjou's sovereignty in return for French aid. The agreement is dated Oct. 25. A month later we find Inchy announcing it to the States, and professing to have acted with

the approval of the Prince of Orange (No. 544). On Nov. 29, Condé seized la Fère, perhaps as part of a scheme for establishing himself in Flanders, the prosecution of which appears to have formed part of la Huguerie's business at Ghent. Whether or not there was any concert with Anjou does not appear, but it may be noticed that la Noue, who had been doing excellent service for the States in Flanders, visited Cambray in December, and went on to la Fère; and that in the following February a treaty, of which the substance is given in No. 204, was made between Condé and Inchy under which the prince was to act as the Duke's lieutenant in the Cambrésis. The intrigues of this period are highly complicated, and it is often hard to know who was allied with or opposed to whom.

Meanwhile there was a general feeling of unrest in France. Much to the advantage of the historical researcher (for he was as copious a correspondent as his predecessor had of late been scanty), Sir Henry Cobham had replaced Poulet in November. The interviews at which one ambassador took his leave and the other presented his credentials, are reported at length (No. 85). Both the king and his mother spoke in a friendly tone. No reference to the marriage was made in the presence of the king; but the Queen Mother expressed her wishes for its performance. Immediately afterwards she left Paris to meet her younger son. The ambassadors report an abortive design of the Duke of Guise on Strasburg. A remark made to Cobham by the Chevalier de Seure on this occasion at the dinner-table shows that current opinion in France was against the probability of the King of Spain's accession to the Portuguese throne, which it was known would soon be vacant; on the ground that the present king was unfavourable to his claims, and was arranging the ransom of the prisoners in Morocco in such a way as to secure an anti-Spanish majority among the leaders of the country in the event of a demise of the Crown. How inaccurate this gossip was appeared in the course of a few weeks. In any case it was clear that Philip

would have his hands full for some little time, and that French policy might for the moment leave Spain out of account.

Condé's seizure of la Fère, though causing uneasiness at the French Court, does not indeed seem at first to have been regarded as a hostile act. The Queen Mother, no doubt, hardly rested from her long southern tour, went as far as Chauny to see and remonstrate with him, using her best efforts to induce him to return to Saintonge; nor was she quite easy in regard to la Noue's presence at la Fère; yet, if we may rely on a somewhat obscure statement of Rossel's (No. 137) it would seem as if la Noue's visit had been made at her instance. As late as January 23, Cobham wrote: 'As yet there is no appearance of civil wars; rather it is held assured of the contrary.' In February, Villequier was sent to deal with Condé, and his report of 'the prince's peaceable and humble dealings' was considered satisfactory. Yet there was much disquiet. With the New Year matters had begun to look more threatening. Mende was captured by the Huguenots in January. They complained that the terms concluded at Nérac were not being carried out, and the charge was retorted upon themselves. Navarre met Montmorency twice as it would appear, in December and in January. Montmorency was thought to be ill-using the Protestants, and 'would not hear of any redress till they should yield up their towns' (Nos. 130, 132). There was talk of an ambush laid by him in order to seize Navarre; and on Feb. 7 Cobham writes 'it is doubted his mind is still joined with Spain, and bent rather to chasten and revenge certain in his own state than to buskle himself to assault some other country.' The next day he writes: 'there rises daily very sharp mistrust of secret practices against all such of the Religion as are either here or elsewhere,' and in a letter of the same date to Leicester, allows his suspicions to appear more at length. The King summoned a Council to consider the state of affairs. Cobham's report (No. 168) of the proceedings is interesting. The Churchmen,

especially Birago and the Bishop of Valence, were for prompt war, while the laymen Malassise and Pibrac saw no occasion for disturbing the peace. Not without humour, the former suggested that if war there must be, the necessary funds should be obtained from vacant benefices and other sources of ecclesiastical revenue; a proposal which kindled the wrath of the Bishop of Lyons, but possibly damped the warlike ardour of the prelates.

Navarre himself was under no illusion as to the critical position of affairs. About the beginning of March he sent du Plessis-Mornay into England, and himself wrote to persons of influence such as Walsingham (No. 200) and Sussex, preparing them for the probability of war, and a consequent demand from himself for aid.

A further complication was introduced by the suspicion that Duke Casimir was intriguing with the Guises. Waad wrote from Strasburg in February (No. 164) that he was at Nancy, conferring with Mayenne; "to the grief of his best friends, doubting some abuses," wrote another correspondent. The ostensible cause of the visit was to recover certain arrears of pay due to the reiters of 1577, for which the Duke of Lorraine had made himself surety. As a matter of fact it was part of a widely-ramifying intrigue, in which Guise's abortive attempt on Strasburg and Condé's seizure of la Fére were also involved. In his jealousy of Navarre, Condé was at this time prepared to throw in his lot with the Guises, while Casimir was impelled in the same direction by his dislike of both Navarre and Orange, as well as by his long-cherished wish to become master of the three Bishoprics. Some knowledge of the actual state of things may have been the king's motive for handling Condé so tenderly. Strong measures might drive him into the arms of either Guise or Navarre; and if war with the Huguenots was to come it would be well not to have both the Bourbon princes simultaneously on his hands. There was no fear that Condé would feel constrained to act through mere

loyalty to the cause. Early in March his horses and carriages passed through Paris on their way to la Fère with a passport from the king.

A letter from Cobham (No. 247) gives some interesting details as to the Guise-Casimir-Condé intrigues. The Duke of Mayenne, acting on his brother's behalf, seems to have tried to enlist the support of the German prince on the plea of the misgovernment in France, and to have proposed to recompense his services not only with the Bishoprics but with Langres and Troyes thrown in. Casimir put in a plea for his Huguenot allies, which, as might have been expected, rather retarded the progress of the negotiation. Melroy and la Huguerie also appear to have been active at this time, though Cobham was probably mistaken in supposing that the latter was acting for Navarre.

A little later Cobham had a conversation of some importance with Villeroy (No. 271). The secretary gave strong assurances of the king's desire and intention to maintain peace. The ambassador under cover of reporting what he had heard since coming to the country, hinted plainly at the dangers arising from the ambition of the Guises, pleaded on behalf of the Protestant princes, and suggested, apparently with Villeroy's concurrence, that a foreign war would afford the best means for securing internal tranquillity. A word or two was also dropped touching the relations between the French Court and the Scottish queen. A somewhat obscure paragraph seems to indicate that the Guises (or the party which afterwards became the League) were on the alert to prevent any real *rapprochement* between the king and the Huguenots. A rumour that Condé had suddenly left la Fère caused some alarm at the Court (No. 272), but turned out to be premature (No. 277). On May 23, however, he wrote from that place to the king (No. 319) announcing his intention of retiring to Germany. Meanwhile war had definitely begun. In May the Huguenots took the strong place of Montaigu in the north of Poitou; and on the 28th of the month Navarre entered the field in

characteristic fashion by a dashing assault on Cahors, a town which he claimed as part of his wife's dowry. After four days' street-fighting it fell into his hands. The king's patience now gave way. It was resolved to send Matignon to besiege la Fère, while Biron had orders to take the field, and by threatening the Protestant towns, bring Navarre if possible to battle, when it was thought that the royalists' superiority in cavalry might enable them to inflict a decisive defeat on the other side. A letter from du Plessis-Mornay, then in London, to Walsingham (No. 329), gives a succinct account of the position of affairs at the middle of June. The rumour which he mentions of a mishap to M. de Chémeraut, bearing dispatches from Navarre to the king, was, it may be said, at least exaggerated, for Chémeraut was discharging his functions as a royal messenger many months later.

Condé did not go at once to Germany, but first tried what could be done in England. His intention does not seem to have been declared, but it was known in Paris, and on June 15 Cobham announced it to the Queen. Three days later the prince himself wrote from Sandwich, where he had just landed, to Walsingham and Leicester. His attempts at keeping the expedition secret were very unsuccessful. Stafford landing at Calais a few days later 'found everybody full of' it; and Gourdan, the governor, had already sent news of it to Mauvissière. It embarrassed Elizabeth not a little. Her policy at present was to keep on good terms with the French Court; and so far as she sympathised with the Huguenots, it was with the 'centre' who followed Navarre rather than with the 'left wing' led by Condé. She herself wrote to the king and his brother to mention the prince's arrival. A day or two later official dispatches were sent to Cobham for the king, and to Stafford for Monsieur, repudiating all previous knowledge of Condé's intention, and explaining that she had only received him as a matter of courtesy, and in the presence of the ambassador. If Mendoza is to be believed, this statement was untrue; but he can hardly be correct in stating that she

had seen him two or three times before Stafford's departure, which must have taken place at the latest on the day after Condé's arrival in London. At any rate, he took nothing by his move, and before the end of the month he had left the country. Elizabeth had at one time intended to send a special envoy, Henry Middlemore, to the French king, improving the occasion by speaking in behalf of Navarre and Condé, and using strong persuasions in favour of doing all that was possible to satisfy the Huguenots instead of fighting them. Instructions to this effect were drafted by Burghley (No. 344); but it would appear that the envoy never actually went. Some polite correspondence passed between Burghley and Mauvissière; the ambassador being to all appearance perfectly satisfied with the Queen's action. In France, similar explanations offered by Cobham were amicably received, and pacific assurances given (No. 350).

A strange and mysterious incident occurred about this time in the English Embassy at Paris. Among Cobham's confidential servants was one Best, who seems to have been employed by him in affairs where secrecy was demanded. He had, for example, recently been sent to the Prince of Condé in Picardy, to ascertain if possible what schemes were on foot in that quarter (Nos. 103, 113). In May this man had got into a quarrel with another Englishman named Lilly, and had killed him in a duel. Walsingham had for some time been desirous of sending a secret agent into Spain; and this mishap seems to have suggested that Best might represent himself to the Spanish *chargé d' affaires*, Vargas, as dissatisfied with his present position, and desirous of transferring his services, as others had done, to a foreign employer. In a letter of May 23, carefully ciphered (No. 300), Cobham propounds this scheme to Walsingham. Early in the morning of June 30 a scuffle took place outside the Embassy, in which one of its inmates was involved. Best went out, unarmed, to enquire into the matter, but was attacked by a party of men who appeared to have been concerned in it. Pursuing him to the door of the

Embassy, they shot him through the body and made off, leaving him mortally wounded. Cobham reported the crime to the authorities. The murderer was easily identifiable, but little pains seem to have been taken to arrest him. Richelieu, the *Grand Prévost*, on the contrary, put the ambassador off with various flimsy theories as to the motive for the crime, ascribing it to some unknown Italians. It seems most probable that by some means the Spanish agent had become aware of Best's real design, and had taken steps to remove him before he could do harm; while the French authorities, who, as the Venetian ambassador mentions in a letter dated, like Cobham's, July 1, had been closely watching the ambassador's house during the past few days, while Stafford was in Paris, were probably for their own reasons by no means anxious to have too close a light thrown upon the circumstances (Nos. 352, 372).

By the beginning of July Matignon was before la Fère, and the siege began. Condé had left Mouy and other well-known Huguenot leaders, with a force of 800 men, to hold the place; and the operations were carried on in no excessive spirit of animosity. It was thought the town would not stand an assault; for which reason, perhaps, no assault was delivered, though Rossel seems to have heard of a 'furious assault' about the time when it surrendered. The younger courtiers, d'O, d'Arques, la Valette, went to take part in the siege; M. de Grammont was even unfortunate enough to be killed by a culverin-shot, and one or two other young men lost their lives. Finally, about the middle of September, the place, with the consent of Condé and Navarre, capitulated upon easy terms; too easy, it would seem, to please the group which Cobham designates by the name of 'the Italians'—presumably Birago, Gondi, Nevers and others, who desired stronger measures. Montaigu still held out, and the troops set free from la Fère were dispatched thither; but the influence of Monsieur was thrown strongly on the side of peace, and by the middle of December hostilities had ceased.

In fact throughout the year the interest of the king and his mother had lain in altogether a different direction. On January 31, Henry, the old 'Cardinal-King' of Portugal, had died. He himself had succeeded his great-nephew, and as he left no children, the question of the succession was naturally somewhat complicated. The King of Spain and the Duchess of Braganza were the claimants with the most obvious right; while the Queen-Mother of France and the son of the Duke of Parma were able to allege more or less shadowy claims. The nearest in blood was Don Antonio, the Prior of Crato, who was a nephew of the king; but he was illegitimate. Nevertheless he had a strong following in the country, and throughout Henry's reign he had been making great efforts to obtain recognition both from king and people. Edward Wotton, writing from Madrid in August (No. 39), treats him and the Duke of Braganza as Philip's only serious competitors. He shrewdly indicates as probable what actually happened: that with two native claimants in the field, Philip's policy would be to win over the weaker to withdraw his claim, and thus gain valuable support. In September King Henry appointed a commission to hear a report on Don Antonio's allegation that a lawful marriage had taken place between his father Dom Luis and his mother. Their report was unfavourable (No. 53); Don Antonio, in spite of his remonstrances, was bidden to withdraw; and when Henry died, it was understood that he had recognized the King of Spain as his heir. An interim government was formed of five persons. These seem to have favoured the Spanish claim, while the Estates of the realm were opposed to it. The Queen Mother of France, who had already commissioned Urbain de Saint-Gelais, Bishop of Comminges, Lansac's natural son, to maintain her claim before the late king, now employed an agent, named d'Abadie, who seems to have been with the bishop in the previous year, to see how the land lay, and perhaps to come to some mutual understanding with the Duke of Braganza. His report, dated April 8, did not contain much encouragement for her. Don Antonio, with whom Anjou, it seems, had been in

communication, expressed his intention of getting justice done him, and had a considerable following. The people are represented as determined to resist the hated Spaniard, though the disaster in Morocco had left them short of fighting men and arms.

The preservation of Abadie's letters among the English State papers appears to be due to the enterprise of Sir H. Cobham. In forwarding them to Walsingham (No. 300) he manifests some anxiety lest it should be known that they had passed through his hands. They of course relate to the earlier stages of the process by which Portugal became united to the Spanish Crown; but the subsequent course of events is very fully narrated in the papers. Several Englishmen were in the country, and Cobham at Paris was also well informed. Botolph Holder, an English merchant at Lisbon, gives an account of Don Antonio's election as king by a small body of his followers at Santarem. The authorities, such as they were, do not seem to have supported him; but the troops sent to prevent his entry into Lisbon were won over, and the populace of the capital received him with joy (No. 342). Another account (No. 359) represents the Papal legate and the Archbishop of Guarda as consenting to his appointment. The Governors hereupon declared openly for Philip and a Spanish army under Alva, which was lying on the frontier at Badajos (No. 367), entered Portugal. Before the middle of July, Roger Bodenham (a frequent and copious correspondent) mentions (No. 375) that Alva is already before Setubal. On the 17th that place surrendered when threatened with bombardment. Other strong places on the Tagus were reduced, and on August 25, after a battle at Alcantara with Don Antonio, who was himself wounded in the fight, Alva entered Lisbon. A letter from Oporto, dated Sept. 30 (No. 437), gives a graphic idea of the effective way in which the suburbs (for Alva spared the city) were looted, and of the pretender's flight. The sequel of the story (together with the terrible fate that befell the Governors and other recreant Portuguese who had acquiesced in the

transfer of their country to the rule of Castile) is told with much spirit in a letter to Cobham (No. 488) by Antonio Brito de Pimentel, a Portuguese nobleman who had been one of Don Antonio's companions in defeat and proscription, and had shared his escape into France. He was now come to the French Court, leaving his master at Nantes, with the view of obtaining some assistance. The relations between France and Spain were at the moment decidedly strained. Henry suspected Philip of unfriendly designs before and during the war of the previous year (No. 492) and was quite disposed to afford surreptitious aid to his rival. In December a small force was actually dispatched from Nantes by Strozzi, who (being a foreigner, and therefore, as someone suggested, the more easily disavowed) was regularly employed in this business until it brought him two years later to an untimely end. Elizabeth was also quick to see the opportunities offered by at least the appearance of support rendered to the pretender. Whether the note of which the draft, addressed to 'il Rè Don Antonio,' appears here (No. 450) was ever dispatched, there is nothing in the papers to show; but it indicates her policy in the matter.

On one curious episode in French history these papers throw a considerable amount of light. Towards the end of June 1579 Marshal Bellegarde, the governor of Dauphiné, had taken possession of some French towns in Piedmont, and finally of the Marquisate of Saluces. The Queen Mother, who was still in the south, hurried to Grenoble to look into the matter; which made sufficient stir to be twice mentioned in Rossel's letters from the Low Countries. He seems to have suspected (what probably existed) collusion with the Duke of Savoy, annoyed by the French King's dealings with the Genevese. The fact that Bellegarde had been paying his men with Spanish coins pointed also to the complicity of the King of Spain (No. 26). A little later (No. 45) a correspondent of Poulet's sends from Lyons a circumstantial statement of the transmission of these 'pistolets' to him from Milan.

The same correspondent refers to Duke of Savoy's meeting at Grenoble with the Queen Mother 'who wishes him at Turin.' Presently Poulet mentions (No. 51) a general belief that the Protestants of Dauphiné, where Lesdiguières, the future Constable, was their mainstay, had some understanding with the insubordinate Marshal.

Bellegarde himself, on receiving the Queen Mother's invitation to meet her at Grenoble, had addressed to her a long memorial setting forth his own integrity and complaining of the hostility of Charles Birago, the King's governor in Piedmont. The copy of this document preserved among the State Papers (No. 28) is in Italian; but a French version of it appears to exist in the Bibliothèque Nationale. How it reached Walsingham, and why in this form—since it was presumably written in French—there is nothing to show.

It took a good deal of persuasion to bring the marshal to a conference. Down to September 15 Poulet reports that 'he will not be intreated.' Presently however a compromise was arranged, and we hear (No. 62) that she hopes to meet him at Montluel, a town on the French side of the frontier, but belonging to the Duke of Savoy. Poulet thought the result would be important. The meeting actually took place on Oct. 17; but Poulet is wrong in supposing that Lesdiguiéres took part in it. That wily leader entirely declined to come within the Queen Mother's reach. Bellegarde apologised, submitting himself to the king's pleasure; and was at once formally installed in the office to which he had irregularly preferred himself. The next we hear of him (No. 107) is that he is making things pleasant for the Huguenots of Provence and Dauphiné. Two days after this was written, however, he was dead. His death no doubt relieved the Court from some embarrassment, and in some quarters there was talk of poison; but there is no hint in these letters of any such suspicion, and as the marshal had been unwell for some time, there is no need to look beyond natural causes. His post was given to Bernard de la Valette,

but not surrendered at once by the Marshal's son; and some pressure was required from the new governor's younger brother, the future Duke of Epernon, who was sent by the king to compose the matter. The Marquisate remained even so in an unsettled state. In June 1580 Cobham writes (No. 320) 'if the king should seek to alter the present government, or displace the captains, he would perceive what small authority he has there.' The most prominent of these captains, Anselme Peyrussis (generally known as 'Captain Anselme') was apparently receiving Spanish money, with the connivance of the Duke of Savoy, on the one hand, while on the other he was in close touch with Lesdiguières and the Huguenots of Dauphiné (Nos. 395, 413). The death of the Duke of Savoy in August altered the situation, and Anselme presently made his submission, on sufficiently favourable terms (No. 500).

In the Low Countries little was going on when the year 1580 opened. The Malcontent leaders were quarrelling with each other, and military operations were at a standstill. La Noue spent Christmas at his house not far from Paris. His recent proceedings appear to have given considerable offence in some quarters; for Cobham writes that owing to complaints 'thundered' against him by the Nuncio and the Spanish Agent he was keeping away from the Court. Early in the year he appears to have gone to la Fère, and Rossel reports (No. 137) an absurd rumour that he had been assassinated on his return. A remark in the same letter, imputing to a person unnamed, but obviously meant for the Prince of Orange, unfriendly feeling towards the Huguenot leader, is curious; but probably to be regarded as a bit of Rossel's usual detraction of the Prince.

In the first week of January, the States lost Mortaigne and Saint-Amand, neither place being of any great consequence. Some prisoners, English and others, were taken. Want of money among other causes prevented the Malcontents from following up their success. La Noue, who had now gone to

Cambray, threw 200 French into Bouchain, which was their next object, and staved off its surrender for eight months. An interesting correspondence (No. 147) containing the reports of the commanders at Cambray and Bouchain (Inchy and Villiers) to the Prince of Epinoy, in command of Tournay, and of the last to the Prince of Orange, gives a good picture of the state of affairs on the French frontier of the Netherlands. Presently the States' party had their revenge for the loss of Saint-Amand and Mortaigne, when a force from Brussels took Nivelle and one or two other towns in the enemy's occupation. The main Spanish force lay inactive about Liége. For some time all the correspondence that passes between England and the Low Countries relates to the perennial matter of the loans. Hoddesdon was away in East Friesland, negotiating with Count Edzard for trade facilities to replace those which the Merchants had lost through the recent unfriendly action of the Hanse Towns. In a letter of April 2 (No. 246) he mentions the siege of Groningen by the States' troops.*

In April la Noue returned to the field, and for a time, under him and John Norris, the affairs of the States prospered. Mechlin, which though it had seceded from the national cause had refused to admit a Spanish garrison, was recovered by them about this time; Tournai was revictualled; Ninove was taken and Count Egmont with it. Unfortunately in May la Noue, who was besieging Ingelmünster, was captured in a skirmish with a relieving force under the Marquis of Roubaix or Richebourg, better known as the Viscount of Ghent. A letter from Thomas Stokes at Bruges (No. 292) depicts the dismay caused by this mishap. Though Stokes professes to fear 'the Italian fig' for him, the prisoner was well treated by his immediate captors, but after being handed over to Parma was, by special orders from Spain, kept in the most rigorous

* Attention may here be drawn to the fact that No. 268 has been inserted a year too soon, owing no doubt to an oversight in the original arrangement of the papers. The Auxy affair is related with some detail in the next volume, No. 123.

confinement for several years, all proposals for his exchange being declined. Efforts for his release were made both in France and in England, but Philip was not likely to allow so formidable an opponent to be at large again, when he had been so fortunate as to catch him. Mme de la Noue made several appeals for help to Cobham, and a touching letter from her to Walsingham will be found at No. 469.*

Another valuable prisoner fell into Spanish, or practically Spanish, hands before the end of the year. In October Daniel Rogers, who had been sent on a mission to Duke Casimir and the princes of Germany, with a message to be delivered to the States on the way, while crossing the territories of the Duke of Cleves, was attacked and carried off by some of the band of the freebooter Martin Schenk, who at this time was carrying on his depredations in the name of the King of Spain. In a letter to the Secretaries dated Oct. 31 (No. 476) he gives a detailed account of the whole transaction. The letter is very interesting from many points of view; not least as showing the helplessness even of a personage like the Duke of Cleves to maintain order in his territories against an utterly lawless power like that of Schenk and his men, if these were even nominally attached to the service of Spain. Schenk at first spoke of letting his prisoner be ransomed for 5,000 crowns, but presently, at the prompting of 'one half a lawyer,' who probably had a better head for business than his employer, saw that there was political capital to be made, and tried to extract from his prisoner information for the benefit of Parma, even talking about the rack. As with la Noue, there were some threats of sending Rogers into

* M. Henri Hauser, in his 'François de la Noue' (1892) calls this lady Marie de Juré. In her signature to this letter, the name (though it might conceivably be read 'Juré') is almost certainly 'Luré.' She was, so far as I can make out, daughter of Jean de Luré and Jeanne de Brinon, lady of Plessis-aux-Tournelles. She had been previously married to (1) Charles de Melun, lord of Normanville and Lumigny; (2) L. de Vaudray, lord of Mauny. Luré and Juré are, it may be remarked, two small places at no great distance apart, in the department of the Loire; and may have been held by the same person.

Spain; and, like la Noue, he remained for some years in captivity, in spite of the supplications which he continued to send both to friends in England and to acquaintances at Parma's Court, and of the Queen's representations on his behalf.

La Noue being gone, the States had to find a new commander for their forces. The Prince of Epinoy, brother to his predecessor's captor, took the chief command in Flanders, with Argenlieu, a Frenchman, and Yorke, an Englishman, as his chief subordinates. Norris remained at Antwerp for a time. A letter from Walsingham's stepson Christopher Carleill and probably written to him (No. 332), gives an account of a ruffianly assault committed upon the English colonel in a street-brawl; and incidentally affords evidence of the general disorder which the disturbed state of affairs had brought about. At the beginning of August Norris went to take command of the operations in Friesland. That province was now in a very insecure position. It had joined the Union in the previous year, and its governor, George de Lalaing, Count of Rennenberg, had given his adhesion to that measure. He was regarded, if not by those who knew him best, at any rate by the public, as staunch to the popular cause. Even in May his name is found in a list (No. 287) of the commanders on the side of the States, though by that time his arrangements with Parma were completed, and he soon after declared himself. Early in August (No. 394) we find him tampering, ineffectually, with Deventer and other towns of those parts. He was feebly besieged in Groningen by the States forces, but succeeded, with the aid of Schenk (who in June drove Hohenlohe out of the strongholds recently captured by him in those parts) in securing Delfzyl and other places. On the other hand Norris succeeded during December in relieving Steenwyk (No. 532). Rennenberg himself did not live long, but the district was for many years the seat of continual fighting, and was probably preserved to the States solely by the exertions of Norris and his English troops.

In Hainault, Bouchain surrendered to the Malcontents in September. Villiers, the commander, had, however mined the place, and an explosion soon after the garrison had left it, 'slew and spoilt' a good many of the victorious force, according to the version given by Gilpin, whom Stokes corroborates (Nos. 426, 428). It is right to say that historians on the royalist side give a different version. According to Strada, the explosion did much damage in the town, but caused no loss of life, while the train went out before reaching the citadel. In any case neither Montigny nor Richebourg suffered any harm.

One important incident of the year 1580 receives very scanty notice in these papers. At the suggestion of Cardinal Granvelle, Philip II issued a ban of proscription against the Prince of Orange. From No. 407 it would appear that though March 15 was the date of the original publication, at Maestricht, it was three months later before Parma directed its general promulgation, and that at Mons, at any rate, it did not make its official appearance till the end of August. The immediate effect does not seem to have been very great, judging from the silence of all the correspondents on the subject. The only other reference to it in the present volume is in the extracts from the Prince's 'Apology' preserved among the papers of the time.

The loss sustained by the States in the capture of la Noue made it all the more important to get French aid in some other way. 'On the news of this mishap' writes Stokes (No. 292), a post was sent after MM. Provyn and Caron, who had started on May 9 as a special deputation to the Duke of Anjou from the Estates of Flanders, accompanied by Hubert Languet, acting, it would seem, as the bearer of special communications from the Prince of Orange, with injunctions to 'procure a speedy answer.' They left Paris on May 23 for Tours, where the Duke met them. Ostensibly the deputies were acting only on behalf of Flanders, but from the first they were in correspondence with the States General. Since the expulsion of

Hembize, the feeling at Ghent had grown much more favourable to the French alliance, and any opposition that might arise was expected rather to come from Brabant. However, on June 24 articles were brought forward in the States to serve as a basis for negotiation (*see* No. 383, which should be placed earlier). As will be seen, careful precautions are taken to prevent the assumption of anything like arbitrary or absolute power on the part of the Duke. It is interesting to note the recognition in the last article of a claim on the part of the Archduke Matthias, thus cavalierly superseded, to some gratitude from the people to whom for nearly three years he had been acting as an unpretentious figurehead. On July 22 he wrote to the States, excusing himself for non-attendance at their meeting, and in dignified terms reminding them of the circumstances of his adoption as Governor, accepting their new departure, with a reminder of its significance as marking a transference of their allegiance from the Empire to France, and ending with a request that his personal suite may not be left unprovided for. Henceforward he became as a recent historian says, 'more and more the fifth wheel of the coach'; though he did not actually resign for nearly a year longer. However, he is now practically 'out of the story.'

Now that Anjou's acceptance by the States a second time was imminent, suspicions seem to have been aroused afresh in England. To this time must probably be assigned a letter from Elizabeth to the French King (No. 546), evidently intended to allay any suspicions caused by Condé's visit to England, and at the same time to keep alive the project of the marriage, which had of late been slumbering a little. It was not the moment either to allow any irritation to grow up in France, nor to lose her hold of Anjou. A memorandum dated July 10 (No. 363), drawn up as it would seem by Wilks for Burghley, discusses various 'ways to prevent the coming of Monsieur into the Low Countries.' It is a fairly unscrupulous and not very far-sighted document; the writer

having nothing better to suggest than the employment once more of Casimir's services, to keep the war going in France; an object towards which it is suggested that the King of Spain might be induced to contribute, if indeed, under the pressure of affairs in Portugal, he might not be persuaded to make peace in the Low Countries. Another suggestion, the breaking-off of the marriage, is made only to be rejected, nor does one see how at that particular juncture it can have occurred to any reasonable mind. The document probably reflects the opinions of that section of the English Court whose sense of the danger from Spain was overpowered by their inveterate suspicion of everything French.

Instructions were, however, presently drawn for an envoy to the States (probably Rogers, though one phrase in them points to the possibility of there having been originally an idea of sending Davison) in which the want of confidence shown by them in negotiating without the Queen's knowledge is the principal topic. A desire is also expressed that they should stay 'their last commissioners,' *i.e.*, Sainte-Aldegonde and four or five others who left Flushing for Dieppe on August 24, to complete the treaty which Provyn and Caron had been negotiating. This was actually concluded at Plessis-les-Tours on September 19. Curiously enough, for it can hardly have remained long a secret, Cobham, while fairly well informed as to Monsieur's movements, seems to know nothing of this transaction, or at any rate to have thought it not worth reporting. He was apparently not on the best of terms with Stafford, through whose hands most of the communications with Anjou passed (No. 435) and may therefore have been inclined to know as little as possible of what was going on at Tours; indeed he mentions (No. 502) that he heard nothing from Stafford, but he seems really to have been sceptical as to any result of the negotiations between the Duke and the States (No. 432), not being inclined to believeth at the king would come to any understanding with his brother in the matter. Like Poulet, Cobham fixed his attention mainly on the internal

affairs of France, and the supposed designs of the king and his mother to 'extirp religion, and those in this realm who profess to take arms for that cause.' In this aim they have the encouragement of the King of Spain, and consequently are disposed to ignore their own interest, which would lead them to injure him in all possible ways (No. 443).

Cobham's suspicions were not allayed by Monsieur's departure, a few days after the signature of the treaty of Plessis, for Languedoc. His intentions were, however, wholly pacific. So long as war was going on in France his schemes must be delayed, if only because the Huguenot fighting-men upon whom he would naturally rely above all other troops, were not at liberty. Stafford, who had been going to and fro all the summer, on his last visit to Tours found Monsieur already gone and followed him by the Queen's instructions to the South, arriving at Fleix on October 27. He appears to have addressed a kind of oration on his own account to the King of Navarre. This address (No. 479), of which I can find no indication elsewhere, is a strong exhortation to peace, in the interest of the Protestant cause throughout Europe, and expresses probably the view of those Englishmen who understood that Spain rather than France was the quarter whence danger was really to be feared. On his return early in December, Stafford called on Simier, who had till just then been out of favour with his master, and living in a kind of banishment at Bourgueil, writing long letters of gossip and scandal to the Queen of England. Stafford also took a letter from the Queen Mother, couched in the usual affectionate terms, and expressing the usual desire to see the marriage accomplished (No. 512).

Matters having been arranged with the States, and the king's assent, as it would seem, obtained to the undertaking, though without any promise of actual assistance or open breach with Spain, Anjou as has been said left Tours for Languedoc, in order to negotiate with Navarre for the termination of the existing state of civil war. Marnix accompanied him, the

other commissioners remaining for the present at Tours. To this time must probably be referred a somewhat despondent letter, apparently from Walsingham to a correspondent in France (No. 478) though the allusion to a meeting at Nérac is obscure, for Navarre was not at that place till the spring was well advanced, and peace had been for some time established. It seems, however, just possible that the letter may be a reply to Poulet's of February 23, 1579. In that case the 'treaty of peace' spoken of at the beginning of it, can only refer to the perennial negotiations for 'a league of amity' between France and England.

In spite of the good will of both Navarre and Anjou, the diplomacy of the secretaries Villeroy and Bellièvre, and the king's desire for peace, it was some time before a settlement was arrived at. A letter from Cobham, dated November 27, gives a good view of the situation at that date. 'At Paris,' he writes, 'they have small opinion of the conclusion of the peace.' The whole letter is interesting, showing, among other things, the growth of the faction which afterwards attained such formidable dimensions as the League. At present it is the 'Italians' who are determined to prevent any real union of the nobles (*i.e.*, doubtless that large section who professed, or at least were not unfriendly to, the reformed religion) and the Crown; and especially to hinder the establishment of cordial relations between the king, his brother, and Navarre.

Cobham's next letter (No. 501) clears up a point which biographers seem to have hitherto left undecided; the date of the death of the sometime mistress of Francis I, the Duchess of Estampes, who for more than thirty years had been living in retirement. Another personage mentioned in the same letter and elsewhere, it has been found impossible to identify. None of the ordinary genealogical authorities throws any light on the name variously written by Walsingham as Montbrun, by Cobham as Montbreny, and (in a letter of 1581) Brunnyo, and by an anonymous correspondent in the Hatfield papers (ii. No. 784) as Montbaranye, kinsman to D'Aubigny's wife

(Catherine de Balsac d'Entraigues) and sent, it would seem, by d'Aubigny himself on some obscure mission to France (No. 421). That adventurer's proceedings were giving a good deal of anxiety in England during the latter part of 1580. Cobham wrote in June of an enterprise in hand to convey the young King of Scots into France, with a view to his bringing-up in the Roman Catholic faith (No. 316). The same letter contains a curious account of an interview with the veteran intriguer, Sir James Balfour, which (with subsequent references in letters six months later, when he is said to have gone to Scotland) materially adds to the extant information relating to that estimable personage. (See *s.v.* in Dict. Nat. Biog.) In January he had been offering his services to Mary; in June a similar offer was made to Elizabeth, or to Cobham on her behalf. The pious Sir James also proposed to visit Dieppe, in order to enjoy 'the exercise of his religion' with more freedom than was attainable in Paris. When next we hear of him, in November, he 'has left Dieppe towards Scotland, though he has given out he went towards Flanders.' In December Cobham hears of him at the Scottish Court; where, as we learn from a letter of somewhat later date, from Mendoza to the King of Spain (Span. Cal. Jan. 15, 1581) he took a leading part in the accusation of the Earl of Morton.

Irish affairs are frequently alluded to, but seldom with much precision or at much length. Poulet on August 14, 1579, just mentions the arrival in Ireland of James Fitzmorris with a Spanish force; while Jacques de Somere writing from Antwerp to Davison, seems to imply that the news of it had excited more interest in the Low Countries than in England. Various reports of his doings reached the various correspondents. An undated fragment (No. 77) probably belonging to Poulet's last days in Paris shows that in Catholic circles the news of his death was discredited. Towards the end of 1580 the preparations in Spain caused more anxiety. Ships returning to Antwerp brought news, duly reported by Stokes and Hoddesdon, of what they had seen in those parts, two

thousand men already embarked, eight thousand more waiting to go (Nos. 428, 452); the ambassadors in Paris began to be curious as to what steps the Queen was taking to meet the danger (No. 443); 'English rebels' abroad began to be 'very hasty,' while in the Netherlands dismal reports of the state of things were current. In October the news of the landing, with a report that the invaders had defeated the Lord Deputy, reached Matignon from Normandy. The chief impression made on the French Court was one of satisfaction that the King of Spain would have his hands full. Mendoza in an interview with Wilkes and Beale affected to know nothing about the matter. In reporting the interview to his master, he does not seem to have referred to this part of the conversation. A Spaniard, captured presumably on the high seas, gave some interesting information (No. 477) from which it would appear that the understanding between the native Irish and their foreign allies was not exactly cordial. When the prisoner states that their commander is a 'Signor Cornellia' he may be thinking of Cornelius Ryan, Bishop of Killaloe, who as appears from a document given in the Spanish Calendar, was of the party. The defeat of the invaders at Smerwick is mentioned in a letter from Gilpin on December 11, and by Cobham two days later; the latter presently received the congratulations of the French king. Col. Morgan imparts the good news to the Prince of Epinoy on the 17th.

A curious little incident arising out of the preparations for the invasion of Ireland is recounted in No. 218 and some subsequent letters. One James Sydee, it would appear a loyal Irishman, captain of a Plymouth ship, appears, whether acting under orders or on his own account, to have made an attempt in March to seize in or off the harbour of Ferrol some of the vessels intended for the expedition. A difficulty with the local authorities naturally ensued; and a correspondence took place in which it must be admitted that the advantage in point of politeness was on the side of the Spanish officials. The

allusion to a challenge in the Alcalde's letter of March 20 (No. 225) may not improbably refer to a fierce exchange of letters between Sydee and one Barnaby O'Neyle, *alias* William Hall, a rebel on board one of the ships, which will be found in the Irish papers.

To some of those who watched affairs from abroad, the English government seemed dangerously lax in the matter of permitting foreigners to reside in the country. A letter of Roger Bodenham's from San Lucar, towards the end of 1580 (No. 504), is very outspoken. He would even have the Spanish ambassador treated at once as his predecessor had been, and as he himself was in fact eventually to be treated; and mentions several Spaniards resident in England, as he believes, for no good purpose. That San Vitores and the rest were playing in England a very similar part to that which Bodenham himself and other Englishmen played in Spain was probably true enough. The 'indisposed persons, pensioners to King Philip' of whom Cobham was speaking a little later (No. 514) were, it may be supposed, native Englishmen.

The uneasiness caused in England by the activity of the Roman See is apparent in such documents as the list of English Papists in Paris sent over by Cobham in April (No. 279), or the report (No. 401) by a former servant of the Earl of Westmorland respecting that nobleman's doings, with a list of Romish priests known to be in England. Of the Jesuit mission or of its pioneers, Fathers Parsons and Campian, there is, however, no mention.

Among the incidents and persons coming in for casual notice in this volume will be found several interesting to the student of history and literature. No. 13, an official permit granted to an English priest desiring to travel in the Holy Land, contains the autograph of Gregory XIII. No. 57, in which Sir Humphrey Gilbert is charged with piracy, appears to refer to his raid on the coasts of Galicia, mentioned in Mendoza's letter to the king of September 5. It seems

possible that the Mr. Knowell who appears in the same paper may be the Mr. Knollys mentioned in a somewhat similar connexion in No. 474; *i.e.*, no doubt, Francis Knollys, youngest son of the Treasurer of the Household.

The punishment of William Stubbs, for his pamphlet condemning the French marriage, is several times referred to. Villiers recurs to it over and over again in letters to Davison (Nos. 66, 92, 98) speaking of the incident with much regret; while Poulet anxiously disavows a rumour that he had been so uncourtly as to mention the work to Anjou himself. His letter (No. 73) gives some evidence of the interest roused by it abroad. La Huguerie, by the way, asserts that the proceedings against Stubbs were taken at the instance of Simier.

'Otteman,' the son of the famous 'professor of the civil law,' who acted as tutor to Poulet's children, may not improbably be Jean Hotman, afterwards Sieur de Villiers, and author of a treatise on the duties of ambassadors.

In the Mr. Savile and Mr. Bodleigh mentioned in No. 74, we shall doubtless be right in recognising the future Sir Henry and Sir Thomas. The latter appears again a year later, when Cobham seeks the benefit of his experience in dealing with one of the Italians of doubtful antecedents who found their way to Paris in those days (Nos. 369, 371). One of the ambassador's functions seems to have been to put obstacles in the way of these people's entrance into England. In the following September we find Cobham writing of an Italian woman who, doubtless thinking she could appeal to the Queen's weaker side, 'would repair into England to show her cunning for the preservation of beauty.' Walsingham in reply (No. 421) suggests an ingenious method of inducing her to keep away, which seems to have answered its purpose. Cobham's distrust of Italians appears plainly in No. 448. The Modenese named Castelvetro who is mentioned in that letter as an alleged Arian and a suspected Jesuit is probably Jacopo, nephew of the famous critic, Ludovico Castelvetro

of the same town, and editor of his uncle's commentary on Petrarch. Another descendant of a well-known writer was in London on same political errand in the early part of 1580; Fabianus Niffius, as he writes himself, whose father (or grandfather) Augustinus Niphus is now perhaps best remembered by his piracy or plagiarism of Machiavelli's 'Prince,' though in his own day he enjoyed a considerable reputation. There is an allusion to his work 'De Auguriis' in No. 259; a letter otherwise interesting for the graphic account it gives of an earthquake which visited Normandy in the spring of 1580.

Other well-known Italians are Jacomo Mannucci, a regular employé of the Embassy; Masino del Bene, less avowed, but even more important in the intrigues of the next few years, a member of a Florentine family which was, as the frequent form Delbène shows, rapidly becoming acclimatised in France; and Jacopo Corbinelli, familiar to students of Dante as the first editor (in its original Latin) of the treatise 'de Vulgari Eloquentia'; another importation of the Queen Mother's. I cannot identify Signor 'Ascanyo Ezilam' of Ferrara. The surname does not look precisely Italian.

A letter from Burghley, to introduce Anthony Bacon, addressed probably to la Mothe-Fènelon, a former ambassador in England, gives a pleasant glimpse of the friendly relations existing between French and English statesmen. Incidentally it offers evidence of Burghley's weakness in the French tongue, being written in English, evidently with the view of being translated into French by a secretary.

Two personages not unknown to readers of the former instalments of this Calendar, make their appearance in the present volume: Frederick Schwartz, Baron of Ruissingen, whose predilection for Latin tags seems to have undergone no diminution; and Captain Nicholas Oost, *alias* Lymborch, who in spite of past rebuffs, has abated none of his desire to serve her Majesty. Of 'Signor Scoto the Italian, who has been in England,' mentioned by Cobham in a letter of February 20, 1580, I can find no indication elsewhere; unless he be

identical with the 'Scotinus' who a few years later, according to Strada, lured Gebhard Truchsess, the unlucky Elector of Cologne, into the love-affair which cost him his see, by an artifice not unlike that to which the virtue of Dr Faustus had succumbed.

One old acquaintance disappears from view in a tragic fashion. The Baron de Hèze, always restless, and apparently no better content with the authority of Parma than he had been with that of Orange, had entered into some intrigue, with the French, according to Strada, with the States, according to Christopher Carleill (No. 332), with a view of detaching certain important garrisons from the royalist cause. Carleill adds an interesting detail, that the astute Commissary Rossel was employed in this matter; a point on which Rossel himself, who in the next letter also reports the arrest of Hèze, is discreetly silent. The next reference to the subject is some four months later, when Rossel briefly mentions (No. 473) that Hèze has been sentenced and executed.

Hèze's capture had been effected by the Marquis of Roubaix (late Viscount of Ghent) by means of what appears from Strada's account, given without disapproval, to have been a singularly dirty trick. Roubaix's mother, the Princess of Epinoy, was in the Walloon camp near Condé. In order to get Hèze away from his troops, Roubaix had invited him to come and pay his respects to her, and had then arrested him. Of this the papers say nothing; but the princess appears as a political agent in the remarkable letter (No. 530) from her elder son, the Prince of Epinoy, to the authorities of Flanders, in which he narrates a fruitless attempt on her part, aided by the persuasions of Councillor Richardot, to withdraw him from his allegiance to the popular cause.

Some details concerning the renewed activity of the Papa party on the Continent are given by R. Lloyd, one of the Embassy staff in Paris, in a letter to Walsingham written at the end of May. The story of the murder of Cardinal d'Armagnac's *major-domo* is curious. It is referred to by

de Thou, who makes the victim to have been Guillaume du Blanc, Bishop of Toulon. But as that prelate did not die till 1588, the view that the person in question was a M. de Patris seems more probable. That the murder was committed by order of Gregory XIII, on the ground of the official's suspected leaning to Protestantism, seems to be undisputed by any of the authorities; nor that it caused great distress to the cardinal. In the same letter is a significant reference to the efforts made, not without success, to curtail the freedom which had hitherto made Venice the asylum of persons whose religious orthodoxy was in question. The effects were to be seen before long in the cases of Bruno, Sarpi, and others.

Two letters (Nos. 172 and 189*) from Sir Henry and Lady Cobham respectively give an interesting and vivid picture of Court festivities and the manners of the time. The ambassador and his wife seem to have been invited for different days, and the entertainments to have varied slightly. He dines with other ambassadors apart, while she feasts at the royal table. The absence of anything like formality or stiffness is very noticeable. The king 'buttonholes' the ambassador and chats with him amid a pushing crowd on the stairs, or holds the door open for his guests; while the childless queen rather touchingly makes enquiries as to Lady Cobham's thriving family and insists on a visit from the one member of it who happened to be available. These easy personal relations between princes and subjects form one of the more attractive features of 'Renaissance' manners, and contrast pleasantly with the rigid and pedantic Spanish-Austrian etiquette that was to fetter Courts in the next century.

The difficulties connected with the chaplaincy at Antwerp seem to have continued. Travers went back to England in the summer, and decided not to return. Cartwright, who supplied his place, it would appear, without stipend, was no less resolute a Puritan; and the cautious Hoddesdon, who had succeeded Loddington in the capacity of Governor of the Merchants Adventurers, was brought into some perplexity

between his reluctance to absent himself from Divine Service, and his anxiety to avoid countenancing a minister whose views might not be acceptable to the Queen. Writing to Burghley in December (No. 536) he even hints at resignation as a means of escape from the dilemma.

In the early part of 1580 Hoddesdon had been at Embden, where he hoped to find a door into Germany which might compensate for the practical closure of the Hanse towns to English trade. The Count, who evidently sought to make the best of both worlds, and who, while, as we learn from other sources was the case, he supplied the Spanish forces with provisions, was desirous to oblige the Queen, and perhaps get a Garter or a pension in recompense, was very friendly and promised various facilities, though making it clear that he did not want his town used merely as a place of transit, but desired to see a trade-centre established there (No. 232). The Hanse towns had no idea of being circumvented in this way, and induced the Emperor to write to the Count, directing him to expel the English merchants, which the Count in a spirited and well-reasoned letter, prompted, we may conjecture, by Hoddesdon, declined to do till better grounds were shown (No. 380). Later on the Duke of Prussia also takes up the complaint of the Hanse towns (No. 455).

An astronomer and mechanician of some note in his day, Jacobus Cuno, introduces himself to the Queen (No. 531) in the hope of finding in her a purchaser for an ingenious instrument constructed by himself, of the nature of what would now be called an orrery.

As usual, a good many curious or interesting forms of words and phrases are to be found in the letters. Sir Henry Cobham, who though not as eccentric a speller as his brother, was often original in those matters, is responsible for a good many. The king will not 'buskle' himself to assault some other country; and, the next day, those of Guienne began to 'buskle' themselves to stand to their defence. He uses 'confined' in the Italian sense (which is found in

Shakespeare) of 'banished'; and 'Levant coast' to denote the *Riviera di Levante* or coast eastward of Genoa (No. 321), a meaning not recorded in the New English Dictionary. He uses the phrase 'to heap coals on his head' in its natural sense of 'to cause further annoyance,' and not in that which its Scriptural application has consecrated. In describing the furniture of the royal supper table, on the occasion of the Shrovetide festivities already mentioned, he notes that the dishes were all of 'India earth of China,' reminding us that porcelain was of very recent introduction into Europe, and had as yet no settled name. When he writes (No. 327 *bis*) that Earl Morton 'upon the next easy occasion will, as they term it, be sticked,' he probably does not, in spite of the context, mean to suggest assassination, but uses the term in the sense familiar to us in the phrase 'a stickit minister.' In a passage otherwise noticeable for its estimate of the influence wielded by the apparently not very forcible Rudolf II, he says 'they will find him to be the spirit of the Spanish king'; where the use of 'spirit' in the sense of source of inspiration, illustrates Elizabeth's playful application of the same word to designate Burghley.

'Shrivewick' for the more usual 'sheriffwick,' and 'check-board' for 'chessboard,' are forms that may be worth noticing. 'Boyards' (Dutch *lceijers*)=barges occurs in a letter from Hoddesdon of March 22, 1580. The earliest instance given in the N.E.D. is of 1618.

The Index to the present volume has been prepared by my daughter, Miss G. E. Butler.

A. J. BUTLER.

ERRATA.

p. 13, l. 10 from bottom: *dele qy.*
p. 31, l. 22: *dele* words in brackets
p. 34, l. 22: *for* Diamer *read* Dramer
p. 52, l. 2: *for* 33 *read* 35
p. 61, l. 2 from bottom: *for* fruithful *read* fruitful
p. 63, ll. 5, 6: *for* them *read* it
p. 78, l. 25: *between* would *and* have *insert* not
,, l. 35: *after* Queen Mother *insert* and Bellegarde
p. 81, l. 27: *for qy.* Zwinglianism *read* Schwenkfeldianism
p. 88, l. 25: *for* castellary *read* castelleny
p. 102, l. 23: *for* 93 *read* 95
p. 109, l. 22: *for* le Noue *read* la Noue
,, l. 35: *after* companies *insert* under
p. 142, l. 7 from bottom: *for* town *read* towns
p. 157, l. 2: *for* Fello *read* Tello
p. 172, l. 3: *for* Sporza *read* Sforza
p. 180, l. 2 from bottom: *for* May *read* March
p. 182, *Insert* 204.* Another copy. [*Holland and Flanders XIII.* 15 (*bis*)]
p. 192, l. 30: *for* Frances *read* France.
p. 194. Date of No. 225 should be March 20
p. 200, l. 3 from bottom: *for* Aveliers *read* Asseliers
pp. 239, 240: No. 268 should be transferred to 1581
p. 247, l. 2: *for* Brulast *read* Brulart
p. 263, l. 5 from bottom: *after* son *insert* [grandson]
p. 265, l. 13: *for* Mons. *read* Mons
p. 267, l. 21: *for* town *read* towns
p. 283, l. 9 from bottom: *for* 1500 *read* 1580
p. 300, l. 23: *for* captain *read* captains
p. 317, l. 6: *for* Thompson *read* Tomson
p. 320, l. 6 from bottom: *for* 102 *read* 103
p. 322, l. 21 from bottom: *for* Mauvssière *read* Mauvissière
p. 323, l. 20: *for* 103 *read* 103 *bis*
p. 335, l. 24: *dele* comma *after* king

p. 364. l. 15 : *for* monoply *read* monopoly
,, l. 8 from bottom : *for* Court *read* Count
p. 367 : Date of No. 383 should be June 24
p. 384, l. 16 from bottom : *for* actions *read* action
p. 418, l. 4 from bottom : *insert* comma *after* countrymen
p. 430, l. 8 : *after* Don Antonio *insert* Castro, *and dele* brackets
p. 450, l. 10 from bottom : *dele* J. S. V°.
p. 453, l. 1 : *for* attendance *read* attendants
p. 456, l. 21 : *dele* at
p. 466, l. 16 : *after* some *insert* of
p. 469, l. 7 : *for* day *read* days
p. 471, l. 10 from bottom : *for* funished *read* furnished
p. 481, ll. 8, 9 : *for* [*qu. as bardr*^{as}] *read* colours
p. 486, l. 27 : *for* poisons *read* points
p. 497, l. 14 from bottom : *dele* [*qu.* Santarem]
p. 533, l. 20 : *after* rest *insert* of

FOREIGN PAPERS.

ELIZABETH.

A.D. 1579.

A.D. 1579. ? End of June or beginning of July.

1. The Queen to the Duke of Anjou.

Considering how the king your brother and you have honourably and consistently prosecuted the affair in question in spite of the persuasions of your subjects to divert you therefrom, and the secret practices of sundry others, whereof we are not ignorant, we have cause rather to esteem ourselves as much obliged to you as one prince can be to another, than to raise any complaint, as you may be assured we will effectually show when occasion offers; for the memory of it remains so deeply embedded (*encarnée*) in our hearts, that we could not fail to satisfy it.

Fragment of draft, in hand of L. Tomson and endd. by him: Copy of a letter to the K. of Fr. [*sic*] from her Majesty in answer to his former, the 13 of June 1579 [*but is it not later?*]. *Fr.* ½ *p.* [*France III.* 24 (*bis*).]

July 2. **2.** Appointment of Sir Roger Manwood, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; David Lewes, LL.D., Judge of the Court of Admiralty; Valentine Dale, LL.D., a Master of the Requests; John Popham, Solicitor-General; William Aubrey, LL.D.; John Hamond, LL.D., Master of the Court of Chancery; Thomas Fanshawe and Peter Osborne; as Commissioners to see that the treaty executed with the King of Spain at Bristol, August 20, 1574, is properly carried into effect.

Copy, signed 'Powle.' *Latin.* 2½ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 22.]

July 3. **3.** [Jacques de Somere] to Davison.

This bearer will be my excuse for not writing particulars of what has happened since I last wrote. He is the doctor who took leave of you the day before your departure, is devoted to Sir F. Walsingham, and deserves to be more familiarly acquainted with yourself, having a pretty and rare wit in the science that he professes, a good moral character (*âme et conscience*) and a delicate judgement in public affairs. He knows all that goes on here and can talk at length to you on the likelihood of peace or war, and

A.D. 1579. the result of one or the other; also about the position of Maestricht, or the war in Flanders and what depends on it; in short, there is no need for me to enter into details this time. I need only thank you for your news of yourself, which will give me courage to impart ours, of which I regret that there is none at present worthy of the affection you bear to the preservation of this country; whose ruin we see advancing more by our own divisions than the forces of the enemy. It is a sign that God would punish us, when He takes from us the power of mutual sympathy. Ghent is in a worse state than ever; justice is wholly underfoot there; it is mere brigandage, begun and maintained by the insane government of him you wot of. The bearer, whose name is Geoffroy, will tell you more.—Antwerp, 3 July 1579.

P.S.—After this was written came news of the capture of Maestricht, which has caused great terror here. The people not knowing whom to blame, blame those in authority, but time will soothe. M. de Frésin is in close confinement and in danger of execution. We are uneasy lest the people relieve themselves in some such way.

Add. Fr. 1 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 8.]

July 4. **4.** Poulet to the Queen.

I received your Majesty's of the 21st ult. on the evening of the 24th, the king having gone to Olinville in the afternoon of the same day, followed thither by Monsieur at 3 the next morning. Roquetaillade had arrived in the evening shortly after the king's departure. It pleased God to visit me with a hot ague the day after the receipt of your packet, so that when the king and Monsieur returned on the 27th I had already endured three fits, and did not leave my bed till the 29th.

Besides that I am commanded to advertise with all speed how I find the king and his brother inclined to proceed in the interview, I considered that my message might perchance further their resolution herein, and especially what concerned the king, who in honour could do no less than deliberate after so plain warning. Therefore, being not ignorant that the constitution of my weak body would not permit me after so much physic and so many sweats to take the air in less than eight or ten days, I thought good to deliver my message in two letters, one to the king and the other to his brother, doing my best to deliver the true substance of my commission; though to observe the French phrases I have sometimes changed the form of the sentences, as may appear by the copies sent to Mr Secretary Walsingham. The letters were delivered by M. Gondi, and as I understand were thankfully taken by him. I am assured of this, that their contents were better digested and more deeply considered than if ten times as much had been delivered by word of mouth.

On the 29th Monsieur came to my lodging. After ordinary ceremonies, and my humble thanks for his visit, which I told him could proceed of no other cause than his affection to your Majesty,

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I prayed him to hold me excused for being so bold as to impart my message to him by writing. I said I considered that he might perchance have occasion to dispatch shortly into England, and if it did not appear by his letter that he had heard from me, you would think I had been negligent.

He answered that he had given good testimony of his sincere affection towards your Majesty, in that he did not insist upon anything that was not agreeable to you, but referred himself wholly to your pleasure. So he was glad to understand by my letter you accepted his doings in good part; trusting that this favourable construction of his proceedings would bring forth the fruits of his long-desired hope. He did not doubt I could so direct his course in his future dealings that you might have just cause to think he made great account of your satisfaction. He looked for du Vray very shortly, upon whose coming he would further consider.

Perceiving that he had now said all he meant to say to me and had no desire to enter into any further discourse touching the message I had delivered him, I thought good to make some motion which might breed occasion of further speech. I told him that the good will and constant affection which he had from his youth borne towards your Majesty bound you to acknowledge it with thankfulness; and prayed him to think there was no prince living whom you thought you had more cause to esteem or with whom you so desired to join your fortune in course of friendship, than with him [*sic*]. For proof of this you had commanded me to signify to him your great care to see him provided with an ample safe-conduct meet for a prince of his quality, as likewise that upon his arrival he might receive such entertainment as is meet for the dignity of his person and to be performed by a prince of your place, especially towards one taking the voyage upon so friendly and honourable respects. 'And now,' quod I, 'we think in England that your Highness will be there before the end of August.'

Monsieur replied that the time of his departure was yet uncertain; that a journey of this importance would require great preparations; that the matter depended on others. For his part he would be glad to depart 'this next morrow.'

I said the journey was 'threatened' to have been performed long since, and I thought there would be no cause to stay, if he were willing.

'Indeed,' quod he, 'the winter passage is said to be dangerous, and the winter season must needs be unpleasant to many other purposes.'

Seeing that he said nothing as to the difficulty 'proponed' by your Majesty, and was now upon the point to leave me, I said that greatly desiring the continuance of his amity, and wishing to avoid all occasions that might tend to diminish it, and considering, too, that in case of the mutual satisfaction that is hoped for not falling out upon the interview some interruption of friendship might ensue, the danger of which might reach to both realms, you had

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commanded me to pray him to come to England, with full resolution, marriage or no marriage, to nourish and conserve the good intelligence which had continued so long between him and yourself, as you would not fail to receive him with the like resolution. He might be assured he would find no alteration of your good will towards him if, after his arrival in England, God did not incline his heart to 'like with' this match.

Monsieur answered that these were hard speeches, and that these mishaps (he used the term *malheurs*) ought not to be prognosticated before they arrived. Of this he said he had no fear, and did not doubt but that his journey would succeed to the satisfaction of both parties.

I took occasion of further speech, and many words passed between us; but I could not induce him to promise to brook a denial with patience; though indeed I did not urge his answer herein, because my commission did not bear it. This is the substance of what passed at that time between him and me.

Brulart, one of the king's secretaries, being appointed by his Majesty to repair to me, and having sent to know if he should not trouble me, upon hearing from me that Monsieur was then on his way to me, forbore his coming till the morrow, being the 30th ult. Then he told me that he was sent to me by the king partly to visit me in respect of my sickness, partly to inform me of the king's good acceptance of the letter which he lately received from me, and that he was very glad to hear of your good affection towards him, desiring on his part nothing more than to maintain good amity with you; which he trusted would shortly be so strongly confirmed that it should continue for ever unbroken. Touching the difficulty proposed by your Majesty, the advertisements he has received both from his Ambassador resident, and from Simier, made the matter so plain, and gave such manifest assurance of the good success of this intended marriage that he saw no likelihood of any inconvenience ensuing, especially seeing his brother remained constant in his first resolution.

Many words passed between this gentleman and me touching the mutual good affection between your Majesty and his master, of the necessity of its continuance, how much this intelligence depends on the good offices of good ministers. And here I took occasion to tell him of the honourable speeches which it pleased the king to use at my last audience, of his unfeigned good will towards you, of his care for your well-doing, how highly he esteemed you, and how willing he was to foresee that you should not be abused. I omit the details, which are more tedious than necessary. Indeed, this secretary has the reputation of being less factious than some of his fellows, and more void of 'partiality.'

Then in answer to the last part of his speech, touching the difficulty, I told him that I thought the king would have answered this matter more fully if I had spoken with him. It was not enough to set down the hope conceived upon I know not what advertisements, but it seemed also requisite in honour, policy, and conscience

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to make provision for the dangers in possibility. I said I added the word conscience because the danger might reach to infinite thousands, not only French and English but of other nations also. I said he was not ignorant that nothing was yet promised, both parties retaining their full liberty. He must also confess that the hearts of princes are in the hand of God, who turns them to like or mislike at His pleasure. It followed therefore that this marriage may fail of its effect, and the dangers may ensue and, being of so great importance, ought to be provided for.

'You say true,' says M. Brulart, 'and I cannot impugn your reasons; but my commission does not extend to say more than I have.'

I answered that I had no commission to require any answer herein of the king, and therefore referred it to his Majesty's pleasure. 'And yet,' says he, 'I will make true report to the king at his return, which will be to-morrow' (he was gone that morning with Monsieur and the Duke of Guise to Saint-Germain-en-Laye) 'and perhaps you will hear again from him.'

The King returned at the time appointed, and now two days are passed and I hear nothing from him. I have therefore thought good to retain this messenger no longer.

On the 2nd inst. the King was advertised that the castle of Saluces was yielded to Bellegarde. Thereupon the Council assembled immediately; and, as I am informed from a great personage, it is decided that the King shall do all he can to remove him speedily, and he intends for that purpose to go towards Lyons at the end of this month.

Queen Mother is in Provence, where she has her hands full with the troubles of that province and Dauphiné, and some think she will not do the good she desires. D'Escarces, the principal of one faction in Provence, is said to have left her without taking leave, and very ill-satisfied. No news of her return, and the common opinion is she cannot be here before Michaelmas.

Maintenon, brother to Rambouillet, was dispatched towards Queen Mother on the 1st, some think especially for these marriage matters, wherein, whatever may be pretended, there will be no resolution, in the opinion of some here, before the return of this messenger, it being certain that nothing moves here without her direction.

The Prince of Condé met the King of Navarre at Nérac, from whence they are gone to Montauban, accompanied by the Viscount of 'Touraine,' to meet the deputies of the Religion; where in respect of the great insolency committed daily against those of the Religion it is thought, and some 'assure' it, that the 'reddition' of the towns, appointed to ensue this next August, will be restrained.

My sickness has greatly hindered my intelligences, but I trust your Majesty will hear further from me shortly.—Paris, 4 July 1579.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. 6 *pp.* [*France III.* 25.]

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July 5.

5. Rossel to Walsingham.

I regret to have to tell you of the sack of Maestricht, which was overcome (*suppéditée*) on Monday the 28th ult. by means of a mine which the enemy pushed as far as a monastery in the town about which our side had no fear. This they sprang during a feigned general assault, which all were employed in repulsing. Seeing themselves taken in rear with considerable loss they rallied in Wyck, and there capitulated on terms of their lives saved. The enemy by way of security ordered them to enter the houses; and when they were there, disregarding their promise, massacred them cruelly for three hours. This inhumanity has so excited the people in every town that they are furiously attacking all superiors and magistrates, imputing to them the blame of the massacre through the default of succour, and saying that the Prince had guaranteed their deliverance if 50,000 florins were forthcoming, that in Antwerp they had furnished 250,000 and nothing had come of it. Their pence were spent in acquiring manors in France for the Princess to make over to her minions—absurd and false slanders of no account. Friday they persisted in wanting to know the authors of the default, till a massacre was expected. That night the colonels of the city of Antwerp took M. de Frésin to the common prison to prevent his murder, intended by the people. Next morning the gates were locked till midday; some of them all day long.

They arrested M. de Berkhen as a member of the *Chambre des aides*, but he was released through the influence of the States-General and taken to the colonels of the city in the Town Hall. These all pleaded that they could do nothing to check the people, resolved as they were to reform the Council of State, the States, the magistrature, the *Chambre des aides*, privy council, and all the public officers. Upon this subject they would meet, with the '*brirath*' [Breederaed], on Saturday: that assembly having on Friday met, at the instance of the States, and resolved to agree to the union of Utrecht. This bridled the fury, and the first action was moderated by the patience of the ministers, recognizing their humours. All deliberation was suspended and a change demanded, with certain expulsions from the Council of State, made up as it is from all the provinces, seceding or otherwise. This, upon the advice of his Highness, will be reformed, and the States-General as well, by the retention of so many as may seem well from the provinces that have remained in the union and no others.

As for those of Hainault and Artois, and the Malcontents, they have accepted peace with the Spaniards. M. de Goigny, who as commander-in-chief, lost the army at Gemblours, has been set at liberty and replaced in his government of le Quesnoy, the better to block M. d'Alençon's way; who will nevertheless be summoned by the States. I know not if he will be received by the people, after the example of le Quesnoy and Landrecies. Arengier started to-day by the post with the document summoning him in the quality I told you; I do not know if he will accept it, for des Pruneaux maintains that he intends to be called in and received with the rank and authority with which the Dukes of Burgundy used to rule, and not with restrictions like those under which the Archduke Matthias was

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received as governor. One of those who accompany Arengier has an extract from a letter, Latin or in Latin [*sic*] from some person employed in her Majesty's affairs, giving information as to the Duke's reception here both in connection with his marriage and otherwise (*tant en son mariage qu'aultre qualité*), which would be very prejudicial to her service if it came to be known. I have exhorted him to suppress it, which he has promised to do; but knowing him to be of unsteady disposition I am afraid he is not to be relied on. I had practised him to have a copy, which I could not obtain; however, I know that it wholly discloses the intentions of the States. I shall try to find out the author; I know well that it comes from his Excellency's house.

The English, French, Scottish and German troops with the reiters are assembled near Nymegen; some of the Germans and Scots have been admitted into Bois-le-Duc after long '*concertations*,' to the point of bloodshed. The Pensionary of Bois-le-Duc, clerk to the Estates of Brabant, sent to receive the garrisons, behaved with discretion. When Nymegen and other towns in the parts of Gueldres have been furnished, the rest of the troops will go to Mechlin, where it is hoped there will be an assembly; but I know not if they will come in time to remedy the disaffection of the Mechliners, who are passionate to follow the cause of the Malcontents. These are resolved to make war in Flanders, while the Spaniards do the like in Brabant, all on account of the ill-will they profess to the Prince.

Count Egmont is to be aided by the Guisards with horse and foot to avenge the insult received by him at Brussels. Judge, I ask you, if the injury done to his father by the Spaniard must not be left in oblivion, to justify his passionate youth.

They are all met at Grandmont in consultation, I mean Count Lalaing, Montigny, Egmont, and Hèze.

We hear from Ghent that M. de Champagny has been found dead in his bed, of anger and annoyance. Others say that his life's course was hastened for him.

As for the peace-negotiations at Cologne, there was some hope of it but for the events at Maestricht. However the conditions seem impracticable. Religion was to be indifferent at Ghent and Antwerp; the Prince was to retire in full enjoyment of his property, the king taking over his debts; his son Count van Buren was to return and be admitted to the government of Holland, this was to remain as it was; the Archduke was to be continued as Governor; the Council of State reconstructed according to his Majesty's pleasure; the rest of the state restored to its ancient privileges; all placards against the religion to be abolished, and every man to live in freedom of conscience; the decision to be pronounced by the electors. M. de Melroye of Namur, who was to bring up the articles and to have an absolute procuration to the deputies for the acceptance of the conditions, has not come, which makes me presume that all is broken off.—Antwerp, 3 July 1579.

Add. Endd. by Walsingham. Fr. 5 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 9.]

A.D. 1579.
July 6. 6. Draft of a safe-conduct for the Duke of Anjou, with corrections by Walsingham.

Endd. by L. Tomson: Copy of a safe-conduct for Monsieur, dispatched 6 July 1579; *and below*: A packet dispatched to Sir A. the 7th of July 1579. *Latin.* 3½ *pp.* [*France III.* 26.]

July 8. 7. 'Copy of a letter written in the name of them of Ghent to the Prince, with M. de la Noue's answers.'

In the first place M. de la Noue refuses to take this letter as proceeding from the senate and people of Ghent, with whose prudence and goodness he is acquainted, but from M. d'Imbize, who makes use of their name, abusing his public position, as before.

> The letter: Having received information the evening before last of an attempt to be made on the town by Count Egmont next morning at daybreak ——

This information is evidently fictitious (*supposée*). M. de la Noue arrived in Ghent at 8 P.M. on July 6, and M. d' Imbise says he received it that same evening. Now the people were in no way excited, and M. d' Argenlieu, who resides at Ghent, and is much trusted, heard nothing of it. If there had been anything in it, M. de la Noue ought to have been told of it, that he might see to the defence of the town, having been appointed to look after the whole of Flanders. As the letter begins with a falsehood, one must not be surprised if it goes on.

> The letter: We stood to arms without beating the *diane* in order to give them a good reception.

Let us see the order which M. d'Imbize gave as to the alleged attempt, and to which result it was best adapted, the expulsion of M. de la Noue, that is of friends, from the town, or the prevention of the enemy's, especially Count Egmont's, designs. When you fear danger from without the usual military procedure is to have a large corps on foot to guard the place, to line the walls with men, to fling some horse on the approaches to ascertain the direction from which they are coming. Nothing of this was done at Ghent; not even one additional sentinel placed on the ramparts. It was not against the Count, then, that action was taken. On the contrary, the chains were put up in the town, a force of 700 men was posted before M. de la Noue's lodging at midnight, and others before those of the two or three captains who had come with him, while no change was made elsewhere. The object was therefore to arm the people against M. de la Noue under the cloak of Count Egmont; this, looking to M. de la Noue's well-known sincerity, being the only way he could do it. Count Egmont too was far away, with few men for such an enterprise, and would have to pass through places where he must infallibly have been discovered. Thus the people can see how its best friends are attacked under cover of its enemies.

> The letter: And whereas it fell out by bad luck that M. de la Noue arrived the evening before last with a good

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> many French gentlemen and captains, whereby we perceived some excitement to be caused among the people——

He arrived with 15 or 16 horsemen—a very ordinary train for him. Among them were three captains who had been in the pay of the Gantois, two of them in M. d'Argenlieu's regiment, who have since returned with him. If this number frightens M. d'Imbise, there have been more foreigners in his town without causing a like excitement; and he wrongs his own valour, which is going to suppress the Walloons in a moment. If the quality of the men seem suspicious, M. de la Noue must be known to him, as also M. d'Argenlieu and Mr. Cotton, whom he summoned to the service of his town; and if he has proper confidence in M. d'Argenlieu he can accept his testimony to the people with whom he came. In any case he might have warned M. de la Noue without alarming the people, and he would have withdrawn quietly at the first word. But M. d'Imbize wants to keep the people mistrustful and accustom them to outbreaks, in order to make them the instrument of his passions.

> The letter: under the presumption that there was reason to fear from him something like what happened at Bruges. To obviate all inconvenience, M. d'Imbize, the first *échevin,* with the two deans made an early visit to him and M. d'Argenlieu——

M. de la Noue's sincerity is well enough known to all honest folk, and even his enemies have never questioned it; whereby is seen the impudence of M. de Imbize, who is not ashamed to impute to him what would hardly be believed of the most dishonourable. If his actions in France be examined, no ground for any such suspicion will be found; if those in Flanders, he regrets in truth that he has had no such opportunity to do good as M. d'Imbize has had and will to do him harm. But in spite of the few opportunities that have been given him and the hindrance he has received, he has not failed to give proof of his faithful service. But et us see the unfaithfulness which makes him an object of suspicion to M. d'Imbize. What happened lately at Bruges, he says? Everyone knows that la Noue was at Antwerp, and cannot be blamed or praised over that matter; but let us see how far the desire to slander him can go. At Bruges an attempt was discovered which put the town in great danger, and particularly those of the Religion. Thereupon the magistrates called in the Scots who were with M. de la Noue, by whose help, thank God, the town was saved from the very smallest murder or pillage. This was a great service to the country, and anyone can judge how much disloyalty there was in it, and if the same person was likely to secure religion and liberty at Bruges, and help Count Egmont to surprise Ghent in order to suppress them. But it is the nature of a lie to discover itself of itself, and of a slanderer to draw up his own indictment.

> The letter: to beg them very affectionately to be so kind as to depart from this town at an early hour, so as to remove the object of the people's suspicion, though we believed it unfounded. Which M. de la Noue willingly did, after we had handed him a packet of your letters addressed to various persons.

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M. d' Imbize did indeed come at four in morning to M. de la Noue and told him of this alleged excitement among the people, signifying to him that he must mount at once, without considering that he had had the fever badly. M. de la Noue offered little opposition, knowing the temper of the man he had to do with, for he had plenty of instances of similar conduct, as in the case of the Vidame of Chartres, a gentleman of quality, who has suffered much for the Religion, and M. Bonnivet, envoy from M. d' Anjou to those of Ghent; whom he had most uncivilly turned out of the town, and thought to have the latter assassinated on the highroad; and similar violences which he cannot deny. However he would set forth to him the reason of his coming, which was to let him know his Excellency's opinion as to the regulation of the affairs of Flanders; which he rejected without giving any reason, and would not approve at all, though he probably has less experience in such matters than the Prince. But he hardly had the patience to listen. M. de la Noue, as he went away, noticed no alteration in the demeanour of the people, but rather humility and gentleness; save in some of M. d'Imbize's partisans, who would have liked to embitter them contrary to their nature. Indeed, three days later most of them thought they had been called to arms to honour M. de la Noue, and would not believe that it was to turn him out. So the fact remains that he was not the object of the people's suspicion, but the people the unwitting instrument of M. d'Imbize's hatred.

> The letter: And we have since thanked God for the decision which was promptly taken herein;

M. de la Noue thanks God, who has often protected him from the like fury in his enemies, but especially since he has seen that all this fell upon himself alone; for he feared it was devised against sundry notable and innocent persons, against whom some are seeking a very slight pretext like this to banish them. But the reign of violence does not last; it often perishes by its own counsellors.

> The letter: Inasmuch as if the people knew the information we have, but would not divulge, that Count Egmont's proceedings are, like those of Brussels and Ninove, secretly favoured by the Count, even to the point of risking your Excellency, they might have suspected——

This information is as doubtful as the first. But at least he ought to be ashamed to tax his Excellency, by whose guidance God has wrought such deliverances among this people; and to doubt his loyalty ought to be accounted secret treason. It is the artifice of such as would establish themselves in power to make the people believe they have a care of them, by raising such suspicions. But the people ought to believe that he who casts doubts on the honesty of a faithful doctor does not desire their health, but would make profit from their wound like the dishonest barber. He who loves the people makes them obey the laws, yield to all just commands, be gracious to their friends, terrible to their enemies. That is the way to raise them, however low they be. But he who makes them contemptuous of justice and suspicion of their benefactors

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renders them incapable of self-defence and makes them a prey to their foes. That is not the way to smash the Walloons.

> The letter: that M. de la Noue had come on behalf of your Excellency to take part in it;

M. de la Noue need not be particular (*ne soit* [qy. *se doit*] *pas beaucoup formalizer*) about being slandered when his Excellency is not exempt. Moreover having been named as an accomplice in this action, he can have no better testimony in the eyes of honest people of his loyalty towards the country. Yet being justly pained he must be allowed to say a word for himself. He has left his country and his repose to employ his life and goods in the service of this land, and all men know whether he has spared himself. He has incurred the hate of many great people whose favour might have been of use to him; and slander is a poor return. And what slander? That he is helping to oppress the religion which for twenty years he has been labouring to advance, never by God's grace having flinched or changed? And who utter it? People who have never endured in God's service the least pain in the tip of a finger, and under pretence of the same lord it over others and oppress them; who not long ago were of another religion, and what is worse, since they have boasted of embracing the gospel have condemned some for professing it. Herein surely they show that they have profited little by it, when they try to excuse their bad actions and strengthen their usurped power at the expense of the honour of folk more honest than themselves.

> The letter: whence might have arisen 'alterations' hard to appease.

By these 'alterations' M. de Imbize can only mean that if M. de la Noue had let fall some word displeasing to him he might have been murdered by some of his worthy fanatics.

> The letter: Whereof we though good to advertise your Excellency, that you may know how things have fallen out, to obviate the slanders which are only too commonly disseminated among us. And this letter having no other purpose we pray, etc.—Ghent, 8 July 1579. The aldermen and councillors of the town. (Signed) Campene. 'To his Excellency.'

The only person who slanders the city of Ghent is M. d' Imbize, who ascribes to it all the follies whereby he renders it odious to many, as quite recently by the wrong done in its name (though falsely so) to M. de la Noue.

From the above it is clear that to colour one fault he has to commit a dozen. M. de la Noue intends this answer to apply only to M. d'Imbize and the authors of the letter, knowing well that it was never communicated to the magistrates, any more than the action sought to be excused in it.

Copy. Endd. by L. Tomson. Fr. $7\frac{1}{3}$ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 10.]

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July 12. **8.** Jacques de Somere to Davison.

Since my last letter sent by Mre Geoffroy nothing much has happened here. There is more talk of peace than there was; but letters from Cologne of the 5th inst. mention nothing settled, only good hope. The Duke's negotiation keeps them in play (*en cervelle*).

The enemy has lately shown himself near Brussels. It is not yet known on what side the storm will fall; there are fears for Vilvorde, but there is a pretty good garrison in it. The terror at the capture of Maestricht has passed off quietly enough. The towns are resolved to defend themselves. I think that the trouble the enemy had to take Maestricht will make him slower to attack other places. The massacre was not so great as was reported; there may have been 300 or 400 killed in the tumult (*furie*). The women and children have been pardoned, the rest of the citizens and the soldiers are still prisoners and are held to ransom. Their neighbours will not desert them for want of a little money after they have done so well.

The people of Oudenarde turned out the priests 3 or 4 days ago, and the same has happened at Dunkirk, Vueren and Bergues, but with no great disorder or pillage; so that Flanders is purged again of that vermin. It remains to re-establish justice, especially in the capital, where it has fallen very low. M. de la Noue was greatly wronged there five or six days back by M. d'Imbize, who caused him to leave the town, making him believe that the people distrusted him, and therefore were in arms; while on the contrary the people knew nothing about it, but were persuaded that they were in arms to do him honour. He is much annoyed with this way of going on and disgusted with the affairs of Flanders. I think he will quit them altogether, to the great regret of all honest poople.—Antwerp, 12 July 1579.

Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 11.]

July 13. **9.** Rossel to Walsingham.

Finding an opportunity of writing to you from this place, Bruges, by favour of a French gentleman lodging where I do, at the Crown, on business, so far as I have observed, I have risked this. It is only to let you know of the fortunate decease of the Prince of Parma, according to a letter from his Excellency to '*Messieurs de Bruges.*' It mentions that a person who seen the body assured him of his death, owing to suffocation from a spitting and vomiting of blood. God's recompense to tyrants. I had heard some time ago that ill-will was growing against him (*l'on lui bâtissait un mauvais talent*); he has got it at last. It is thought his successor will be Count Mansfeldt, governor of Luxembourg, a sworn foe to the town of Brussels, the siege of which he seems to design; all the Spanish forces being before it, between Diest, Tillemont, and Louvain. This requires consideration after a siege in which they have received such loss as you may see from the enclosed list, without reckoning the powder and ammunition, as well as provisions for a new siege, which it seems impossible they can obtain, and considering that in our time we have rarely seen two towns besieged in the

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same season, or the same year, besides that the town is furnished with 20 ensigns, and with ammunition and victuals in plenty, and sure of those of the union, and of Antwerp and Ghent especially, doing all they can in its aid, without reckoning sundry volunteers who have resolved to enter the town, among whom is M. de la Noue, although he is busy here setting all Flanders in order. To which end I have been sent to reduce the French to five ensigns under M. de Mouy, and march them to where they are needed. Arrangements have been made for Bruges, where Colonel Balfour will remain with six ensigns of Scots and some horse. Ypres too will be manned with Scots, as also Courtray and Oudenarde. In each of these towns and others on the frontier of the malcontents, 'Paternosters' as they are called, there will be garrisons for defensive war. The offensive will be in Brabant.

The Antwerp people have provided for the ordinary maintenance of eight thousand pressed men and 3,000 horse, to be paid monthly. The people of Ghent continue their insolences, and make many ill-wishers (*gens mal à propos*).

We have fears for Mechlin, which seems shaky and disposed to patronize the enemy. M. de Bours shows himself far too unsteady. It is said that the enemy has announced free traffic with the people of Mechlin. Anyhow, Dr. Sille, secretary of state, sent to reclaim them, is still there. On his return, we shall know their intentions.

All this time we are awaiting some disjointed peace. His Excellency said on Thursday that the Duke of Terranova had agreed to the *religions vrede* at Antwerp, Ghent, and Utrecht, and that there was a hope that he would consent to it wherever it was received. This is of necessity if he aims at peace. For myself I think these are pretences to gain time and further their designs. They may be mistaken, for progress is made with the election and summoning of M. d'Alençon, whose cause many support, not the generality. For my part, I think it impossible.

We have letters that Artois and Hainault desire reunion, and ask for a place to be fixed for a conference. It is said it will be Tournay.—Bruges, 13 July 1579.

P.S.—I forgot to tell you that we shall have to-night, or to-day, some fresh excitement in imitation [*or* on the invitation] of Antwerp, to which those of the place wish to conform, and to retain only fifteen *pbrē* [*qy.* priests]; some of the magistrates, recognised as pernicious, being suspended for enquiry.

Add. Endd. Fr. 3 *pp.* [*Ibid. XII.* 12.]

July 13. **10.** List of English subjects who have been spoiled by French pirates since July 1562, with the nature and amounts of their losses. Thomas Wilson; William Maynard; John Carr of Bristol; Peter Honning, Thomas Harding, and William Dixon; John Foxall; 'Lady Preston's children spoiled of their apparel' (Sep. 1558); John Hunwick of Colchester; Hector Nunez, 'out of a hulk called the *Prodigal Child*'; Martin Welsh and Thomas Wise; John Fryer;

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Anthony Anderson; John Polkynhorne and John Nicholl of Cornwall; John Penhelicke and Robert Tressise; William Keeling; Edward Johnson; Thomas Barrett and Thomas Sells; William Jowett; Anthony Ratcliff; George Etheridge (ship, *the Christ*); the *William* of London; John Watson, in the *Bark Buckston*; Robert Tyndale; Richard Raynolds; William Bond; Robert Gregory; Richard Sedgwick; Thomas King; Walter Jobson; William Nutshawe; Thomas Warcop; Edmund Baylie and Henry White; Anthony Ratcliff (again); William Shacroste; William Body; Bernard Field; Dunstan Anys; Christopher Dambroke; Fowlke Aldersey; Thomas Deaconson; Henry Prannell; William Courtney; Randoll Hankye; Peter de Perrye, denizen; William Thomas; 'in July 1576 a ship called the *Antelope*, belonging to Anthony Garrett, Thomas Bromley, and Robert Howe, freighted in Barbary with sugar and other commodities by Matthew Field, Arthur Dawbury, Edmund Huggin and others, was piratuously taken and spoiled by two ships set forth by Charles du Boys, captain, of Newhaven, one Malyard being captain of one of the said ships'; Richard Jervis; Henry Sackford and Alderman Pulison; Thomas Sterkey, Alderman, and William Sybons; Simon Knight; Edward Chester and Andrew Barker, Thomas Pollington, John Illcombe, 'spoiled by Nepevill'; John Ford and John Bird; John Norris of Barnstaple; John Sutton; Stephen Davis; Valentine Tuck; John Carew (ship, the *Temperance*); Jasper Lambert; Thomas James and Henry Jolliff; William Linday; the *Greyhound* of Bristol, laden with 'secks, oils, cochianils, and other rich commodities'; Richard Skofield and Thomas Wilkin; Oliff Burr; the *Robert* of Bristol; the *Conie* of Bristol; Edward Charter; Peter Newall. Total sum, £70,948 5*s.* 7*d.*

Endd.: An abridgement of a complaint by his Majesty's subjects for spoils done by the French, etc. 9 *pp.* [*France III.* 27.]

[July.] **11.** A *similar, but not identical, statement in French; with a further list of cases in which compensation has been made to French owners for goods taken by English pirates. Endd.*: The spoils done to sundry Englishmen by the French, whereof as yet has been no recompense, restitution, or redress. Entered Lib. Pirat. fol. 37. *Fr.* 13 *pp.* [*Ibid. III.* 28.]

July 14. **12.** Poulet to Walsingham.

Being given to understand on the 5th inst. that the King and his brother intended to ride to Saint-Germain-en-Laye within two days, and desiring to testify my thankfulness for their favour towards me in my late sickness, the one having visited me by his secretary and the other in person, I would not fail to ask audience of them both; the more willingly upon hope by this occasion to feel somewhat of their inclination in other things.

My audience was appointed for the next day, at which time I declared to the King that though I was very willing to see him often, thereby to be informed of his good health, the news of which was always acceptable to her Majesty, I was not ignorant that I should offend greatly to seek to have access to him without some reasonable

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occasion. And being loth to be found so arrogant as to do more than my duty required, I should be no less sorry to be so negligent as to leave undone what it commanded. I had therefore prayed audience expressly to thank him for his favour extended to me in my sickness, which being such as in reason I could not expect, confirmed me in my opinion of his singular attention to my sovereign, as the only root of his careful remembrance of her ministers. I added some other ceremonies and received the like with great plenty of fair words, which need not be here recited. I had already written and said enough, in my opinion, touching the contents of her Majesty's late letter, and therefore thinking that my importunacy might be drawn into suspicion if I should repeat it, I had resolved to leave those matters untouched. But the King, calling to remembrance, as I take it, my late conversation with M. Brulart, told me of his own motion that whatever became of this marriage his good affection to her Majesty would be no way diminished, and that his brother thought the time long till their interview were performed.

'God forbid,' quod I, 'that this friendly meeting, grounded upon so good and godly meaning, should breed any discontent between the two realms.' Touching the interview, I said that Monsieur had said no less to me, but could not appoint any certain time for his departure.

'You know,' says the King, 'that these great voyages require great preparation, and therefore the certain time cannot be "termed" without good deliberation.'

'And yet,' quod I, 'I doubt not but your Majesty can guess near about the time when your brother will be ready to start.'

'I will tell you,' says the King; 'the truth is that I have dispatched Maintenon, my chief harbinger' (commonly called here *Maréchal du logis du roy*) 'towards my mother, and upon his return the matter shall be resolved.'

The King had altered his mind so plainly, and if I be not deceived so agreeably to his meaning, that I did not think good to urge him further. Then I took occasion to move him for Mr Warcop, and told him that after all these fair promises, and after his express command given by mouth to the chief President of the Exchequer, and acknowledged by the President to my secretary, his letters patent were nevertheless again rejected, a matter touching him greatly in honour, and could not (*sic*) be well liked of her Majesty. The King seemed to be highly offended, and said he would make them know he was their king and not their 'vallet' and would be obeyed; and forthwith commanded a gentleman to accompany my secretary to Chiverny, to request him to take such order with the Presidents that his command might be duly executed. I was so bold as to tell the King that after the refusal of five such patents I had no 'comfort' to deal any more with the Presidents, and therefore besought him to address me to some Treasurer, which was the only way of expedition. The King answered that he would be 'so content' if the ordinary course of action would so permit; praying me to try these Presidents once again upon his word, and

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I should not repent it. Indeed the trial is to be in eight or ten days, and therefore after the loss of six or seven years in this suit, the hazard of a few days cannot greatly import.

When I had ended with the King I was conveyed to Monsieur, unto whom I rendered all thanks possible, with all the good words I could devise. I had long speech with his Highness, and he used me with great favour. He moved no matter touching her Majesty, and I did not think good to 'provoke' him.

Bellegarde has advertised that his only object in his doings in Saluces was to be revenged on Carlo Birague for some private quarrel between them, and if he were not molested in his government he would remain a true servant and faithful subject to the Crown of France; 'and,' says he to the messenger, 'if the king seeks to remove me by force, behold there one, behold there another' (pointing to two strangers) 'sent to me from the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé to assure me of the succour of those of the Religion.' The King of Navarre and Prince of Condé assure the king of the contrary and pray him to consider how unlikely it is that they would enter into any society where the King of Spain and Duke of Savoy have any part or portion, which seems manifest in this practice. I am assured that the king has said this much to a great personage. By the last messengers we hear that Bellegarde has dismissed those of the Religion who came to his succour, reserving only necessary forces to withstand all 'sodaines,' and promises to remain a faithful subject. Mandelot, governor of Lyons, had assembled some forces, which now are discharged. There is no doubt that Bellegarde is dissembling with the king, and it seems no less certain that the king, constrained by necessity, pays him with like measure. It is believed here, and the king is persuaded, that Bellegarde has been 'relieved' underhand in this enterprise by the Duke of Savoy; who is thought to be offended because the king, having lately renewed his league with the Cantons of Berne and Soleure, has taken Geneva under his protection to such effect as may be seen by this 'abstract' of a letter written by M. de Bèze, viz.:

> 'Geneva, 24 June.—The alliance between the king and the Cantons of Berne and Soleure is passed. Geneva is comprised so far as regards the defence of it *in statu quo* against all and sundry, and on condition that nothing shall be done prejudicial to the Religion, nor to those who have withdrawn or shall hereafter withdraw on account of it.'

I am promised the articles of this contract very shortly. It is supposed that Bellegarde has strait intelligence with those of Provence and Dauphiné, and I think I may affirm it.

M. Beauvais, sent long since into Portugal, returned hither last week. He reports very honourably of his entertainment and has been presented with a chain of 4,000 crowns. He has said to a great personage, and his dear friend, that the King of Portugal is very weak, and that his last day in this world seems to be at hand, and he thinks assuredly that the kingdom of Portugal will fall to the

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King of Spain. He says that the judges appointed for the decision of all titles will be won, if they are not already, to be wholly at his devotion. I had long talk yesterday with the ambassador of Portugal, who wishes me to assure myself that nothing less is intended, and that the Portuguese will die to the last man before they will admit the Spaniards. But their high words will not prevail against so near a neighbour and so powerful an enemy.

The preparations in Italy continue, and the Italians here judge that the preparation is for Africa.

The Sophy is very strong in the field, and yet there is treaty of peace between him and the Turk.

One arrived yesterday from Simier; I understand it was he that was hurt in England. He says du Vray will be here in two or three days.

The Lord of 'Albrothe,' elder brother of the Hamiltons, passed from London as a Frenchman, with a packet from the French ambassador, and has been presented by the Archbishop of Glasgow to the king and Monsieur. The younger brother is said to be gone to Flanders.

You cannot be ignorant of such messengers as are sent to this Court from the Low Countries. Harangier, assistant to Pruneaux, arrived within these four days, and I hear is authorized to make great proffers to Monsieur. On account of the king's absence last week he only speaks with him to-day. I am promised by a good friend to be informed of all details to-morrow.—Paris, 14 July 1579.

P.S.—Few here have any hope that this king will ever be so happy as to put his foot again into the Marquisate of Saluces.

Add. Endd. 4 *pp.* [*France III.* 29.]

July 15. **13.** Permission to John Pond, priest, of the diocese of Winchester, to visit the Holy Sepulchre and other places of the Holy Land in discharge of a vow, 'so long as he does not carry forbidden things to the parts of the infidels.' *Noted in the Pope's autograph*: Fiat ut petit. U. [*i.e.* Ugo Buoncompagno], *and*: Fiat. U.—At St. Peter's in Rome, Ides of July in the eighth year. *On the back*: Miletus.

Latin. ½ *p.* [*Italy I.* 1.]

July 17. **14.** The Marquis of Havrech to Davison.

You may remember that when you left this town I asked you to see that my obligations for £5,000, which I gave in my own name, were returned to me, and you promised your assistance. Not having received them up to now, I must trouble you again with a request to get it done; especially since there is no one (*nulluy*) who can bear better witness than you to the fact of the States' obligations having been sent to England, whereby mine are set free, and ought to be returned to me to be cancelled.—Antwerp, 17 July 1579. (*Signed*) Charles Phîes de Croy.

Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 13.]

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15. Fremyn to Davison.

I have been a long time at Brussels, which is the reason why I have not written to you. You know what is the state of things here; it gets worse every day. Since the taking of Maestricht, which was the 29th, the enemy has undertaken nothing. Some 57 soldiers and two captains have been seen, escaped from Maestricht; each has been given two months' pay. Some 200 are still prisoners there, waiting for money to pay their ransom. Captain Brusby is a prisoner, with eight English soldiers. Captain Bastien's daughter arrived from Maestricht yesterday. She says that her father is a prisoner and that the Spaniards will not hold him to ransom. Count John has surprised a little town in Gueldres, called Utticum or Uttigham, where one Schenk, who had deserted the States' party, was raiding Gueldres and doing a great deal of pillaging. He is a nobleman of the country and has a strong castle there. In the town above-named he had collected a regiment and two cornets of horse. His Excellency had a letter about it yesterday. Courcebacht behaved bravely in the enterprise. All the reiters that were in Gueldres have been distributed through the towns, also infantry according to the importance of the places, for it is thought that the enemy will prosecute the war in those parts, on account of the facility offered by the water for transporting artillery and provisions. For the towns in this part, the English will be put in garrison at Lierre and Vilvorde, the French at Herentals, Stewart's Scots at Brussels. They are still round this town, not without great complaints of the mischief and pillage done by the soldiers. To-day they should have one month's pay. There has been great discontent on both sides; yesterday the Scots demanded their dismissal, for they would not be humbugged any longer.

M. de la Noue left this town yesterday for Flanders, to appease the French, who were demanding their dismissal, and to reduce the three regiments to 15 ensigns, not more than one regiment, which M. de Mouy will command.

There is news that the Malcontents have defeated a company of mounted men from Ghent; and that the King of Spain has confirmed the treaty which they negotiated with the Prince of Parma; to which end the States of Artois met on the 12th inst. When it comes to publishing it, Valenciennes and several other towns of Hainault will by no means separate from the generality, although they have had three months to think about it, according to the articles of Artois.

Of the peace of Cologne there is little appearance; save that the Deputies will soon start on their journey hither with nothing done. Then we shall see what steps the States will take to carry out their promise to Monsieur, whose ambassador is still waiting on them.

Last Friday the hostages from Mechlin, who were imprisoned because the commissioners sent by the States to Mechlin had been made prisoners though furnished with passports, were released.

All are now released on both sides, and the people of Mechlin have promised that in the event of the enemy approaching their

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town, they will admit any garrison that the States please; but they do not wish to have the *religions vrede* in their town. Nor do those of Bois-le-duc, who are mutinous.

Any service I can do you here, I shall be happy to do.—Antwerp, 19 July 1579.

P.S.—My greeting to M. de Sidene [Sidney]. M. de Bours is very unwell just now at Mechlin, *pour avoir trop cour* (sic) *de postes avec sa nouvelle mariée.*

Add. Fr. 1¾ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 14.]

July 20. **16.** The Governor and Corporation of Mechlin to the Prince of Orange.

About six weeks ago events showed that those of Antwerp, the garrison of Vilvorde and Willebroek, and the admiral sent to those parts from your Excellency, treated us as sworn foes; and that all our protestations and assurances to the contrary, to the point of sending hostages from the Corporation of this town (who under far-fetched pretexts have been ill-treated in a way unbefitting their quality) could not remove the impression wrongly conceived of us. We see no means of coming back to the good graces of Antwerp but by flinging ourselves into the abyss of disorder into which they have fallen, or by receiving into our city the wolves who are ready to raven on us. Preferring death to this, and seeing on the other side his Majesty opening to us his arms of clemency and kindness, with the offer of a secure peace, the sole condition being the observance of the Catholic religion and the obedience due to him, two points wherein we were born and to which we lately swore in the Pacification of Ghent, we have this day in a meeting of the Corporation of the town unanimously resolved to embrace his offer, and fall into line with those of Artois, Hainault, Lille, Douay and Orchies. Of this we would not fail to inform you, in order that you may kindly see that our hostages, men and women, are not maltreated when the rumour of it first reaches Antwerp. Those from Antwerp whom we have here will receive reciprocal treatment and shall be returned when ours are returned to us.

Copy. Endd. in Italian. Fr. 1½ *pp.* [*Ibid. XII.* 15.]

17. *Another copy of the same. Fr.* 1 *p.* [*Ibid. XII.* 15*a*.]

18. *Another copy. Fr.* 1 *p.* [*Ibid. XII.* 15*b*.]

July 20. **19.** Petition of Joachim Faggott to the Lords of the Council.

Whereas the King of Denmark addressed letters to the Queen for restitution of certain piracy committed in his streams upon certain merchants 'trading his country Island,' by a ship of Mr Henry Sackford, upon which you have not only written to the Judge of the Admiralty, but commanded him to examine the cause so that you might understand the truth of it, and certify you as to his

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opinion of the law therein for the king's satisfaction; which cause has been examined and the truth certified by the Judge, and since Mr Sackford's answer, and any reply, sent by the Judge to you; and forasmuch as I can come by no satisfaction or answer that will certify [*qy.* satisfy] the king's expectation, all this while hoping for a determination at your hands, which I humbly crave of you, or else that you would be a 'mean' to the Queen to write some manner of answer to the king's letter; or if this does not please you, then to give me leave to signify the king how far I have proceeded by your directions, and what proof I have found in the cause; for as I have no commission from him to deal otherwise than by petition, so I should be loth to deal so hardly with Mr Sackford as to endanger him by the law, if I may otherwise come by satisfaction, considering the tediousness of the law, the time now overpast in hope of satisfaction, and his place about her Majesty; 'who' can no wise be touched or impeached without her consent, which I dare not attempt to procure without the king's commission.

Endd. by Wilson, with date. Broadsheet. [*Denmark I.* 7.]

20. List of those killed (*qui sont demourés*) before Maestricht up to June 22, not counting those who fell afterwards.

Don Henrico de Mendoza and Don Hernando Mendoza.

Don Francisco d'Avoigna.

Felix, doctor and confessor to the Spaniards.

The lieutenant of Duke Francis of Saxony, buried at Tongres.

M. d'Anselle, M. Willan, M. Cressin, Burgundians.

Captain Dondasco, Captain Don Pedro Guzman.

Captain Gonsalez de Sanagenada, Captain Sorcio.

Captain Amator de la Loncha, Colonel Cretz, Jeronimo de Cordova, Colonel don Hernando del Fio, Signor Fabio Forneza [Farnese], Knight of Malta, cousin to the Prince of Parma; Count Guido di San Giorgio, Conrad Marquis of Malaspina, a Venetian; Marquis Antonio Toriselli, engineer; Liasco Cura and Captain d'Aguilar, a field-engineer; Dominico de Romano, M. Charles Benchi, translator to his Excellency; Captain Felice and Captain Ortis, the Count of Barlaymont (Count Hierges), Count Hannibal of 'Haltahemps,' Captain Herman of Balaymont [*al.* Barnamont]; M. Voisin, lieutenant to Baron de Chemeraulx, Captain Hodaghez.

The Prince of Parma, commander-in-chief, who is said to be certainly dead.

Add. to Mr William Davison, Esquire, at his house in Wood Street; (*the writing of both copies is that of one of his late clerks*). *Fr.* 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 16.]

July 20. **21.** *Another copy. Endd.*: 20 July 1579. The men of name slain before Mastricht. [*Ibid. XII.* 16*a*.]

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July 23. **22.** Rossel to Walsingham.

When the ordinary post passed through Bruges, I was gone to Rollet, a village and fort abandoned by the Malcontent Walloons (who are now called Paternosters). Into this place M. de la Noue has thrown eight companies of Scots. The other six will remain at Bruges, where their presence has been very necessary in order to guard it from the enemy's designs and to maintain it against the papistical oppression of the refugee priests who were plotting against their own magistrates, which was followed by exemplary punishment in the case of one citizen, a goldsmith, who was executed on Saturday the 9th. Three others will undergo the same penalty in a few days. Meanwhile to take the order requisite in Flanders, his Excellency will repair to Bruges; where the four Members will meet to reunite those of Ghent, being divided by factions, and also to renew the magistrature and have in command others than that passionate and ambitious Hembize. He has by his discourtesy driven from the town all strangers, even to M. de la Noue himself, M. d'Argenlieu and other captains of note who have done service both to the public weal and to the city of Ghent; whereby they are greatly offended. This will at the same time consolidate the Union of Utrecht, for the supply of contributions necessary for the war. Those of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland have already agreed to 200,000 florins a month for their quota. Those of Antwerp will maintain 8,000 foot and 3,000 horse. They have drawn up a statement showing that since war began with Don John they have supplied 1,300,000 florins as their share.

If the Ghent people can be put right, those of Bruges will as I perceive take possession of the Liberty, and bring the province which is divided from their town into union with it as in time past. They maintain that they have a lawful occasion to do this since some of the nobility and some of the College of the Liberty are found to be accomplices in the plot. Then they will dispense the money from the assessment more liberally. The people of Bruges have already undertaken by themselves the maintenance of the Scots and French when they have been reduced as is planned.

Some French captains have lately come to the Prince, and have offered to bring 15 ensigns, which are all ready. I think this is a levy under colour of M. d'Alençon's coming into this realm. He desires 'our' marriage as much as or I dare say even more than that with the Queen. The fact is that being told that some of those captains are those of Colonel Combel, who was first sent into Hainault by Monsieur, and recognising them as great Papists, I find them suspicious; for I have had a letter from Antwerp, from a person pretty intimate with M. des Pruneaux, who tells me that he is much vexed to see the resolution for peace so long delayed; that in the meantime his master is ready, and has forces more than sufficient to drive out the Spanish foe. This last is still about Maestricht where he is holding a muster with subsequent intentions on Zutphen, where it is thought there is misunderstanding. Others opine they will fall upon Brussels, after taking steps to admit their chief, who will it is said be Ottavio Gonzaga.

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Count Mansfeldt with three regiments of Walloons and Burgundians is said to be coming with Montigny his son-in-law and Egmont. He has already arrived at Mons, where the Spaniards who accompanied him were—a monstrous thing—caressed and welcomed.

Anyhow, I have seen an interpreted letter from Lille, written by a gentleman of quality to a friend of his, assuring him that he knew of no safe place to retreat to, seeing that the treaty of peace entered into by those of Artois and Hainault was executed in no point, especially the chief one relating to the withdrawal of the Spaniards. This being perceived by those of Mechlin, who were inclined to accept the treaty, they have changed their mind and admitted a garrison, it is said of La Garde's regiment. I had thought it would be Scots or English, but they will be at Lyre and Breda, Stewart at Brussels, the others at Vilvorde.

You will have heard how Marshal Bellegarde, governor in Languedoc has seized the Marquisate of Saluces, where he is backed by the Duke of Savoy. I expect it is a Spanish device to divert the French designs. But you will hear details from your ambassador in France.—Bruges, 23 July 1579.

Add. Endd. Fr. 4 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 17.]

July 26. **23.** 'Order thought meet to be put in execution for the avoiding of such depredations as be committed by such as go to sea upon pretence to discover new trade or pretence of other adventures.'

First, that no man set forth, rig, victual, or make ready for sea any ship or other vessel, other than well-known merchants or masters of ships for trade or fishing, except they shall have and show special warrant and license from her [*alt. to* his] Majesty or from six of the lords and others of her Privy Council at the least, to pass for service of her [his] Majesty or else for the discovery of some new trade; which shall be granted only upon good bonds with sureties to be given in the Court of the Admiralty for their and their companies' good behaviour on the voyage both toward her [his] Majesty's subjects and those of all other princes with whom she is in amity, and shall be testified and shown to the officers of the port where the ship is laden.

And for the better execution of these premises, that the Vice-Admiral and Commissioners for matters of piracy in every county shall call before them the principal officers of every town corporate where any principal haven or port is, and take bond of them yearly at the feast of St. Michael in the sum of £500 at least, on condition that they shall not permit any ship to be rigged or victualled, or pass to sea out of that port except it be set forth by well-known merchants, or by special warrant, as above. And in the mean time until the said bonds are taken, it is thought meet that you notwithstanding cause the said officers to come before you, and charge them in her Majesty's name as they will answer it at their peril, to have no less regard to the due observation of the premises than if the bonds were taken of them.

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And lest any vessel pass out of any creeks or other places where there are no officers incorporated, the Vice-Admiral and Commissioners shall charge the officers in the said creeks, and appoint such and so many honest, discreet, and trusty persons dwelling in or near the creeks or places not corporate as they shall think necessary, to have care and charge both to stay the rigging and passage of such vessels, and from time to time to certify the Vice-Admiral and Commissioners where any vessel is rigging or preparing to pass any way thence. For better performing whereof the lord or lords of the soil where any such creeks are, being resident in the county shall enter into bond to her [his] Majesty's use for the observation of the order above-mentioned. And in case they shall reside out of the county, then their constable, bailiff, or rent-gatherer shall enter into the bond. And the officers of her [his] Majesty's customs-houses in the said ports shall be bound to see due execution of the orders, not only in the ports, but also in such creeks as are members of the ports.

And because it has been certified that in some maritime counties of this realm there have been erected in divers creeks brew-houses, slaughter-houses, and store-houses to no other end but to maintain traffic with pirates, whereby they have been greatly relieved, the Commissioners should have an especial care to see that no such houses be abused as heretofore, but rather utterly demolished, unless they can be converted to some more lawful use. For the performance of which it will be expedient that the owners shall be bound to their well-using.

And in order that such as go forth to trade shall not be 'impeached,' or taken as adventurers and so be stayed in ports or other places within or without the realm, every such ship shall have letters testimonial under the Great Seal of the Court of Admiralty or of the Vice-admiral of the port and the officers of the custom-houses in the place whence it shall pass; or in ports exempted from the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, under the seal of the Mayor or head officer and the officers of the custom-house, testifying to what country and to what purpose it has been 'set forth,' as has been accustomed of old time. And if any officers shall testify for any other than known merchants, they to be subject for the same punishment as is before limited for others in like case. [*Marginal note in later hand*: q^re^ what punishment.]

And that these orders may be duly executed, the Commissioners shall repair to some one, two or three convenient meeting-places within the said counties and take account of their deputies of every such haven, creek, or landing-place, how they have performed the charge committed to them, at least once in every two months; and there occasion shall be offered, and in such order and sort as by the Commission is appointed, to cause 'quests' to be impanelled for the examining of such things as shall be incident for that time, and for all other things done by them in execution of the Commission and for the redress of piracies, before the end of the said two months.

And that their service may be the better performed, such like allowance shall be made to the Commissioners out of the fines levied

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on offenders, as the justices of the peace are allowed by statute at the time of the assemblies at the Quarter Sessions.

Draft, with corrections in Walsingham's hand. Endd.: Means devised for the avoiding of piracies, 26 July 1579; *and below*: Entered in French in the beginning of the book delivered to Sir H Cobham in his going into France, fol. 26. 6 *pp.* [*France III.* 30.]

July 26. **24.** H. B. to Davison.

Even if I wished to write you all the occurrences and alterations which every day brings forth, I could not do so, for since the taking of Maestricht the whole country is in commotion, and the foolish people are daily betaking themselves to division and discord, so that we are giving the enemy, who is quite sharp enough of himself without our giving him an opening, every opportunity to make himself master of one and the other part.

The town of Mechlin, following the fortunes of the winner, five days ago declared itself on the enemy's side, saying that it was reconciled to the king; and has thereupon written to his Excellency and the States, reproaching them with the excesses of their Government, with a shameful roll of ten thousand insults.

By an express messenger sent yesterday to his Excellency from Brussels we hear that the whole place is in arms, and that most of the citizens are ranged against Col. 'Temple' and his regiment, to make them leave the town. If they succeed that town also will no doubt make terms with the enemy. All these troubles are coming on us from a despair of help when need shall require, with this fine example (*miroir*) of Maestricht before people's eyes.

A report is current here, without however any certain author, that Bois-le-duc has admitted a garrison from the States of Holland, but I cannot believe it without confirmation.

The alleged reconciliation of Artois and Hainault, though quite confirmed, has not yet been published.

The States of Holland and Zealand have raised a new regiment of infantry, owing to some suspicion that the war will come their way again.

Three days ago some 12 or 13 ensigns from Ghent got a good beating from the Malcontents near Nynhoven.

It is said that Guelders and Friesland have certainly sent their deputies to Cologne with protestations of their wish to adhere to the pacification of Ghent without modification. The Duke of Terranova with the king's other commissioners at Cologne have somewhat softened their articles, so that there is at this moment better hope of peace than ever before. It it does not take effect, there seems great likelihood that the States will consign the country into the hands of the Duke of Alençon accepting him as their lord and absolute prince. M. Blyleven told a friend of mine lately, in the way of familiar conversation, that he was finely afraid we should

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all become French; and I can assure you that if ever there was likelihood of it, or a time fitted to it, it is now, when an incredible fear and utter despair has seized men's hearts, not only among the commons but among those who by their example and assured countenance ought to give courage to others and seek every means of repairing matters. This they fail to do, as though they were thunderstruck and had lost their wits, and knew not what to resolve. To say nothing of a Christian prince, I believe that the Turk would be welcome here if he would secure them against the enemy and his satellites, that they should not fall again into the hands of the insolent Spaniard.

For his warlike preparations in Portugal the king has raised six regiments of Germans under the command of the Count of Lodron. They have passed muster in Piedmont, whence they have passed into Italy to be transported to Spain.—Antwerp, 26 July 1579.

P.S.—The reason I have not written by the two last posts was was that I was in Holland about Mr Carriel's business. I hope you will not be offended; it shall be my last offence. The cause was that I might better maintain myself here. If I have neglected to write, I will with greater diligence 'restore the same.'

Mr Gilpin 'hath him commended' to you, and wished me to write that he would gladly have answered your man's letter by this post, but his affairs of the company offer him no time at present. By the next, he will see it answered.

Add. The writer (apparently a Fleming) wrote Davison's drafts of April 1 *and* 13, *Nos.* 638 *and* 658 *in the last Calendar. Fr. P.S. in English.* 2½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 18.]

July 26. **25.** Villiers to Davison.

I am sending several letters which I have received for you. Others I have sent already; I do not know if you received them, or whether you are at Court or in the country. You have heard of the taking of Maestricht. The soldiers are returning thence day by day; there are quite 200 of them in this town. Octavio Gonzaga has written to his Excellency about an exchange, for we have many prisoners also. This has been granted in the case of private soldiers; for captains, individual cases are considered. It is likely that they will not leave the Meuse, and so will go to Venlo. As regards the peace, the other side have in their last articles offered the Religion in Holland and Zealand and not elsewhere, and in pursuance of the Pacification of Ghent; on condition that papacy be restored there and that the placards be suspended till a meeting of the Estates has been held in a free place and their modification discussed. For the rest all fortresses are to be replaced in the king's hands.

This town and Brussels have joined the union; Ypres and Bruges will soon do the like. But the ordinary difficulty, of the sinews of war, remains. The Gantois go on. They made a levy of peasants, who were straightway defeated. The Prince sent them orders by

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M. de la Noue, to leave off; Embize turned him out, having armed the people in the middle of the night, they knowing nothing of the farce.

My wife and I and Marie commend ourselves to you and your wife.—Antwerp, 26 July 1579.

Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 19.]

July 28. **26.** Rossel to Walsingham.

My long stay in Flanders is the reason why my correspondence has been interrupted and that I cannot tell you what is going on so easily as in Antwerp. In my last, of the 22nd, I thanked you for so kindly keeping her Majesty in mind of me, as was shown in the contents of your letter of the 4th; and also told you of what had befallen at Bruges, and other details. The State is always being troubled by the divisions that daily supervene. The town of Mechlin has separated from the generality, having accepted the same terms as Artois and Hainault. I hear that Bois-le-duc will do the same. Every effort is being made to bring the towns into the union of Utrecht. Bruges accepted it last Friday. Those of Ghent, foreseeing that their affairs will turn out badly, have sent deputies to Bruges to take counsel with the members in regard to a head and commander, being minded to nominate and accept the Prince. But seeing that he cannot desert Brabant, they are anxious to make the nomination if only that they may have a lieutenant for the war. I understand they are afraid to receive M. de la Noue owing to the distrust they have of the French.

On Friday the malcontent Walloons after taking the castle of Moqueron resolved to relieve M. d'Egmont's castle of Sottenghien. This having been besieged by the Gantois, battered with four guns, was taken and burnt by them the same day at 4 P.M., but was quickly avenged by the Walloons; who having marched in all haste with 24 ensigns of foot and 600 horse, so furiously charged the Gantois, numbering about 14 ensigns and 300 horse, that they were routed in a moment, without even time to take their arms. There were left dead 400 or 500, and all the baggage seized, with 200 wagons. This is what usually happens to people who want to manage their affairs without counsel or advice. Hembise is said to be so perplexed by this incident, owing to the murmurs of the people, that he is fallen sick to death. The Prince is very angry with him both on his own account and for the affront put on M. de la Noue and his followers, who were put out of the town without a hearing to give the reason of their coming. The cause was an intercepted letter of one Arengier, secretary to M. d'Alençon, who wrote to M. de la Noue that he need but seize Ghent to facilitate M. d'Alençon's reception in those parts, and that they were sure of the other towns. This will cause much jealousy and apprehension to many others, whatever all the leaders of the faction may contrive; and I am sure that even if he is received by the States, the people will not agree, were it only that the people were satisfied with the marriage with her Majesty, which even the French say is broken off, owing to his desire to assist this country, in favour of which, and with a view to coming, he is raising

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men in great number. The people here perceiving the schemes of the French are tired of serving and desire to be discharged. Nevertheless out of complaisance to M. de la Noue they have agreed to let him keep 6 ensigns; for which purpose and to discharge them and pay them off, I am starting to-morrow for Loo, a little town in the district of Furnes, where they are.

If I knew that her Majesty would like his reception supported, I think I could further it as no other could in Flanders and Brabant. Hitherto I have opposed it in her service and that of the country, and will do so till I have better instructions. Du Plessis, la Noue, and the reverend Mr Villiers are being declaimed against at Ghent and elsewhere. Most of the French captains and soldiers of the Religion impute to them their bad treatment; either good or harm will come to individuals, if they are cashiered, which seems to me necessary both to stop the designs of one party and to benefit others. M. d'Argenlieu has taken sides with the Gantois and opposes the reception of M. d'Alençon, backed by others of my acquaintance. Thereby the Prince is offended, as also M. de la Noue. Here are combinations and factions so strange that it is hard to relate them.

I told you in my last how Marshal Bellegarde had seized the Marquisate of Saluces. He has paid all his men in double pistoles after the fashion of M. de la Motte; which makes the king [*i.e.* of France] think they are Spanish money, and discontents him so that he seems to have a resentment against Spain, both on this ground and for the bad treatment at the Spanish Court of a gentleman sent by him to Portugal, who was forced to return by sea.—Bruges, 28 July 1579.

P.S.—Kindly let me have an answer on the subject I have mentioned.

Add. Endd. Fr. 3 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 20.]

July 31. **27.** POULET to the QUEEN.

Having access to the king on the 28th inst. I told him I was very sorry to have so just cause to complain of his ministers and thought that he would take no great pleasure to be advertised thereof. If the wrong touched myself only, I could bear it with patience; but I said it reached to your Majesty, and perhaps he himself had his part in it. I told him that following his command I had delivered his letters patent to the Presidents of the Exchequer; and as he had told me in my last audience that he would make them know he was their king and would be obeyed, I firmly believed they would not fail to proceed to the verification of his letters. Bailly, the President, to whom the king had signified his pleasure, had done his duty, and prayed the other judges again and again to obey the king's command. In my opinion they had already done more than enough, having rejected his letters patent five sundry times. Notwithstanding, they had now refused them the sixth time. This money was long since promised to your Majesty by la Mothe-Fénelon, and since by la Mauvissière, and now lastly granted in full Council and confirmed by his Majesty. There could be no question now of the equity of the demand, and this long delay was nothing

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but denial of justice. His Majesty was reputed to make great account of his word and promise, even in matters concerning his enemies, and I should be very sorry that your Highness should be the first to have cause to complain of his breach of promise. The consequence of this matter was great, though in itself it seemed to be of small importance, and therefore I besought him to consider of it in equity and reason.

The king answered that the fault was not his, and prayed me so to think of it, affirming that if I had sent to him at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where he then was, he would have taken order herein to my satisfaction, concluding that he would send for the President of the Exchequer and his *Procureur-général* to be with him next morning, and would inform them of his mind so plainly that I should have no cause to return to him again on this matter, and immediately commanded M. Gondi to appoint them to appear before him at the time mentioned. This has been done, though not so soon as was appointed; and as I am informed by M. Gondi, besides the express command of the king given by his own mouth to all the principal ministers of his Exchequer to verify his next letters patent without delay, his Majesty sent them to Monsieur that he also might recommend the cause to them; which was most likely done to bind Mr Warcop to be beholden to Monsieur herein.

Having ended my audience, I did not think it convenient to leave Monsieur unsaluted, especially having just cause to thank him for a late favour used towards me. Passing through the streets in my coach, I met with Monsieur in his 'caroche,' and was saluted by M. Chanvallon, who most likely informed Monsieur that I was passing. Monsieur forthwith sent one of his gentlemen who followed him on horseback, after me, to pray me to think no discourtesy in him that he had not stayed his coach to salute me, which he would have done if he had been sooner informed of me. This extraordinary favour deserved all the thanks that I could give him; and therefore resorting to him I told him that as often as I had audience of the king, I would be bold to present myself to him. If he thought me presumptuous, I begged him to impute the fault to my desire of giving him to know how much I thought myself indebted for the great favour he had in divers ways been pleased to use towards me; concluding that my repair to him at that time was only to thank him for the same, and by the same occasion to be the better informed of his good health, the news of which I knew would be acceptable to your Majesty. I received from him great ordinary compliments of his singular affection towards you, and of his readiness to do any pleasure that he might to any of your ministers, commending him heartily to you.

It is advertised from Turin by letters of the 20th inst., that Bellegarde arrived there on the 19th with 300 horse, and that he himself with 20 gentlemen of his train are defrayed by the Duke of Savoy; the inhabitants of the town having erected a new ward in the market-place for the better safeguard of the person of the said Bellegarde. The Duke of Mayne and his wife were also at Turin.

It has been affirmed here that the Duke of Savoy and his son will meet Queen Mother at Grenoble, where she has now arrived, and

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some say that there is treaty of marriage between the Prince of Piedmont and the younger Princess of Lorraine; and that Saluces may be restored to the Duke of Savoy, because the French have no means to recover it. But this matter of marriage and its sequel is rather guessed than certainly known, and now it grows doubtful whether the Duke of Savoy is coming forward or not.

Messengers pass daily between the king and Queen Mother, and for the last three or four days Villequier has been expected to be dispatched thither. As he is one of the most 'confident' and best beloved, it is thought that the king does not go to Lyons; yet the bruit of his going is common in the Court, though there is no reason to believe it.

It is also given out that Monsieur goes in post towards his mother; but I rather think that his mother will come here to him very shortly, and I am not alone of this opinion.

It was reported from Lyons that the King of Portugal was dead; but the ambassador affirms that he is assured by letters of the 10th ult. that he is in as good health as his old age will permit.

It is advertised by letters from Rome of the 16th ult. that the Spanish army in Italy has as yet touched no money, which moves some doubt what may become of the voyage. But the better opinion is that the preparations are for Portugal, and I perceive that the Ambassador fears it greatly.

It is affirmed for certain that the truce is not concluded between the King of Spain and the Turk. The King of Spain cares less for it because the Turk is 'overlayed' by the Sophy, and therefore no fear of his attempts against Christendom.

It is said that the King of Spain has received 200,000 crowns of the Duke of Florence, 100,000 of which are already on the way towards the Low Countries, and the rest will follow shortly.

The Ambassador of Portugal tells me that he has lately written to your Majesty in favour of some of his countrymen, touching a ship which they allege to have been spoiled by an English gentleman, and would not be satisfied unless I promised to recommend the cause in my next letter.

Bellegarde gives fair words, but does not spare to fortify his towns and to provide all things necessary for his defence. This accident of Saluces so quietly swallowed is said to have bred great discredit to the French king in other countries. But it is certain that the French subjects omit no kind of slanderous speech against the king and his young counsellors, who have the burden of the faults of this time.

Thus I have been tedious to your Majesty, and will conclude with my humble thanks for your gracious letter of the 15th inst. I also thank you for having my revocation in remembrance; wherein I submit myself wholly to your pleasure, although my weak body has great need of the good air of my native country and of some better exercise than is to be had in this prison of Paris.—Paris, the last of July, 1579.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. 4¼ *pp.* [*France III.* 31.]

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Aug. 1. **28.** 'Instructions given to Doine, sent by Marshal Bellegarde to Queen Mother.'

Marshal Bellegarde, having received from Signor Marco de Corton [Marquis of Curton] letters from Queen Mother of the 26th June last, (in which after expressing her fear lest under the pretext of his private quarrel with M. Charles Birague he might be intending to do what was prejudicial to the repose of the realm, she commanded him to meet her at some place on the frontier of Dauphiné, without any company which might cause suspicion), would not fail to send M. Doine [Donine] at once in his name, with orders to thank her for the honour done him by her remembrance of him, as well as for the continuance of her wonted favour and protection discovered in her letters aforesaid, which he regarded as the greatest good that could befal him, never having had aught so much at heart as to show himself her faithful and obliged subject. And to the end that any doubt she had of his sincerity might be cleared up, and that she might not think that his said private quarrel could move him to anything contrary to the service he owed to the king, and at the same time might understand the indignity which he has received and the plots against his honour and his life and against the towns and castles of Carmagnola and Ravel which he is holding, under the name of her son and his uncle, M. Doine will first beseech her Majesty to consider the insolences and malignities which the Marshal is assured she well knows have been going on for five years past, to banish him from the King's favour and hers, and of the ill offices that have been done him through envy of his fortune and his loyalty in all matters wherein he has been employed in the service of the Crown. These artifices have been exercised to render him odious, and cause him to be esteemed unworthy to serve in great and honourable charges wherein their Majesties employed him, both by cutting off of the resources destined for him, or by means of chatter among his subordinates. On the least occasion presenting itself to his enemies, they purposed to deprive him of their Majesties' favour, whether the occasion arose in his military command, or in the management of affairs entrusted to him in some province, especially in Provence and Dauphiné for the execution of the edict of peace. Insomuch that all the letters he wrote to the king were treated with disdain, and he had only ambiguous answers full of distrust and little to the purpose; as though he had been guilty of rebellion in saying frankly and truly what he thought.

Let her Majesty also be pleased to remember whether by the duty he has done since he has borne arms in the service of the king and his predecessors at the peril of his life, exposing himself to danger in every possible way, he has earned the marks and merits of office and honour which the king has been pleased to grant him, without its being possible to reproach him with having risen by any other means than such valour as may be looked for in a nobleman; and whether his long and perilous services which have left him almost helpless and crippled have made him worthy of their Majesties' favour. Let his enemies not cease to put any malignant interpretation they please on everything belonging to him; as it seems that they can mention something besides the bishopric granted by the king to his kinsman, worth 4,000 francs of income.

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Yet the Marshal has never measured his services against their Majesties' liberality, having desired nothing save to satisfy them, and thinking it a favour to be treated by them in the payment for his offices and salaries in the manner adopted with the least of his officers. Wherefore, the king having when he was at Court been pleased to order several times that he should receive the satisfaction that appertained to him, whereas for the last four years he has received nothing, their Majesties' will, as he promises himself, pardon him if seeing himself subjected to these indignities which he has in order to maintain his office with honour to himself and them incurred from the ministers of their finances, who have not obeyed nor made satisfaction, by reason of the intelligence they have with his enemies; being very sure that none of them will let a year pass without being very well paid [*sic*].

Further, if there is question of verifying the services which have been cast in his teeth, and for which some, in order to tax him with ingratitude, say that he lay under great obligation, he is ready for every rigour if it be found from the *Livres des Epargnes* or the Chamber of Accounts that he has ever received a penny in his own name, or to his use. On the contrary he has involved his own property and pledged his own possessions for the king, at the request of *S. Sisto* [? *S. Stà*=his Holiness] of Avignon, who made him employ 200,000 francs in victuals, munitions, and other necessaries for the entertainment during four or five months of the army commanded by him in Languedoc in 1577. This has never been repaid, and has cost him already more than 20,000 crowns in interest and gifts to persons whom he will name at the proper time and place. He is bold to make this retort on the subject before him, not to show dissatisfaction with their Majesties, knowing well that they always bear good will to him, but to teach these speculators, who play the good servant, and conceal their own faults of administration, and are always talking and putting forward in writing their own merits, and the benefits that he has received in the past, to make him seem ungrateful and odious.

Coming to the legitimate ground of the Marshal's distrust, M. Doine shall say to her Majesty that he well knows how badly he has been handled for 4 or 5 years past, and how the indignities which he has suffered have proceeded from the calumnies of his enemies in regard to what they have falsely caused to be believed; how he had strait intelligence with the Duke of Savoy and did only what he wished, how he handed over the fortresses to him, with many other lies. Thus their Majesties, easily deceived by their confidence in those who under the guise of loyalty and truth feed them with lies, have held the Marshal in suspicion as a sheep that has remained outside the fold pursuing his own fortunes, without being aware till very late of the conspiracy. And when this did not kindle as great a flame as his enemies hoped, having learnt in the same year 1577 that the king wished to honour the Marshal with the government of Provence, they withdrew him from this purpose through the friendship he had for the Count of Escars; and seeing that this was not enough to divest their Majesties' good intention they imagined a new fiction and brought it against certain gentlemen

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who had formerly served the king under his command, and some of his friends, charging them with having laid a plot against the city of Avignon, namely to give it to the Duke of Savoy, as if it was likely that his Highness would set up any claim against the Holy See, or that the Marshal would assent to such a wicked design. But it was an invention to render him odious and suspected in Provence and make their Majesties distrust him. And some of these gentlemen having been imprisoned at Avignon, where they have been for the last year, they have offered to bring forward his friends aforesaid to prove the truth of the matter, if judges not open to suspicion be given them; which the ministers of his Holiness were content to do, as appears from letters which the Marshal holds, to use some day by way of evidence in an emergency that may arrive.

Nor was this machination enough; his enemies were resolved to employ arms and make him retire when he was residing at Tarascon, by the method of which the king was informed through M. de la Valette his nephew; promising themselves that when he was dead they could easily seize the towns and castles of Carmagnola and Ravel by favour of the commission issued to the late Andrew Birague consisting of letters and patents in blank, which they then had in their possession, dated 6 Nov. 1577; while the Marshal was making ready to employ himself in carrying out the peace in Provence and Dauphiné. This will appear from the copies which M. Doine will lay before his Majesty, the originals remaining in the hands of the Marshal. Writings of Charles Birague were found in the presence of 100 gentlemen in the castle of Saluces, with much else in his own hand, and that of Marius Birague and their adherents, showing their intention to possess themselves of the said fortresses, and make a state of their own this side the mountains, with the privity of foreign princes; as may be seen from their designs guided especially by the said Marius Birague and specified in many letters, especially one to Charles from the Court, the day after the departure of M. de Lussan for Piedmont, which the Marshal keeps 'preciously' as evidence of their malignity.

Finding this road insecure and lengthy, they tried another under the guise of friendship with him, proposing to secure the government of Provence to him, with the intervention of M. Charles Birague if he would hand over to them the government of Carmagnola and Ravel; promising to procure his resignation.

This made him more suspicious of their bad faith, knowing on the other side that by the advertisements of the said Charles they were bringing to the king's ear rumours that the fortresses were not very secure for the king, being in the hands of the Duke of Savoy's subjects; particularly Carmagnola, which they wished it to be inferred his Highness had a mind to alienate, in complicity with the Marshal.

This information, with their former doings, and especially the conspiracy against his life, and the shame which he had received when M. de Suze arrived in Provence, in spite of the orders which he had from the king to take steps to meet the disorder there, made

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him think that his service was not acceptable; and it may be that through his friendship in the past for M. d'Escars and his faction, he was accused of favouring him, and that for that reason he had retired to this side of the mountains, where feigning to await his Majesty's command to go to him, he has watched the designs of the Biragues, and contrived with the help of God, that by the very means of Marius Birague, sent to him from the king last February, he discovered the whole affair.

That is, when the Marshal at his arrival had given him the best greeting in his power without showing the presentiment he had of their malign intentions, and had received the king's letter containing the order about the advice of Charles Birague to have an eye to the Spaniards' designs and to the security of Carmagnola as the Marshal might deem necessary, he came into certain knowledge how they had succeeded in prosecuting their malicious designs quite contrary to the tenor of the letter; and how the king had resolved to send the Marshal's son to let him know the suspicions he had of him; but he referred everything to him through his son, as was confirmed by M. de Guergny, grounding these suspicions on his intelligence with the Duke of Savoy. But notwithstanding the reference made by the king, Cardinal Birague his uncle, in friendship, as he said, to the Marshal, had bidden him to tell him frankly of this extreme suspicion of him as a favourite with the Duke of Savoy; whence distrust had arisen throughout France, where it was openly said there was intelligence between them, because he kept la Volviera, a captain of the Duke's, as his lieutenant at Carmagnola, and that for this cause only his Majesty's love for him, and desire for his services as governor in Provence and elsewhere had cooled.

Hereupon the Marshal firmly believed that it was a practice of the Biragues to bring about a change in the guardianship of Carmagnola, the more easily to come into occupation of it, as he well knew they had formerly tried to do; and they would have effected it, but for the resistance and vigilance of Volviera.

After the discourse aforesaid, Marius went back to Saluces; and when he was about to return to the Court, he first went to Carmagnola to get the answer to his Majesty's letter; and upon this pretext, being lodged at the White Cross with the Master of the Requests, he sent for M. de Bodissot, to whom discovering some fine practice between himself and Charles Birague three years ago to murder the Marshal and take the fortresses, Marius told him of his Majesty's distrust of the Marshal, adding that everyone was certain he was of the faction of the Guises and du Maine, who were taking up arms in Burgundy and Champagne. M. d'Escars would join them. In short it was necessary to note his doings and to give information of them to his Majesty, as he knew for certain that he had intelligence with the Duke of Savoy; and to this end he gave him an 'alphabet' in his own hand, to write whatever the Marshal did, so as to make the king suspect the integrity and honour of the Dukes of Savoy, Guise, and Maine, of the King of Navarre, of the Marshal, and many others; as appears by his own

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original, which the Marshal sent to the king by M. de la Valette; which alphabet came into his hands not long after from M. Bodissot, who of his own free will, being a man of honour, told him all the particulars. And when Marius was returned to Saluces he sent the Marshal another letter from the king which he had got out of him [*? gli avea trattenuta*].

This contained what he had said as to the distrust of Volviera as a subject of the Duke; and further, that the king had heard that the soldiers in the castle were not his subjects and ordered that steps should be taken to change them. Upon which the Marshal wrote to the king that the soldiers were all French, his natural subjects, and that what had been reported was all a lie; answering for Volviera's fidelity on the strength of long acquaintance with him, especially on his journey into Poland. At the same time he offered to dismiss him if he was not acceptable to his Majesty. After seeing [*sic*; *qy.*] this answer, he sent his letter to Marius Birague, that he and Charles might read and begin to be aware that they with their artifices and inventions were half found out.

Meanwhile he called together the French captains, and having begun the letter which the king had written to him concerning the Spaniards' designs, and learnt from them that their companies were reduced to 26 men, quartered at Carmagnola and Diamer. They had been ruined and scattered by the bad management of Charles Birague after their return from France, and then it was becoming compulsory for them to furl their colours and withdraw. The Marshal being all the more convinced about those artifices, and that all the intention of the Biragues was merely to get the fortresses into their hands; since in order to facilitate the practice they were continuing to seek opportunities to kill him, and to make his death acceptable to the people under other falsehoods which they fabricated, until they had got rid of the French companies on account of the resistance they expected to receive from them; sent for a good number of infantry from Provence and Languedoc, and quartered these in the aforesaid town for their security to hinder the designs of the Spaniards, if they turned out to be what Birague pretended, and also to be beforehand with his pernicious conspiracies; as he has shown more at large through M. de la Valette his nephew.

Thus Birague came to be discovered, and the Marshal humbly and instantly craves justice against him, Marius, and others. He sees further that Marius followed the Court for three months without the wrong done by him in using the Marshal's name in connexion with such a conspiracy being in any way signified; and that the influence of the Cardinal and his adherents with the king was such that his dispatches by M. de la Valette were suppressed. Giving no reply to the grievances contained in them, nor any sign of being acquainted with them they went about with their patents, sealed and sent off without any hearing of the Marshal or mention of his grievances, to proclaim him in the Marquisate of Saluces as a rebel to the king. At this, desperation so wrought on him that he was for his own honour and safety constrained to take up arms against Birague; the consequences of which all have seen. Upon which, his distrust continuing, and not knowing where to turn, seeing the perseverance

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of his enemies, although he is sure such is not the intention of the king, he has united with many other of the king's subjects of either religion, similarly distrustful, to preserve himself with them, until God grants him to see his Majesty (of whose good will he has no doubt whatever) separated from those who by their personal ambition and avarice are the cause of his subjects' troubles; and that it may take place with the public safety of his subjects. The Marshal aims at nothing but what is beneficial and pacific, by the stablishing of the Catholics through universal union as it was before, together with the preservation of all their goods to those of the Religion, as promised in the edict of pacification; especially in Provence, Dauphiné, Lyonnois, and Auvergne. And what the Marshal has done has not been as those malicious say, to remove himself from obedience to his king, nor to betake himself to the Spaniards, against whom he has done more than his detractors will ever be able to do. But these are the limits of their tricks, which have so little likelihood in them that, say what they will, the Marshal believes that his Majesty will place no faith in their calumnies, nor remove him from his charge, and from purpose of faithful service to the Crown. He protests that if one of his eyes had seen such defect in him he would pluck it out, and that he will show effectively that he is a good Frenchman and a subject of the King of France, not of Spain as his enemies go spreading abroad.

And whereas they continue their plots against him, and he is informed of their practices, and the levies of men wherewith they have taken from him the possession of Tarascon which the king had given him, thus showing all manner of distrust, notwithstanding that the Queen was well received there; M. Doine shall beg her Majesty, if the Marshal has not gone to meet her in Dauphiné as she wished, to believe that it was because he did not dare to go unaccompanied by his friends for his safety, and he did not like to go with a company lest he should contravene her commands and cause suspicion of his intentions, which will always be bent upon her service. But having heard that she was on the way to the Duke, he would have gone to meet her at Turin, to pray him and the Duke of Maine to explain his reasons to her and testify to his devotion towards the Crown; as he hopes will be known, offering to obey all her orders, consistently, however, with justice and the security of his life from his enemies.

Lastly he begs her to honour him by balancing his long and faithful services, his name and his quality and preferring them to these foreign harpies, authors in part of our miseries, who infest the realm and suck the blood of all France; and to keep him under her protection as a faithful servant.—Carmagnola, 1 Aug. 1579.

Endd. (*with Walsingham's mark*) :—Instructions given to Doine sent by the Mal. of Bellegarde to the Queen Mother. *Ital.* $10\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.* [*France III.* 32.]

Aug. 3. **29.** Rossel to Walsingham.

I am leaving Bruges, having completed the disbanding of the *chapeaux bonnets* [?] called French in these days. After long and

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wearisome discussions, with the aid of M. de la Noue, I agreed to a month-and-a-half's pay in full discharge of their dues. As regarded dismissing or retaining those who shall seem good, or volunteer, it was settled that 8 companies shall be retained. This will be the entire number of French, and will be under 33 ensigns. That is our housekeeping and management, eating up all our substance, paying 38,000 florins a month for 800 men. I know in what quarter this is connived at.

Meanwhile, as you shall hear more fully from Antwerp, the enemy has advanced, by favour of the Mechliners who have declared themselves through the insolent infamy of a harebrained youth, M. de Bours, who has been advanced by the States for the service of others with no merit of his own, on the plea that he was the author (which he was not) of the surrender of Antwerp Castle, whereby he has reaped the labour of another. In return for this benefit he had admitted Spaniards in small numbers into the town, with M. de Licques from Artois, and has favoured them to such a point that in order to injure Brussels and ruin their town and river he has supplied boats, pontoons, victuals, men and munitions to demolish the locks at Zas, which cost them 1,400,000 florins to put up. They have filled two of them with earth, that wagons may cross to the aid of the Mechliners, who from of old have been jealous of Brussels by reason of the making of that canal, which was injurious to them.

The enemy being desirous to have Vilvorde has to that end abandoned Willebroek, and begun to make attempts on the former place, where there are only 3 companies, who were in Mechlin and mutinied for want of pay. They would not admit 6 companies of Mr Norris's regiment, which will result in their ruin. The Brussels people have sent to all the towns in the Union, to know if in the event of their sustaining a siege they will receive the same kind of succour that Maestricht did. Antwerp has replied that it will put forth all its power; Bruges and Ghent give the same assurance. Meantime it is deplorable to see the ruin set on foot by such a small number, not more than 1,500 horse and two regiments of Walloon and Burgundian infantry, joined with M. d'Egmont (*infelix puer*). The rest of the army will not march till they see if these carry Vilvorde. Count Mansfeldt may arrive any day. He aims at executing his rage on Brussels.

If I were at Antwerp I would have told you the articles of peace given out by his Highness, brought by M. de Melroy. They are as agreeable to the people as was the declaration of the Mechliners. As they will be sent to you from Antwerp, I need say no more.

I may tell you that certain deputies whose names I do not know have been sent to M. d' Alençon. Many have been brought to his devotion by necessity, others by promises, an infinite number by imagination. If I am to support this cause on her Majesty's behalf I should like to know, as I said in my last letter; in order that I may praise (*congratule*) her good will and yours.

M. de la Motte has sent, by an Englishman whose name I could not find out, letters of credence to Colonel Balfour; asking him to

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take the side of his Catholic Majesty and hold Bruges on his behalf, and assuring him that he shall remain governor of it for ever and receive the finest recompense king ever made.

This matter is still secret, and we hope to base some stratagem upon it if opportunity is given to those who can take advantage of it. These are the enemy's continual practices, and we have not the judgment to make use of them to our profit, which is the cause of our ruin.—Bruges, 3 August 1579.

Add. Endd. Fr. 3 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 21.]

Aug. 9. **30.** George Gilpin to Lawrence Tomson.

By the last post I received a packet with letters from your master. I have answered him by this bearer, and pray you to see it delivered to him. Your friend Rossel is still in Flanders, but expected daily. No doubt you will hear from him after his arrival.

Your letter by Mr Evaunce I have received, and another from Dr Bailey, with copies of the ordinances, of the bond, of the transport, and a procuration to me to deal therein. Since their receipt and after conference with Mr Evaunce, I have caused a supplication to be made by a lawyer, and have declared my commission to one of the lords of this town. I find small comfort from his answer, unless we are content to yield to the reduction, which I do not mean to do. Next Monday I am to present your request, with the copies aforesaid, and to solicit a speedy answer, which had, you shall hear further; and make full account I will for your sake do what lies in me.

For such news as we have, I refer to what I send to Mr Secretary, to which I am sure you will be made privy.

Mr Travers, Mr Longsten and myself commend ourselves heartily to you.—Antwerp, 9 Aug. 1579.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. XII.* 22.]

Aug. 9. **31.** Fremin to Davison.

I last wrote to you on the 19th ult. Affairs here are not in the state they should be. They are 'after treating' with the Malcontents, to which end deputies left this town last Friday. They are four from Brussels, Théron being one, and are to fix a place where a meeting can be held. Thither the Marquis will be sent with some others to effect some good agreement if possible; the Prince of Parma not having kept promise according to the agreement he made with the provinces of Artois and Hainault, and thinking by his practices and intelligencies to embark them in a war that he might have occasion to remain, and having search made for proofs of this, which is the reason why he has undertaken nothing since the capture af Maestricht, to watch the tragedy; being content to hinder with his cavalry the revolt of the towns in Guelders.

Meanwhile he has begun the game with M. de Bours, and the garrison of Louvain, which is completely allied with the Spaniard,

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and has solicited the chiefs of the Malcontents to follow the same course, and make war jointly on the Prince of Orange and the united provinces. His Excellency is to go to Ghent if the journey is not broken off, to repair Imbize's mistakes.

Brussels is in good case, and provided the Spaniards and Malcontents do not join, they will do nothing at Brussels. The said Malcontents are two leagues from it to hinder the secession if they can.

M. de Sainte-Aldegonde started last Friday for Utrecht to represent his Excellency at the conclusion of the assembly. We shall also see what resolution the provinces will take on the articles proposed by the Imperial Commissioners. Many things will be seen at the end; as also whether the truce will be agreed to.

I am sending you such books as have lately come out; please give copies to Mr Killegrew with my compliments.

There are many obstacles on both sides to this peace. The Duke of Lorraine has forbidden his subjects in the district of Bar to practise any religion but the Roman. Those who will not obey are to leave his country, one year being allowed them to sell their property.—Antwerp, 9 Aug. 1579.

P.S.—I have a brother over there, of whom I have spoken to you. He is the most debauched person to be found. I should be much displeased if he were to address any of my friends, for he does not deserve to have anything done for him. He needs misery and poverty to teach him. For his own good, take no notice of him.

Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 23.]

Aug. 11. **32.** Don Manrique de Ayamonte to the Council of the town of Ayamonte.

By a letter from his Majesty dated Aug. 2, written to me as being in charge of this marquisate during the absence of the Marquis my brother, I am informed of the grounds on which his Majesty bases his claim to the Crown of Portugal; namely that he is nearest of kin to the present king, his uncle Don Henry being legitimate, and older than any of the pretenders to the succession. The Duke of Savoy is younger; Don Antonio is illegitimate; the Duchess of Braganza is a woman; Rainuccio Farnese is a degree further off.

His Majesty wished me to explain this matter to all the vassals of this state in order that they may tell it to their neighbours of the kingdom of Portugal. If they become his subjects they will gain great advantages in the way of trade with the Islands and other lands belonging to him. He has not urged his claim without taking the opinion of divers learned men. Now he is letting his case be known by many servants whom he has in Portugal. It is so clear, that the king his uncle will understand it, and he wishes all men in the kingdom, down to the least, to do the same.—Seville, 11 Aug. 1579. Signed for Don Manrique, Juan de la Rya.

Copy. Endd. Sp. 1 *p.* [*Spain I.* 23.]

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Aug. 11. **33.** *English translation of the above. Endd.* 1½ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 23*a.*]

Aug. 14. **34.** POULET to the SECRETARIES.

Bellegarde will not be entreated to come to Queen Mother, though nothing has been omitted, mediation of friends, great promises, safe-conducts, and what else could be devised; and now the Marquisate of Saluces is thought to be lost beyond redemption. It is believed that the Duke of Savoy has conferred with Queen Mother at Grenoble.

I have seen a note of some contraventions of the last edict, but forbear to send them, because I am promised the true note verified in this late conference at Montauban, from the King of Navarre shortly.

De la Rocque, agent here for the King of Navarre, has not yet received the particulars of the conference; where no doubt it is resolved that the towns promised by the treaty of Nérac to be delivered this month and next shall be reserved till other conditions are better performed by the Catholics. To this purpose the deputies of those of the Religion are expected here shortly, to make complaint of their griefs to the king. The king of Navarre has returned to Nérac, and it is said that the Prince of Condé and the Viscount of 'Touraine' are gone to Rochelle. Some think one of them means to make a further voyage.

It is advertised from Rome and Florence that the Spanish 'army' will be ready to hoist sail before the end of this month, and that their enterprise is in Africa. The Marquis of 'the Holy Cross' (so some call him), general of the galleys in Spain, is already gone to Spain with some galleys.

You may see the substance of what passed between the French and the Cantons of Berne and Soleure touching the town of Geneva, by this abstract of a letter from M. de Bèze.

The clergy have made great instance to the king to publish the Council [*sic*] of Trent; whereunto the king has answered that he can be 'so content' with these qualifications: first, that the king's authority be preserved in all perfection; secondly, that the privileges and liberties of the Church of France be in no way altered or diminished; lastly, that the edicts of pacification be observed with all integrity. Yet he has deferred his final answer till he has heard the opinion of the King of Navarre therein.

Let me trouble you with the letter enclosed, though there is no matter in it worthy of you.

News comes from England that Fitzmorris is arrived in Ireland with many Spaniards. I could not permit this convenient messenger to depart without these few lines.—Paris, 14 Aug. 1579.

P.S.—I am now in great hope of my recall, and do not doubt of your furtherance.

Add. Endd. 1½ *pp.* [*France III.* 33.]

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35. Enclosure in the above; Bèze and the treaty with the Cantons.

His Majesty following the steps of his ancestors, to maintain the leagues with Switzerland, and being called upon by the Cantons of Berne and Soleure, receives the country lately acquired by the lords of Berne into the perpetual peace of the leagues, with all privileges.

Advertised by them of the consequence of preserving the city of Geneva in its present state, he comprises it also at their request in the same perpetual peace, without exemption from tolls.

If it is attacked by anyone soever and is in need of a garrison, he agrees to send 5 ensigns, numbering 1,500 men, and to this end has deposited 2 months' pay with Soleure.

If their army is required for the same purpose he promises to supply 15,000 crowns per month.

He will not hinder any of his subjects who may wish to do so from coming to their aid.—In return he asks as follows :—

(1) Those of Geneva will allow passage to French going to aid the Leagues, or into Italy; provided that they go *à la file*, and pay reasonably, after due notice to the lords of Geneva.

(2) They shall show due respect to his Majesty, and (3) shall not receive the enemies of his Crown.

Answer has been given by us to the lords of Berne, who alone make the request; they are thanked for their good will towards this place, as always;

His Majesty's offers are accepted ;

As for the first point he asks in return, free passage on those conditions has never been refused.

As to the second and third, there is no intention whatever of doing anything against religion, nor holding those for enemies who have withdrawn or shall withdraw on account of religion.

Our neighbour understanding this has put off for over a month the arbitration agreed upon with those of this place about the ancient differences. Time will disclose the rest. Pray be sure that all has been well and duly debated, and believe that no one will find occasion for offence herein. There is good hope of the Evangelical Cantons joining in this treaty. God bless it all.

Copy. Fr. 1¼ *pp.* [*France III.* 33*a.*]

Before Aug. 15.

36. "Brief Declaration why the present coming of the Prince of Orange to Ghent is not found convenient."

First, because the present magistrature is not acceptable to him, and he will want to change it after his fancy, in order then to make what he pleases of this town, which might cause great harm and bloodshed.

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Secondly, because he will want to bring back the *Religions-vreede* according to the oath which he has taken to preserve the Roman religion ; and thus daily attempts will be made by the Catholics, and the city will be so damaged that it will not be able to help itself in this great necessity from the Church property, but the people will be every day more burdened.

Thirdly, because he will want to come as Lieutenant-general, and so keep this city under the power of the Court, from which they have undergone such burdens, in order to take away its sovereignty and freedom which now is fallen *en poictrine* [?], and belongs to it of right.

Fourthly, under cover of reforming things in this country (which the Court has brought into this miserable state) to compel the city to consent to receive the Duke of Alençon, as he has practised the like at Bruges; whereby this city would fall from the liberty in which it now lives into an intolerable servitude, and pass from the tyranny of the Spaniards to that of the French, which is much prouder, more cruel and more intolerable.

Fifthly, because no profit can be expected from his coming, as appeared when he was last present, whereby there accrued to the city only great dishonour and expense; which is still more to be feared now that he would come to take vengeance on those who have loved the freedom and good of this city rather than compliance with his aims, which are quite contrary to those of this city. For it appears that in private and in public he has always spoken evil of this city, so as to alienate all its people; having without reason accused it to those in the union of Utrecht, to the end they should not be admitted thereto.

Sixthly, because he will bring his French council and a good guard of soldiers, and so Frenchmen and all sorts of foreigners will enter under cover of having business with him ; yea, all those who have been ordered out of this city for its greater security will return. It is also to be feared that before he leaves the place he will put in the Scots and the French, who are now at Rouselaar and thereabouts, and could be here in a day.

Seventhly, because it is to be feared that the Prince being here the enemy will forsake everything else to shut him up in this city, as they could not do at Antwerp, and if it so falls out, he will take the opportunity to put a garrison here at his pleasure, and so burden it more than ever.

Eighthly, because the Prince cannot help this city with money or men; while as to his advice, if the city wants it would be as easy to send to Antwerp, and cheaper than to let him come here with all these inconveniences.

Ninthly, touching what those who so desire his coming say, that it will help the other members to come to an agreement, it may be said with truth that such an agreement would serve only to the enslavement of this city, and its subjection to the Duke of Alençon, to which it in no way wishes to agree. Also to bring it

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into subjection to the Court, from which it has much reason to disjoin itself. Also to lay a burden on the inhabitants without their being able to help themselves from the Church property. In short this agreement among themselves which the Prince will call for will enable him to reduce us to servitude, and protect us no more than he has hitherto done; in spite of his promise that if we would maintain the *religions-vreede*, he would make the Walloons quit the country in four or five days. But if this city stands forward in defence of their [*sic*] liberty, it will come to pass that as it is, thank God, the means which has prevented the Walloons from doing more than plunder the poor peasants under the threat of burning their houses, so it will set an example to draw the other members to a desire of their liberty, and afterwards to an agreement that shall be honourable and profitable to the whole country.

Wherefore it is needful that the inhabitants of this city keep quiet, trusting to the foresight of their magistrates, who will not desert them, but will stake their own lives and goods if they will follow their advice; and they may be assured that they shall have good succour for the defence of this city and the whole country, having good and certain means to this end if the magistrature is not corrupted by the coming of the Prince.

And whereas some say that people ought to have a good chief, true it is that the country needs a Marshal to conduct the war; but for this the Prince is not fitted, having always kept in the towns, whereby has come great damage, as has been seen in all the fine camps which we had so far away in the country.

If others say that when the Prince is here he will be kept well bridled and will not be able to do as has been said, this is unfounded. If he has when absent been able to create such discord, whereby the city is in danger of ruin, what will he do when present! And if the city will then perforce have to oppose such practices, think only if it is not better to anticipate such a danger and disgrace by an amicable letter asking him to postpone his coming to a more convenient season.

And whereas some evil-disposed persons are seeking to make the people of little courage, saying that Holland and Zealand will leave us if we do not let the Prince enter, it may be believed for certain, *imprimis* that having included the city of Ghent in their treaty against his wish and advice, they will not leave us, seeing how important it is to them; and, moreover, it is the less likely that they will leave this city, which seeks only pure religion and to defend its liberty against tyrants, since the union of Utrecht was made to guard those two points. In the third place, those of the union have no pleasure in the Duke of Alençon's coming, knowing him as they do, and they will not desert us, knowing that we are labouring to prevent them no less than ourselves from falling under his tyranny. The inhabitants will not therefore let themselves be frightened with such talk, but be sure that those of the union of Utrecht are ready to aid us with all their power, according to their oath.

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But if the Prince's coming be found necessary to redress the affairs of this country, as they say, for which reason many people desire it, it would seem better advised to request him to go to Bruges, where he is desired. This would be at once more convenient, seeing that with the Scottish garrison there and at his command, he would need less assurance, while fit persons could be sent there to him from this city to treat with him of all matters causing him actual or possible anxiety. And his Excellency (who seeks only to redress the country's affairs) will be equally content.

Otherwise he must be harbouring some ulterior design in coming, which in time will be manifest to the hurt of this city.

Copy. (*It appears to have been printed in its Flemish form.*) *Endd. by* (?) *L. Cave; and dated 'Sptb.?* 1577,' *this being afterwards erased. Fr.* 3½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 24.]

Aug. 16. **37.** Gilpin to Tomson.

'Your courteous letter by this post, gentle Mr Tompson, I have received,' and given the enclosed to M. Villiers, who has promised to send me his answer. If it comes before our post goes, you shall have it herewith. 'Sg^r' Rossel is not yet come from Flanders, where as he writes to me he is much vexed with the 'conducting' of the Frenchmen, who are reduced to 12 companies, and coming this way. Upon his return I will deliver so much to him as 'per' your master's order was willed. I have done your commendations to Mr Travers and Mr Longston, who resalute you.

Herewith I send a note of our news, which daily grows worse. God help His people, and confound the rage of those that seek the overthrow of His gospel and the professors thereof.

By last week's post I sent Mr Secretary a packet of letters from myself, and another great one from the States to the Queen, in a cover to his honor, 'which I long to hear your receipt of them'; for our post was robbed within two miles of Dunkirk, and all they suspected to be money, or anything but letters, they took from him. Therefore I beseech you let me hear from you by the next.—Antwerp, 16 Aug. 1579.

P.S.—In Dr 'Bailiff's' suit I could do no good, because one borrower is dead and the other was absent till last Friday. Having spoken with their 'lieutenant' I find small hope to prevail but by reduction, to which I do not mean to yield. Please tell the doctor, to whom I will write how I speed.

P.P.S.—Mr Villiers is gone with the Prince and has left no letters as he promised.

Add. Endd. 1½ *pp.* [*Ibid. XII.* 25.]

Aug. 16. **38.** Jacques de Somere to Davidson.

I was glad to hear by yours of the 8th that all mine had reached you. I will therefore continue to impart the news to you without

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importuning you for an answer; not being ignorant that more important affairs deprive you of leisure for it, but assuring myself of your affection, and begging you to believe that I shall never forget my obligation to discharge my duty to you.

The rumour of Fitzmorris's landing in Ireland has been greater here than your letters import. I hope that his enterprise will end in smoke, by your diligence.

Affairs here go on as usual. There is no more talk, nor hope, of the peace of Cologne. Men's minds are wholly made up for war, seeing that peace can be obtained only by the extirpation of those of the Religion, who are determined to defend well the towns that they hold. His Excellency has more communication with the deputies of the Utrecht league than with the States-General, who no longer meet much, or the Council of State, which is small in number. I am afraid that the league will fall into the same protracted habit as the States-General, through not giving sufficient authority to their deputies. His Excellency is always representing to them the harm that will ensue if this be not remedied. I hope that necessity and experience will make us wise.

Those of the league of Artois and Hainault are strengthening themselves daily. M. d' Aussy put the town of Alost into their hands three or four days ago; and has looted his own garrison and made his own lieutenant pay ransom. Count Egmont has entered the place with 7 ensigns and some cavalry. His people and their Walloon allies have since taken by force the port of Basterode, half-a-league from Termonde, thinking to catch his Excellency there; and indeed the report was that he was to go to Termonde (*il debvoit pour T.*) in the night, and the port was seized at day-break. Seeing that their design had failed, they burnt the whole place and left it, not being able to hold it, being under the guns of the ships of war that had been placed on the river.

It is said that the Spaniards are beginning to quit the places which they hold, in pursuance of the agreement with Hainault and Artois; but I suspect fraud. M. de Bours repents already of having sold Mechlin, finding himself despised and held a traitor by those he dealt with (*ses marchans*).

The Prince left this town yesterday afternoon for Termonde, to take order both there and at Brussels, which are the two towns now most threatened and exposed to danger; also to redress the affairs of Flanders in general and Ghent in particular, having several times been asked to do so by the deputies of that province and the town, notwithstanding all the practices of Imbise and his lot to hinder him, by showing manifest hostility to him and publishing defamatory libels about him, full of impudent lies and calumnies, which go off in smoke of themselves, being fabricated against a personage to whom the country is so much indebted. Ultimately seeing that they could not manage to break off his journey, Imbise, Dathenus, and the murderer Meyghem thought to escape to Zealand; but Imbise having already flung himself into a boat on the Sas was pulled out by a captain of the Ghent cavalry

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and brought back to Ghent at midnight the day before yesterday. You may imagine his disgrace. Dathenus cannot so far be found anywhere. God forgive him the harm and scandal he has caused to the Church and the Commonwealth.—Antwerp, 16 Aug. 1579.

P.S.—As I was closing this, I heard that the Duke of Alençon had arrived in England. You are in the place for interesting news of him.

Add. Fr. 2 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 26.]

Aug. 18.

39. Edward Wotton to Walsingham.

Though the first part of my entertainment seemed somewhat cold, as I wrote to you on the 8th ult. yet after my coming to Lisbon I was very honourably used, and in effect, as her Majesty's Ambassador. I was lodged in a very fair house, my diet provided at the King's charge, many of his gentlemen and guard appointed to attend on me, visited daily by the Chief of his Council, and very graciously used by himself. Within three days of my coming I had access to him, and four days later, having at my first audience declared all that I was commanded by his Majesty, I went to take my leave of him and was 'licensed.' So all the time I spent in Lisbon was not above ten days. I mention it precisely because I hope, the shortness of it being considered, that no great intelligence will be looked for at my hands; which, as I guess, and as you perfectly know, is a thing which even ambassadors resident, who in continuance of time get great acquaintance in Court where they practise, attain to hardly enough. If this be not a lawful excuse for me I know not what to allege for myself but my insufficiency, which is of itself a sufficient condemnation. I assure you, sir, I have wanted no good will to serve her Majesty that way. My only hope is therefore that that both she and you will accept goodwill in lieu of good service, and that you will with the favour of your countenance defend me from such tongues as will seek on this occasion to triumph over me. otherwise I shall think myself *du tout ruinè*, and accursed when first I set my foot in Portugal.

What the King's answers were to such answers as I had instructions to deal with him in, I have declared in my letter to her Majesty. She will I am sure acquaint you with them, and therefore I will not breed tediousness by reciting them. You know that to common officers belong common answers, and such were the King's to me.

Concerning the succession in Portugal, I know not what to say; so much may be said both in favour and in disfavour of every one of the pretendants, by which I mean the King of Spain, the Duke of Braganza, and Don Antonio, for as for the Duke of Savoy and Prince of Parma, their parts are least in the pudding. Nevertheless I will as well as I can set down such reasons as may make both for and against every one of them, leaving the judgment to your wisdom.

The things which are to hinder Don Antonio are the following. The King favours him not because of his dissolute life. He has many bastards by base women, most of them by 'new Christians.'

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It is feared therefore by the nobility that if he should come to be King, being unable by ordinary means to make them all great he will seek to advance them by extraordinary means, and perhaps take dignities and '*incommiendas*' from the rest of the nobility to give them. He is very poor, and therefore not able to win such of the nobility as are to be won by money; nor if it should come to force, would he be able to maintain a power in the field.

Things which may further him are, that he is generally beloved of the people, gracious in his behaviour, and liberal in spending.

Things which may further the Duke of Braganza are these. The King favours him much, and many of the nobility; he is very rich; the Jesuits favour him, who may do much in Portugal by persuasion.

Things which may hinder him are, that he is not beloved of the common people; that his eldest son is a prisoner in Africa, and it is thought, if the Duke be chosen king, that the Moors will ask as his son's ransom the restitution of the forts held by the Portuguese in Africa, a thing very prejudicial to Portugal. He has not the gifts of nature to allure men that Don Antonio has.

Things which may hinder the King of Spain: The great and deep-rooted hatred which is and ever has been between the Portuguese and the Castilians, which is like to cause the people to try all extremities rather than become subjects to them, whom they never thought worthy to be their equals. The great inconvenience which is like to grow to other princes and potentates, as the Queen of England, the King of France, most of the princes of Italy, by the over greatness of the Spaniard, if the country of Portugal should be annexed to the Crown of Spain; and consequently the great care these are like, or ought, to have to defend the Portuguese against the Spaniard. The great fear which the 'new Christians,' who in Portugal are no small party, have of being subject to the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisition, which is much more severe than that in Portugal. The great desire of the Portuguese to be governed by a king of their own nation. The great charges the King of Spain is at by reason of the war in Flanders, besides the danger he is in of losing that country.

Things which may help the King of Spain: The great forces he can make both by sea and land. The means he has of maintaining an army long time in the field, by means of the credit his power gives him with the merchants; together with the countenance the Pope and the Emperor are like to give him. The facility with which he may, and has already, as it is thought, corrupted [*sic*] many of the chief nobility of Portugal, who hunger and thirst after gold. The general weakness of the Portuguese nation, as being altogether unacquainted with matters of war, men out of order and untrained, whose chief soldiers and captains were either slain in Africa, or are now prisoners there. The particular weakness of the nation, being divided in itself by reason of the two factions of Don Antonio and the Duke of Braganza; the weaker of which King Philip is likely in time to win to himself, and so strengthen his party. The King of Spain has truce with the Turk it is thought,

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and the Turk is encumbered by the Persian. If the King of Spain withhold the victuals, especially the corn, which goes out of Andalusia and Castile into Portugal, the Portuguese are in great danger of being famished in a short time; especially if with his *Armada* he keeps the sea or gets any of the forts at the mouth of the river which goes up to Lisbon, a thing not impossible for him to do.

I will not take upon me to give sentence which of these three pretendants is likely to carry it away, but leave it, as I have said, to your consideration. Nevertheless, if I were commanded to say my opinion precisely, weighing in an equal balance the reason *pro* and *contra* every side, I should pronounce the likelihood of succession to the King of Spain; the rather when I look into the nature and proceedings of those princes, his neighbours, by whom, or by none at all, he is to be 'put beside it.'

Being dispatched by the King of Portugal, and finding by experience my body unable to brook a long voyage on the sea, I determined for more expedition to return by land, in post. And that I might the more safely pass through Spain, I thought it my best way to go to the Court, and deliver her Majesty's letter to the King. He seemed to take her letter, and this office of visitation, in very good part. He used me with great courtesy, and after my departure from him sent me a letter for her Majesty, and a passport for myself; upon the receipt of which I prepared to go away the next day, when the same night my brother and all the men I have here except one fell so sick of hot burning agues that for my own part I did at first much 'doubt' them, though I am now by the physicians put 'in good comfort' of their well doing. By this unhappy accident I am driven to stay here till they are recovered; for to ride post alone were neither convenient for me nor safe for those whom I leave behind, I mean in respect of the Inquisition. And that my absence might be taken in better part, the cause of it being known, I thought good to dispatch this bearer, and advertise you by letter; beseeching you to impart the cause of my stay to her Majesty. I durst not have done thus much, had I seen that my speedy or slow return to England could either much advance or hinder her Majesty's service, and therefore I hope that by your good means my resolution will not be ill taken.

The King of Spain, it is said, had here in Madrid within these few days fifty captains, twenty-four of whom he has dispatched to levy companies of footmen; the rest remain here as yet. He has also, it is reported, sent out five captains to levy bands of horsemen, and has appointed the ordinary companies of men-at-arms lying about Burgos and Navarre to be in readiness. He has caused a general muster to be taken secretly of all the able men upon the frontiers of Portugal. The Marquis of Santa Cruz is general of the king's *armada* in Andalusia, which by all I can hear does not exceed the number of 30 galleys and 12 ships.

What the King's purpose is, few men know, but it is generally thought that he means to have a power in readiness to assault Portugal both by sea and land, when God calls away the King.

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They say here that this King receives yearly from Spain the sum of two millions and a half more than he was wont to have, and that it was granted him by the last Parliament holden here. If this is true, he may more easily overcome the charges he is like to be at while awaiting the death of the King of Portugal.

About 10 days ago, the Princess of 'Evoly,' one of the most famous ladies in this Court, and Antonio Perez, the King's chief secretary, were by his command committed to prison. Some say the cause of her imprisonment was that she wrote a very indiscreet letter to the King, desiring that he would punish the secretary, Mateo Vasquez, who had as she said offended her honour; otherwise she would cause him to be killed at the King's own feet.

Mateo Vasquez and Antonio Perez, secretaries both, are great enemies, for what cause I cannot learn. The Princess much favours Antonio Perez, and hates the other deadly for some private respects; and thereupon wrote the letter to the King. Some think that both she and Perez are imprisoned about the death of Escovedo.

Thus you see with what trifles I that cannot come by weightier matters am fain to trouble you.—Madrid, 18 Aug. 1579.

P.S.—Having none of my own men able to ride post, save one who 'wants language,' I have been constrained to use this bearer, a man not very well known to me; which I would not have done if the letters which he carries had contained matter of any great importance. Fourteen days ago Cardinal Granvelle arrived in Spain and is now at the Court, in great favour with the King, and *Dominum fac totum*. The galleys that brought him brought also 1,000 old soldiers of the *tertia* of Milan.

Add. Endd. 9 *pp.* [*Spain I.* 26.]

Aug. 18. **40.** Edward Wotton to Walsingham.

As this bearer was ready to go, Secretary 'Saias' sent one to me desiring me to write to you to be 'a mean' to her Majesty for the delivery of those Spaniards that were carried away in an English ship from Galicia, and are now detained in England as prisoners. He has given me his word that the Englishmen who have been ever since that time in prison in 'the Corunna' shall be at once set at liberty. His request methought was so reasonable that I could not deny it, and I promised to write to you. If you please to deal in this matter you will easily procure their liberty, and will do a very charitable deed, and with thanks both of the Spaniards there and the Englishmen here.—Madrid, 18 Aug. 1579.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. I.* 27.]

Aug. 22. **41.** Ant. Gosson to Davison.

I received yesterday your messages through your secretary, who further tells me that but for unexpected hindrances you would have taken up your pen to write to me yourself, and will do so at the first opportunity. I would be beforehand in saying that I too am

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assured of your goodwill, and fully understand that your affairs public and private are twofold what they were here; and therefore I am content without importuning you for an answer. Further, having heard of my lord of Alençon's arrival in your country I could not refrain from congratulating you. It would have been wonderful, had not all that lord's chief actions in the past been as rare, bold, and admirable as the present; which has this advantage, that it is impelled and guided by love, which surmounts all the difficulties in the world. I should like to commend to you on this subject some verses of the divine Aeneid:

Quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna
Conjugio tali! gallûm comitantibus armis
Anglica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!

I am the more glad to do this, that both on his father's and on his mother's side M. d'Alençon is related to him of whom this was sung; for as the poets and the ancient annals testify, from Aeneas are descended the Italians and from Francion his cousin, the son of Hector, the French. Let this suffice, awaiting the full union of the lil ies and theroses which will furnish argument for the best poet of Europe to chant Epithalamies worthy their greatness.

For the news here; the Prince is at Ghent, to regulate the affairs of Flanders, M. de Villiers with him. M. de Sainte-Aldegonde is at Utrecht about the affairs of the Union. M. du Plessis was seriously ill for a week, but begins to be a little better. You will hear from elsewhere of the defection of MM. d'Egmont and de Bours; the former having gone so far as to detain the Deputies from Brussels, among them M. Theron, in violation of public faith, as M. de Bours had already done in the case of Secretary Sille, sent by his Highness to him and the people of Mechlin.

Those of Artois and their allies have come to terms with the Prince of Parma, save on a few points to be considered by commissioners from either side. One of them relates to the departure of the Spaniards. Meanwhile Artois Hainault and Lille have each sent a Deputy to Spain to beg the king to withdraw them and ratify the arrangements made by those provinces. These started a week ago. Bapaume, Cambray, Tournay, Valenciennes, Bouchain, and Landrecies do not relish these proceedings; otherwise things are peaceable enough there at present.—Antwerp, 22 August, day before the eve (*prèveille*) of St. Bartholomew, 1579. (*Signed*) An. Gosson de Wavrin.

Add. On back some pencil notes by Davison, relating to the Anjou marriage. Fr. 3 pp. [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 27.]

Aug. 26. **42.** Three documents, viz. (1) Obligation for 20,000 Carolus gilders, bearing date May 26, 1579, given by the States-General to Peter Engenhoven, captain of a company or ensign of Germans, being the deficit on 60,970 gilders 9½ stuyvers, as calculated by their commissioners, William de Merode, Burgomaster of Mechlin, and Charles Longin; (2) Certificate by the Corporation of Antwerp of the assignment of the above obligation by Peter Engenhoven to

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Paul Boclast, Aug. 26; (3) Certificate by the same of the assignment of the same by Paul to Ferdinando Poyntz, merchant of the English nation dwelling in London.

Copies (? translated). Endd. by L. Tomson. 5 and 3 and 2 pp. [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 28.]

Aug. 26. **43.** Villiers to Davison.

My journey and other hindrances have prevented me answering you sooner. You will have heard how Embize, Dathenus, la Huguerie and Sarrazin fled at the rumour of the Prince's coming. Embize, already on board a vessel, was captured and brought back in an evil hour. Then came his Excellency on the 11th [*sic*], and on the 13th the magistrature was renewed according to the privileges, that appointed by Embize declared invalid and the oath taken by the old one ratified. Embize had presented a request through his brother; his Excellency replied; then Embize bound over; as you will understand by the copies I am sending to Mr Secretary, or to M. de la Fontaine in London. Since then, as his wont is, he has spread many false reports and tried to win over the people against the Prince. Even to-day he sent a mob into the Town Hall to present a petition in his favour. Nevertheless I hope the Prince will take good order. The Members and the small towns were reconciled as soon as they saw the magistrature renewed. Yesterday the leaders of the Walloons were to meet at Mons, to settle about the departure of the Spaniards. The end will be either that the Spaniards will go out (which I do not believe), or that the divisions among the Walloons will be exasperated. In any case they think themselves strong enough to drive the Princes of Orange and Parma out of the country; they are beginning to perceive their weakness. Some whom I cannot yet name are beginning to treat. If our provinces were properly united, we should in my opinion get the better of them in time.

I have ordered Hercules the bookseller to send you a little book of mine. You can pass an hour or two over it, if you like. Remember me to your wife, not forgetting Francis.—Ghent, 26 Aug. 1579.

P.S.—Since I ended my letter, it seems that some new agreement will be made for Embize. I will send it by the first post.

Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. XII.* 29.]

Aug. 29. **44.** Poulet to the Secretaries.

Though nothing new has happened since my last, I would not let this bearer depart without a few lines to inform you that M. d'Aubigny, giving out that he would take ship at Nantes, and leaving his lodging with that appearance on the day mentioned in my last, repaired immediately to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and spending that night in this town, took his course next day towards Dieppe. Some say it is promised that the castle of 'Dumbreton,'

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shall be delivered into his hands on his arrival. I speak upon report and at a venture, as you know, being utterly ignorant of the state of Scotland, therefore not knowing the consequence of this castle.

The messenger from the King of Navarre has been entertained with great favour, and dismissed with all fair promises; and now the Prince of Condé is 'put in great comfort' that he shall be shortly restored to his government in Picardy. He has many friends and some servants here of the Religion, who are flatly of this opinion: but, to be plain with you, I cannot believe it.

Queen Mother is still at Grenoble, in some hope to speak with Bellegarde. She is not expected here for a long time. Some think she may spend another winter in those parts; and no one doubts but she will see the time for the 'reddition' of the towns expired before she returns. Please peruse the letter enclosed, and believe what you please of it. The king's journey to 'Gallion' holds, but is put off till next week.—Paris, 29 Aug. 1579.

Aug. 23. **45.** *Enclosed in above:—*

W. Shute to Poulet.

In my former letters from Italy and from these parts I mentioned a commission given to the Duke of Florence's brother, the names of the colonels and number of infantry to be levied in their country. The advice from Italy by the last letters 'bears' that on the 25th inst. shall be embarked at 'Spesie,' a port belonging to the 'Genevoys,' Don Pietro de Medicis with his 9,000 Italians, Count 'Ladron' with 12,000 Allemans, and the third man out of the garrisons in Milan and other places for the King of Spain, reckoned at 9,000. The King has in readiness 150 ships, 120 galleys; and all these arrive at Cartagena, in Spain, and thence take the route of 'Argieres.'

The occurrences here are that at Grenoble in 'Dalphine' the Duke of Savoy is with Queen Mother ('who whyssheth him at Thuringe'); where a marriage has been treated of between the Prince of Piemont and the Duke of Lorraine's daughter, the exchange of the County of Tende with the Duke du Maine for certain towns and signiories of like value in his country of Bresse, over and above 20,000 crowns to the Duke du Maine. The Duke of Savoy is employed to bring in Marshal Bellegarde, to shew what has caused him to seize on the Marquisate. The Duke has offered his bastard son and others as hostages; but the Marshal 'will none,' but keeps himself with no small force. He pays his men of arms and his garrisons every 29th day, in pistolets of Spain made over to him from Milan, where he has one continuing with the governor, who 'solicits' his affairs.

The Queen Mother has 'agreed' the *tiers état* with the clergy and nobility of Dauphiné, and is shortly looked for here.

In my last letter, of July 20, I sent a copy of the alliance and articles between the French King and the city of Geneva.

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[*Poulet notes in margin*: I have not received this letter; *but see the enclosure No.* 33.]—Lyons, 23 Aug. 1579.

Add.: 'A Monseigneur l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre à son logis au[près]s de l'hostelle de Montpecier à Paris.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. 2½ *pp.* [*France III.* 34.]

Sep. 1. **46.** Poulet to the Secretaries.

Discoursing of late with [*name in cypher*] etc. he tells me that this Irish enterprise was resolved long since, awaiting only a good hour for its execution, and that Don Bernardino was sent expressly into England for this purpose, both in respect of the certain advertisements which by reason of his great intelligence with courtiers as well as strangers from Italy and other countries he might send to Spain, and in order that being near at hand he might assist the Irish from time to time with his counsel and 'devyse.' He speaks herein, he says, of knowledge; though in honour and honesty he may say no more. He 'takes upon himself' to know of his own experience that there are many double fellows in England, who pretending great fidelity to her Majesty, 'play of both hands' and often bring better intelligence than they receive; naming John Zuygo, Louis de Pas, and 'St. Victoires.' He talks of greater fellows, servants to greater personages, and that Don Bernardino spares no cost among this kind of men; but I cannot 'intreat' him to set down their names. He tells me that this man walks by night, and specially at this busy time, and that it were easy to 'take him with the manner.' He wishes her Majesty to deal roundly in this beginning and to spare no cost to root out those 'runnigates,' and otherwise to make her account that however the King of Spain disposes of his other forces, a good number of his Italians will pass into Ireland as from the Pope, so that the Spaniards will be always excused towards her. I deliver these things as I received them and refer them to your consideration.

It seems that the king has changed his opinion touching his journey into Normandy, fearing lest his armed presence might awaken the dog which sleeps, and I think will sleep the rest of this year if he be not awakened against his will.

All the eyes of those of the Religion in Normandy, and some especially by my procurement, are upon the Duke of Guise during his abode in the confines of Normandy and Picardy: whence if anything had been to be feared, I presume that I should have been acquainted with it, and would not have failed to report it. I see nothing prepared here to offend you. Normandy is quiet, saving that they will be rovers and pirates as long as they live. I have had a servant at Nantes in Brittany these six weeks, on account of a suit pending there for some merchants of London. I do not hear from him of any embarkation of importance in those parts. La Roche, upon the petition of the Estates of Brittany, has been restrained by the king from making any levy of men. He has always a ship or two at sea, not always well occupied; and where they are at present, God knows. A gentleman of especial credit with M. Laval, and his

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only dealer in all his causes, having been long my guest in Jersey, when departing hence six weeks ago, assured me that I shall be advertised of everything done on that coast worth knowing.

The broken state of Saluces, Provence, and Dauphiné, in the first of which the fire burns high and clear, in the other two it is covered but not quenched; the discontent in Normandy, increased by those late rash dealings, and consequently some other provinces no better pleased, being not ignorant that these attempts reach to them; the jealousy conceived of those of the Religion in general, and the doubtful issue of the execution of this late composition at Nérac;—the consideration, I say, of these confusions and perhaps irreconcilable divisions, gives me cause to think that this is not the time when France will discover 'his' evil affections, being forced by necessity to make fair weather with their own subjects, much more with foreign princes of power and authority. I know you have some irons in the fire at present; and therefore fearing lest suspicion of harm from hence might divert you from other necessary action, I thought it well to give you my opinion at some length, with the ground of it; which I refer to your better judgement.

Men of good judgement here, especially of the religion, are of opinion that the Duke of Guise will attempt nothing against the king; rather they think that he is now in Normandy as a watchman for the king, and to further his service.

By the last letters from Rome the ambassador of Florence learns the embarkment is deferred. At the same time the ambassador of Venice has been given to understand that the first appointed time holds. I am assured that these letters have been thus diversely written. Some say that they are shipping great store of lime, which seems to argue that the enterprise is for Africa. The resolution, as many think, 'consists greatly in' the life or death of the now King of Portugal.

It is said that Bellegarde refusing utterly to come to Grenoble, Queen Mother offers to meet him at Turin or elsewhere in Savoy.

I do not doubt but that the contents of the 'cedule' enclosed are already known to you. Yet having received it in a French letter, I thought it my duty to impart it to you.

La Valette is dispatched to Queen Mother. Villequier is not yet returned. These 'confident' messengers show that the affairs of those parts are weighty.—Paris, 1 Sept. 1579.

Add. Endd. 2½ *pp.* [*France III.* 35.]

Sep. 10.

47. 'A copy of that which the three Electors, Palatine, Saxony, and Brandenburg, wrote to our Lords Duke John the elder, Duke Adolf, and Duke John the younger of Schleswig-Holstein, touching subscription to the following preface *in Formula Concordiæ*, under date 10 Sep. 1579.'

Letter from the three Electors pointing out the advantages hoped for from the publication of the *Formula Concordiæ* and the preface thereto, and expressing the desire that their correspondents will subscribe the latter.

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$1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Followed by the Preface in question,* 15 *pp. Endd. by R. Beale:* Preface to . . . . Concordiæ; *also, in Fr.*; *also, in a somewhat later hand*: touching the book made by Jacob Andrews, called Formula Concordiæ. *German.* [*Germ. States I.* 76.]

Sep. 10. **48.** *Latin version of the letter only. Endd. by R. Beale.* 1 *p.* [*Ibid. I.* 76*a*.]

Sep. 13. **49.** Villiers to Davison.

If you were here now you would find things in no way changed since I last saw you. Embize has retired to Leyden in Holland, and several others of his humour; and others do the like every day. Hence a great union has come about among the four Members; for most of the noblemen of the Liberty who were a hindrance on the other side have been prisoners in this town on account of the sedition they made here in July. To-day they have voluntarily resigned their posts, promising to absent themselves from this town for two years; so that a better order may be expected in future, though the harm that has been done is such that it is hard to remedy it, save with time.

M. de la Noue revictualled Brussels the day before yesterday. None of the enemy showed, though they are in greater strength than he. The enemy's camp remains near Maestricht, devastating and destroying everything in Juliers and about Liége; the soldiers in mutiny. We hear that Mondragon is dead on the road, and that the King of Spain did not set much by the capture of Maestricht, and did not believe that all the town would surrender. Anyhow the Duke of Terranova continues to talk extremely big. The Union of Utrecht wants to resolve to shorten the time of the negotiation, and withdraw wholly from the King's obedience. I think, if the enemy does not agree to peace, that the winter will not pass without our seeing a change; which I pray may be for the better.—Bruges, 13 Sept. 1579.

Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. XII.* 31.]

Sep. 13. **50.** John Norris to — Dannet.

Since my coming into this country I have committed no greater fault than not writing to you; but pardoning what is past, you shall see I will bethink myself better.

Our news gives no great occasion of discourse. The enemy has attempted nothing since the taking of Maestricht, but a few bravados in Guelders and towards Bois-le-duc and Huseden, where all his designs have failed; for in Guelders where he thought to have horrified them into withdrawing from the union, it has happened so contrarily, that they desire to have the Prince for their governor; at Bois-le-duc, where the Prince of Parma had recommended M. de Bassogni for Governor, after he was invested with the charge he temporised, and I think will be rather Malcontent than Spanish. There is a fresh rumour of the conclusion of peace

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with the Walloons, and that 'the war being committed to them to make' against such as shall infringe the Pacification of Ghent, the Spaniards will retire. It is affirmed that some show is made of performing this, for certain Spaniards have gone from Louvain with great store of carriages, and as many from Maestricht towards Namur. I believe nothing less than their departure, but hold this flourish made to break some determination of Monsieur.

The Prince is still in Flanders, which he has brought to such good terms that it will be a good helper to the ending of our poor war.—Antwerp, 13 Sept. 1579.

Add.: to Mr Dannet, at Mr Secretary Wilson's chamber in court. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 30.]

Sep. 15. **51.** Poulet to the Secretaries.

It is said that Bellegarde will not be intreated to come to any conference with Queen Mother, and that Diguières and his confederates the Protestants of Dauphiné are no less obstinate. These men have proposed new demands, and no one now doubts that they have intelligence with Bellegarde. It seems that Queen Mother is between two dangers. The indisposition of the king requires her presence here; the sick estate of those parts will not bear her absence without peril. Her most 'confident' servants have written that she never was more perplexed than at present.

The sickness in Genoa and other parts of Italy is thought to be the cause why the ordinary messengers do not come from Rome and Venice, so that there is no late advertisement of the doings in Italy.

M. de Rambouillet is about to be dispatched to the King of Navarre, where he will reside for the better preservation of amity between the two kings and for some other purposes.

The King of Poland, aided by those of Denmark and Sweden, is said to make sharp war against the Muscovite, and assail him on two sides. The war holds between the Turk and the Persian. The report of the surprise of Fontarabie proves untrue, of which I have written at length to her Majesty.—Paris, 15 Sep. 1579.

P.S.—I have appointed this bearer to pass by Boulogne upon some reasonable occasion; and, understanding that he is not yet satisfied for his last packet, recommend him to your favour for both.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson with full précis of contents. 1 p. [*France III. 36.*]

Sep. 17. **52.** A Letter from Cologne.

Mr Secretary, Though occurrents here are meagre, and the Imperial commissioner much cooled as regards making a good peace, awaiting the latest resolution of the States which will, as it is presumed, and as you may have heard, be such as to make peace

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remote, unless the would-be King of England does not compel them to promise, which they think God cannot do for His gospel—for up to now they can neither chew the offered assurance of peace, nor swallow that point of religion, without which all will fall into confusion—howsoever all this be, I would not fail to greet you by this present, recalling myself to your good graces and thanking you for all your courtesies. Pray believe that I am at your command when occasion offers. The copy of a lampoon circulated in this town has come into my hands, of which you, if you please, may make your own profit.

The Prince of Parma continues to reside in the devastated town of Maestricht with a garrison of Walloons, Spaniards and Germans. He has dismissed and paid off some or all of the Duke of Lauenburg's reiters, and presented each of the Rittmeisters with a golden chain worth 300 crowns and a medal with the King of Spain's portrait. They are passing through this town and neighbourhood. The remainder of the camp is scattered about Cleves and Liége, awaiting as it is said the conclusion of Count Mansfeldt's dealings with the Estates of Hainault and Artois. The Prince is in good condition, passing his time, while waiting for money to hold a general muster, with a wench whom he is keeping like a goddess. He has sent word to the Right Reverend Cardinal of Liége that he means to be reimbursed half the cost of the siege of Maestricht, amounting to 4,800,000 florins; the town and its dependencies being half in Brabant and half in Liege, and having formerly been administered under two kinds of justice and officials. Failing this, it will be entirely annexed to Brabant, and the Right Reverend discharged from his titles and jurisdiction. The prelate, astounded by this greeting, has taken a fever that is like to carry him off. The mortality is great in Maestricht, Aix, and Liége, and there is danger of their imparting it to their neighbours. This city indeed has begun to feel it, especially in the house of the Archbishop, who has lost his head cook [*qy.* '*Mre Keu*'] and two more of his household; making the prelate shift his quarters nimbly. Last night two oldish houses fell in; it is a piteous sight, but two children have been saved.

Fourteen cornets of reiters have been dismissed and paid all but four months, for which they hope to have security at Frankfort. They say that two regiments of German infantry were to be broke.

Such are the fruits of the war, which our sins have earned.—Cologne, 17 Sep. 1579.

On the flyleaf of the above:

Pasquille.

Promettre liberté—Exercer Tyrannie
Faire le Patriot—Preferer l'étranger
Chercher sa seurté– Mettre tout en danger
Se mettre loin des coups, Les siens à la boucherie:

Etre estimé chaste, et de sainte vie,
Femme et religion sans scrupule changer,
Ne parler que de tout en bon ordre ranger,

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Peuples, villes, et bourgs mettre tous en furie,
Humble être et clément, pitoiable et humain,
La vie ôter aux bons d'un clin d'oil sous la main,
Sans Dieu, sans Roy, sans foy, toutes fois contrefaire
Le preux, l'humble, le droit; c'est ce que ce fléau
De ce pauvre pays, cet abuseur scait faire.

Autre.

Promettre la liberté, Brasser la tirannie
Les gens emmieller de courtoise façon
Faire danser un peuple à sa belle façon
Quand sans être nommé tout le peuple il matue [? maitrie]
Qui fait mourir les bons, et tout froid le dénie.
De deux femmes mari, de cent religions,
Ne pouvant s'assurer qu'entre rebellions,
Savoir entretenir du peuple la magnie
Sous couleur de chasser étrangers à la feire [?]
La couvrir d'etrangers, appellez de la guerre,
Etablir cent tyrans, méconnaître son Roi,
Mettre tout au rebours et dire qu'il n'y touche
Sont les faits et les vertus du bon saint que je touche
Prince des Réformés, zélateur de la foi.

Endd. by L. Tomson: The copy of a letter of the 17th September, sent from Collen to Mr Gilpin. *Fr.* 2½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 32.]

Sep. 18. **53.** Decision of the King of Portugal on Dom Antonio's claim to the succession.

Having seen the brief *proprio motu* of Pope Gregory XIII, empowering us to decide summarily upon the question of the marriage of Dom Luis my brother and Donna Violante mother of my nephew Dom Antonio, and so of his legitimacy and having in pursuance of the said brief cited the parties concerned, viz. the claimants to the succession, we notified Dom Antonio to defend his case. Among the witnesses whom he named were four who he said were present at the alleged marriage, Bastiao Bras, Luis de Pinna, Antonio Carlos and Guiomar Gomez his wife. Documents also were produced which we direct to be filed with the proceedings. After these witnesses and others were examined we thought it superfluous to enquire further, as required by Dom Antonio and my niece the Lady Catherine, one of the opposing parties, the facts being sufficiently established without it, nor did we think it necessary to hear rebutting evidence on Lady Catherine's behalf. And taking as our assessors the prelates and learned persons hereinafter mentioned, and having with them examined the acts of the case, as there appeared to all of them to be no proof [of a marriage] between Dom Luis and Donna Violante, by words *de præsente*, or *de futuro*, or by any other way, her only witnesses being her sister Guiomar Gomez, who testifies to words *de præsente*, and her husband Antonio Carlos, and if she says that Dom Luis said to Donna Violante that he would have no wife but her, she does not say that Donna Violante used the same or any words, while Luis de Pinna and Bastiao Bras, witnesses called by Dom Antonio, say that they neither saw the marriage nor heard any such words but affirm that they were suborned to say that which they did not know, and if they did promise to do so they spoke the truth when examined on oath; and whereas the evidence of Guiomar Gomez, besides

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standing alone, and being that of a relation and an interested person, is much suspected of falsehood, while, besides that, that of her husband is inconclusive, the one does not agree with the other; and whereas the decision claimed on behalf of Dom Antonio, as given by an alleged judge of the order of St. John, is manifestly null, being given by a person without jurisdiction in such a case; and whereas our late brother in his will always refers to Dom Antonio as his natural son, and there are notorious reasons and strong presumptions against the marriage: we pronounce and declare that there is no proof of marriage between Dom Luis and Donna Violante, but rather a very violent presumption that the whole thing is a machination, and we pronounce Dom Antonio illegitimate, and conformably to the said brief impose on him perpetual silence.

And whereas his Holiness has committed to us the punishment of the witnesses whom we have found to blame in this case, we order that in view of what appears against them in these acts, Antonio Carlos and his wife Guiomar Gomes be arrested, and from prison clear themselves of the charges brought against them. And as for Dom Antonio my nephew, let power be reserved to us to proceed against him as may seem to us in conformity with the brief.—'The King.'

The Archbishop of Lisbon, the Bishop of Leiria, the Bishop of Miranda, the Bishop Head Chaplain, G^ar de Figueiredo, Paulo Antonio, Hier^mo Pe^ra de Sa, Hector de Pinna, Rui de Mattos de Moranha.

Faithfully and word for word translated from the original by Manuel Antunez, notary apostolic, and signed by him.—Lisbon, 18 Sept. 1579.

Copy. Endd. in Spanish. Port. 3½ *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 16.]

Sept. **54.** Don Antonio's reply.

I have just heard of the sentence which you have commanded against me, and in so great affliction God provided me a comfort, that you gave me the name of your nephew, as in truth I am and son to the Infante Don Lewis, to whom you and all this realm are so much indebted. I also believe that if the Infante should lift up his head from the grave, he would reverence you, by the great love he always bore to you, and by the many services he has done you, and the like I believe you would have done. If King John your brother could tell you the goodness which I always found at his hands, I believe that both would marvel at the great persecution which you command to be used to me, being innocent and having no other intent but to love and serve you. I see that it does not proceed from your goodness, but I believe it proceeds from the sins of this realm, which goes to decay more and more, and from mine. Also I think you proceed against me after this sort with the seal and instructions of some evil men, whom the Lord will not leave unpunished, and I know they persuade you to persecute me continually as never was done to any other man; a deed so far from

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your natural condition and virtues as I well know, and it is evident that I being used by you after this sort it shows a great ill-will against me, a thing which was never found in the Christian soul of your Highness, but rather proceeds of the ill-will which these men bear me. I think therefore that I owe to them the persecutions done to me, and to my ill-fortune before you the execution of the same.

Coming from captivity ('in the which yet some would say it was untroth' being men very near you, saying they heard some words from my mouth as to my 'lawfullness'—and if it were so, being said without consideration it could well be amended with your reprehension), you commanded me to avoid the Court in the night-time, 'because I should' find none to pity my case, and kept me a banished man all the time of my pretension, to the great discredit of my person when all the other pretenders openly requested their justice of you; being 'well seen' and favoured by you, and accompanied by their friends. You also got against me a Bull from the Pope, as shameful as was seen; in which you showed yourself forgetful of the honour of the Infante (God rest his soul) your brother.

You commanded me to produce my proofs in two days, which ought to be more, as was granted to other suitors, and banished me 30 leagues, and were not 'served' to grant things which were requested in my behalf according to the right of the law.

You gave sentence against me, and commanded me to be apprehended, saying I had produced false witness. If it were so, in your Courts be unpunished [*sic*] those who 'entice' witness. But in truth it was a great lie which was told you; but I hope in the Lord that you shall know all the truth, and do me justice.

A Bull coming afterwards from the Pope, which 'revoked' the judgement of this case to himself, I did not 'urge in the cause,' living sadly and miserably during the time of your misliking of me, which was so ill deserved on my part. For I offended in nothing; and yet it is lawful for murderers and thieves to run away and hide from justice.

I have no lawyer, nor dares any man speak for me; because 'Jacob Botelio,' who by your order did my business, by your order was banished from the realm; so that when I 'missed' him the rest were afraid.

You say that I hid myself from the same 'Editus' [? Edict] because I would not be admonished of matters pertaining to your service and the benefit of your realm; and therefore you would proceed against me as a rebel 'treating' against your service and the quiet of your realm.

As to the first, God will not permit that such a name may ever with reason be given to me, nor that I should ever treat against your service whom I wish to increase, nor against the quietness of this realm, which I desire more than all the rest that it be not extinct, 'as it seems to be in the way for it,' according to my duty

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to the kings from whom I proceed, who got the realm, defended and maintained unto this present, for which cause you are king of it, and may the Lord continue you many years.

As concerning the saying of your 'Editus' that if I should not appear you would proceed against me; this I fear more than death, by reason of the great obedience, 'serviture,' and love which I bear to you, as to a father, uncle, and king. But if the faults alleged against me were true, the laws of your realm permit me to keep the church during the time that I may not have access to you. I humbly beseech you to grant me that in this present trouble the church may be my safeguard; and to consider my case, that I shall not be so ill-used if it please God that I should be the second person after you in this realm. And besides that, so puissant a king does no great 'effect' in persecuting a nephew and vassal who never intended anything but his service as reason requires.

If my sins and those of this realm do not permit you to mitigate your wrath, I shall turn to our Lord, and call for remedy of so many troubles. And I beseech you to let me appeal from the 'Editus' and at the same time humbly demand a sight of it; or else that my letters may be 'annexed' to the Cortes.

English translation. Endd. by Wilson: King of Portugal edict against Don Antonio, and Don Antonio his answer to the same. 3½ *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 17.]

Sept. **55.** The Prince of Orange's message to the Estates sent by Sainte-Aldegonde.

Summary of points laid before the meeting of the Estates General by M. de Ste. Aldegonde on behalf of the Prince of Orange.

After discourse as to what passed at Dendermonde and Ghent, he set forth the matters deliberated in council at Ghent.

It would be better for his Excellency to stay at Ghent a little longer than to come here at once.

Those who were at that deliberation think it necessary for him to stay some days yet, because on this affair of Ghent depends the preservation of the country in regard to the union of the provinces, and the appeasing of the civil war which threatens, and the other troubles that we have on our shoulders.

For the union depends on religion, war, and peace; and nothing can be brought into order again if what is done at Ghent be not started on a footing which may serve as an example to all the others, as is from past experience too obvious to need proof.

Civil wars must be appeased by remedies applied to the sources whence they spring, for which reason affairs at Ghent need to be remedied before all else.

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The most obvious point is that of means; and if the affairs of Ghent be not set in good order means for carrying on the war will notoriously fail.

If his Excellency leaves incomplete the work that he has begun not only will the fruit of past labours be lost but things will suffer a relapse worse than the original disease; as is evident from the remains of disturbance at Ghent, manifest to all who have seen the ulceration of the hearts of both parties, and principally against the Walloons, which will break out again on the smallest occasion or none at all, if it be not obviated by the presence of his Excellency.

In the matter of means there is certain to be a failure if his Excellency does not take measures, owing to the exorbitant extortions in the past.

What is more, things are only beginning; and it is to be feared that, if his Excellency does not see to it, the discontent against the Ecclesiastics and their desire for vengeance on all who have offended them will be redoubled, leading to a renewal of civil dissensions worse than ever.

On the other hand for the following reasons it is thought that his Excellency ought to come here at once, because matters at Ghent having been put in some order the rest can be done by deputies.

Because his presence here is necessary for more general matters, such as (1) the general treaty of peace, (2) the treaty with the Duke of Alençon, (3) that with the Reiters, (4) the general question of means.

Further, it is thought that when he is away from Ghent it will be more easy to bring them to an agreement, as when he is there they always have a pledge of security in the event of their wishing to draw back.

Besides, in respect of the Prince's personal safety, and of being able freely to execute what has been agreed upon, it is thought that it would be better if he were here.

Above all the oppression prevailing in Brabant makes his presence necessary.

To which it was replied:

That the essence of the terms made is in acts and not in promises, and therefore if nothing is done it is all the same as if no terms had been made.

That though affairs here are of a more general nature than those at Ghent, yet on nearer consideration it will be seen that nothing can be done in respect of them till the differences at Ghent are settled, and the agreement of the *Religions freid* actually carried out, because on this example all the other provinces depend; otherwise Artois and other provinces will take the opportunity to make peace on their own account—a pernicious thing in war.

It will be impossible to make any fruithful treaty with the Duke of Alençon until this cause of discontent be removed.

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The satisfaction of the Reiters and the raising of means generally manifestly depend upon this matter, which must be settled before anything can be done with safety.

His Excellency's prudence and the good will of those at Ghent who are true patriots, that is the soundest and largest part, give the best security for his safety.

The aid to be given to Brabant depends on the foregoing, and especially on the question of means.

Such are the arguments as to the Prince's stay at Ghent or return here, on which he desires the opinion of the Estates.

The rest consists more of a declaration of his Excellency's opinion than of discussion; as for instance touching the articles submitted to the Duke of Alençon, as to which his Excellency said that the promise made to satisfy his *Altèze* should be fulfilled as soon as possible.

With regard to the treaty of peace, as well that of which Count Schwarzenberg is treating as that proposed in Artois, he can only say that care must be had above all things to treat of peace in general, without letting any province make terms for itself.

And to hasten affairs in Flanders he suggests to the Estates whether it would not be well to give him power to dispatch commissioners who, with the deputies of the four Members of the State, should in every town put into execution the points agreed upon concerning the exercise of the two religions, the restriction of goods, etc. to the end that all things may be done in order.

As regards money, he has asked the four Members in Flanders for 300,000 or 400,000 florins, not knowing what he will obtain, though the look of things seems to testify their readiness.

As to the men-at-arms, he thinks the Scottish should be replaced under Captain Balfour and Stewart, the English under Norris, and the French under MM. de la Garde and de Mouy; and that it may be arranged with them that if they get three months on the old roll all the rest shall be cancelled, which would be a profit of 300,000 or 400,000 florins to the Estates. Also that there need be no thought of presenting a chain worth 1,000 crowns to each colonel, which will be a further saving of 3,000 or 4,000. As to the Reiters, he would give 3,000 florins to each cornet, and some satisfaction to Duke Casimir's men; other things to remain on the old footing. He would also recommend M. de la Garde, who has done good service, and whose men are in great want. Lastly, M. de la Noue, to whom he has given 16 or 17 gentlemen, begs that it may please the Estates to order a lodging to be assigned to him by the quartermaster at Brussels; because without an order from the Estates General the local Estates make a difficulty.

Copy. Fr. Endd. in Fr. and Eng. ['Articles proposed to the Estates by the Prince of Orange, Sept. 1577,' *in Laurence Tomson's hand; but the date is clearly wrong.*] 6 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 38.]

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56. The King of Denmark crossed the sea on Aug. 19. Next day he explained to the Duke of Mecklenburg the plan which he had thought of proposing to the Elector of Saxony to compose the differences in the Reformed Churches. The duke, as I hear, thought them so acceptable that he judged that the elector would readily approve them. On Aug. 21 the elector met the duke and the king at Güstrow. I told you before that the gentleman sent by the Prince of Orange with the King of Navarre's letter to the King of Denmark, seeing that he approved it and willingly offered to do his best in the matter he requested, told him that the elector was so hostile to those whom he held for Calvinists that if his Majesty spoke about the Churches of France and the Low Countries he would be so much offended that he would give no answer. And on the King of Denmark saying that he could not propose anything of such importance without letting it be known what had been asked of him, the gentleman gave him hope that the Queen of England would send to him to the same effect. The king therefore deferred speaking of it to the elector till the 27th; always awaiting advices from the Queen. But herein being disappointed, on the 27th he handed to the elector a copy of the King of Navarre's letter, rendered into German, and told him the method which to him and many princes both in and out of Germany seemed suitable for putting an end to the controversies which exist among those of the reformed Religion. But his explanations had not much effect with the elector, who left Güstrow next day, the 28th.

If seems a special providence that the Queen did not send to this meeting at Güstrow, so that she and the other princes who are accused may advance the cause more diligently than they have hitherto done. I will tell accordingly what I have heard.

It is certain that the representations which the King of Denmark made to the Elector of Saxony and to the chief persons who were with him and the other princes at Güstrow will have been fruitful. Some have been confirmed in their right opinion, while others have recognised the injustice done to many princes under colour of union. It is to be presumed that James Andreæ and those of his faction will not give up their previous designs, and if they do not succeed as they wish, no doubt they and the Papists will hinder with all their power the Synod which is sought, so that all may remain in confusion, and the Churches be an easier prey to their enemies. All honest folk should do all in their power to remedy this.

In the Confession of the Saxon Churches published by command of the elector in 1574 and also in the Book of Concord, the errors attributed to the Churches of France, England, Scotland and the Low Countries are set forth and condemned. It is reasonable that those who have in this sort been publicly condemned should demonstrate their innocence, if they do not wish the charge to be deemed just.

All who profess religion, whatever their rank, are bound to confess their faith publicly whenever called upon; and so when accused of heresy. Many private persons seeing the neglect of kings and princes, have written to prove the innocence of the calumniated Churches; but not being of great authority, their labour has

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served little. And it is certain that so long as theologians argue about religious controversies, these will only increase; at any rate they will never agree, and anyone can see how prejudicial these dissensions have been, and are, to all Christendom.

It is therefore much to be desired that the Queen should make a simple confession of faith, in her own name, containing only what is necessary to our salvation. Herein, as shall be shown in more detail, is the way to compose the differences.

The King of Denmark has bestirred himself sincerely in this matter, and has promised to send deputies to the general Synod when it is formed. The Landgraves of Hesse and the Duke of Anhalt are worthy of eternal praise for the endeavour they have made. Many other princes of Germany too have rejected the means of concord propounded by Andreæ and his party. The landgraves are brothers-in-law to the Elector Palatine, and have much influence with him; and it may be that without their wise counsels he would not have borne himself so considerately as he has in these controversies. The Duke of Anhalt has had enough power with his son-in-law the Elector of Brandenburg to make him write to the elector of Saxony in disapproval of the Book of Concord, though he had previously subscribed to it. This was why the Elector of Saxony on leaving Güstrow went to the Elector of Brandenburg; I do not yet know with what result.

Since the King of Denmark, the Landgrave, and the Duke of Anhalt have so frankly declared themselves, one can be sure of them, and have good hopes of the Dukes of Holstein, of Mecklenburg, of Pomerania; of Duke Casimir and many others, who will easily follow the advice of the King of Denmark, the Landgrave, and the Duke of Anhalt. Up to now they have refused to subscribe to the Book of Concord.

If the Queen makes a Confession of Faith, it may be hoped that the King of Navarre with the French Churches, and the Prince of Orange with the Churches of the Low Countries will approve it. It might be sent, before it is printed, to the princes of Germany, not merely for approval, but in order that if anything contravenes the writings of the Apostles and Prophets, they may point it out to her Majesty, who will receive their advice cordially. This method of procedure cannot but be acceptable to any Christian prince who seeks God's glory, and has a particle of Christian charity.

Matters of great importance are hard to accomplish, but if they are dexterously conducted, the result is generally happy. If the Queen would further so holy and necessary a work, it would be well for her first to send to the Landgraves and the Duke of Anhalt to let them know that she has decided to send to the King of Denmark, and wishes before she does so to communicate with them and have their advice. I have no doubt that they will be honoured and pleased by this request, and will do all in their power to meet it. Perhaps they will also send to the King (if they are asked), or write to him; a thing much to be desired. For however good his will may be, if he hears that they approve, he and his Council will more readily consent. And if he and those two princes agree with the Queen, it is certain that most of the Protestant lords and towns of Germany will follow.

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I propose that a beginning be made with the Landgrave and the Duke of Anhalt, because if you begin with the King of Denmark the Queen's decision will be at once known to our adversaries, who will have all the more time to break or hinder it. It would therefore be well for the Queen to send to the Landgrave and the Duke as secretly as possible, or under some other pretext. Her envoys after speaking to the Landgrave and the Duke might meet at Hamburg or Lubeck and thence go to Denmark. For if the King, the Landgrave and the Duke agree with the Queen, it will be easier to make sure of the Dukes of Holstein, Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and of others to whom our adversaries might do harm. Further, while the Queen's envoys are going to Denmark, the Landgrave and Duke might as of themselves make representation to the Electors Palatine and of Brandenburg how necessary it is for the safety of the reformed Churches that the means they propose should be furthered by them. In this way, on the return of the envoys to Lubeck, Hamburg, or other appointed place, it will be easy to let them know the wishes of those two Electors, and then to decide on the course they should adopt towards them and the Elector of Saxony and others who will have to be solicited. After speaking with the King of Denmark, the envoys on their return through Holstein can meet Dukes John and Adolphus, who will not reject the advice of the King, the Landgrave and the Duke of Anhalt; nor will the Dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania. So much for the best way, as I think, of furthering this negotiation. I will now explain what I think should be done to make known to all men the Queen's sincerity and care for the public good.

First, let her at the same time send some to the Landgrave and the Duke of Anhalt to communicate the Confession I have spoken of, and find out if they approve it, or what they miss in it (*y désireront*).

Secondly, let her set out the principal points that are in dispute between the reformed Churches and pray the princes to consider the best means of composing them; and whereas many of them think that an end cannot be put to them more surely than by a general Synod in Germany, let her consent to that.

Thirdly, let her repudiate the heresies and errors which are imputed to her and to the abovenamed Churches, and show the wrong done them in the matter.

Fourthly, there are in Germany some theologians who say that what the Churches which are condemned confess verbally or in writing would be very well, but they do not believe it. In other words they deem otherwise of religion than they profess, and in this way lead astray those whom they teach. Dr David Chytræus has persuaded the Elector of Saxony and other princes of Germany that there was nothing more pernicious than the condemned Churches, and no other way of saving Germany from their poison than by a formula of concord composed by learned judges having cognizance of things spiritual. See how that malicious hypocrite, transported by avarice and ambition, keeps all Christendom in turbulence and combustion, as you may see by the book that I send you, which is the

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basis of the Elector's action. Let the Queen therefore, to remove these sinister opinions, publish a confession of her faith in a general Synod, assuring herself that there will be found no man so shameless or so malicious as to say that she would so far forget herself, and with a light heart offend God, as to profess in face of the Church that which she does not in her heart and soul believe. As a further proof of her sincerity she should promise that if anyone in her realms writes, teaches or speaks contrary to what she professes, she will punish him in so exemplary fashion that all may recognise her integrity and holy zeal.

When kings and princes talk in this wise they will certainly not be calumniated or condemned as if they were private persons or theologians of no reputation. Also other princes who formerly suspected them will form such opinion of them as their integrity and good faith merit.

To conclude: it is evident that the King of Denmark, the Landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Anhalt are of opinion that the controversies in the reformed Churches cannot be ended more easily than by a general Synod, and the same may be said of the Dukes of Holstein, Mecklenburg, Pomerania and others; and it is to be hoped that by their efforts the Electors Palatine and of Brandenburg will readily consent thereto, with all those who desire the public weal. But to confirm them, as well as to make manifest the wrong that has been done the Queen, it would be much to the purpose that she repudiate the heresies imputed to her and the Churches who hold the same views and protest before God and the whole world against the injury done her in this matter.

Similarly, since certain German theologians say that she is not sincere in her professions, to put a stop to these malicious inventions, she has made [*sic*] a brief Confession of faith, which she will develop more fully at the Synod, whither she will willingly send when she knows the date and place.

Further she has separated from her Confession the principal articles whereon she thinks that differences exist, desiring that they may be settled by the Synod, without hindrance from corrupt theologians. If these are kept within the limits of reason this will be easy and the results lasting.

Finally the Queen shall promise that if any of her subjects contravenes the decisions of the Synod she will have him severely punished; hoping that other evangelical kings and princes will do the like.

If she will prosecute this enterprise she will do nothing contrary to her dignity nor put her state in danger. If the design succeeds she will give repose to all Christendom; and whatever ensues she forms a league (though the word must be carefully avoided) with the princes of Germany stronger than treaties or oaths could make it. May God touch the hearts of princes to the relief of the afflicted Churches.

Copy. Endd. by Burghley's secretary: A discourse of the K. of Denmark's proceedings with the D. of Saxony etc. *Fr.* 9½ *pp.* [*Germ. States I.* 79.]

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? Sept. **57.** 'Demands of the King of Spain's subjects against Sir Humfrey Gilbert.'

First, the ship named *Mary*, Master Gillam Malerna, laden with linen-cloth, 'haberdash wares,' and other merchandise; which, following her voyage to Spain, was taken by ships of the said Sir Humfrey and one Master Miles Morgan, and part of the goods were sold in Cornwall, as it has been well proved.

Item, they demand restitution of the spoil committed by the aforesaid ships in Galicia, where they came aland and sacked the village and did many outrages to the inhabitants and the church; part of which spoil was likewise sold in Cornwall.

Item, restitution of certain iron taken from a Spaniard.

Item, a barque of Sir Humfrey's, one Mr Wigmore being captain, had part of the linen-cloth. He bought of Derifall, master of Mr Knowell's ship named the *Francis*, a cable and anchor belonging to the French ship that Mr Knowell's ship took, and paid for them in linen-cloth, being parcel of our demand.

The Ambassador's request is that the king's subjects may be recompensed for the wrongs done [them, and that the male] factors may be punished according to the amity and league between their Majesties.

Endd.: Information against Sir Humphrey Gilbert. *One name corrected in Burghley's hand.* ½ *p.* [*Spain I.* 29.]

Oct. 2. **58.** Charles de Beaulieu to Davison.

Certain cipher dispatches from Bernardino de Mendoza to the Prince of Parma have been sent out of England to M. de Villiers to be deciphered, and he has applied to me for that purpose, knowing that at the beginning of the troubles in Zealand I found the trick of them, whereby we got at the truth of our enemies' secrets. The like I did in the service of her Majesty whenever she would have the mails from Spain or from the ambassador rifled, by that means to know the truth of the heart as against the feigning of the mouth. This I did, with much labour of my wits, until I arrived at a knowledge of the characters in this cipher, 350 in number, used to denote the alphabet, and so devoted myself to it that some time afterwards you requested me to decipher another cipher, that of the Portugal ambassador. In recompence for this I asked you to take up the case of my brother, Jan de Beaulieu, against Benedetto Spinola in respect of the wrong which had been done him, causing him and myself great loss of property and time, and at the end had to compound for 200 crowns. Notwithstanding all this I am ready to serve her Majesty whereinsoever God gives me grace; but seeing that this science is rare and very laborious, and that ordinarily such discoveries are largely recompensed by the great lords who seek the service of the small servant, I pray you recommend me to her Majesty or Sir F. Walsingham for the reward of this practice and labour. It will be a great help to me and of small account to her

A.D. 1579. Majesty; and if she will do this she will find me ready to acquaint her with other ciphers which it will be to her advantage to know.

As for the marks which have remained blank in the cipher, noted with the cipher number and underlined, these are names of persons and places which I do not know. You will be better able to judge of them than I, to know the persons referred to, or the places situated in the regions mentioned in the missive.—Ghent, 2 Oct. 1579.

Add. Fr. 2 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 34.]

Oct. 5. **59.** Villiers to Davison.

I send two letters which I have received for you. I would have sent them sooner had I not been extremely unwell for the last fortnight. Now, thank God, I am better, though I cannot walk; but I hope to be out of the house within four days. I have been employing M. de Beaulieu to decipher some letters that Mr Secretary sent me. [*in margin*] I have sent the decipher to him. He has nearly finished, not without difficulty; and has asked me to write you a word of commendation to accompany a letter which he is writing, which is enclosed. You will do with it as reason directs, but I could not honourably refuse his request.

We are here, as everywhere else, in much apprehension about the marriage, and by what I can learn you are in no less difficulty. I pray God for an issue that may redound to His glory and the good of the realm of England.

Affairs have been brought to such a position in Flanders that it is now the most easily-guided province in the whole country. It is not yet rid of soldiers, for this malady, caused by the ambition and ignorance of others, is too deeply rooted. It is, however, beginning to work itself off, alike by the resistance which the Walloons have met with as by the diversion those of Tournay, Cambray, Landrecies and Bouchain have made. These have begun the war by rifling M. d'Egmont on his way to be married; and he has lost his jewels and the lady's, with 10,000 florins in silver. The enemy have left Willebroek, hearing of the approach of M. de la Noue, who is now in the place.

The peace proceedings of Cologne cannot so far be broken up; there are always some persons to knot it together again. Yet I think we shall soon hear the issue of it: but if it is broken we shall be in a new difficulty with M. des Pruneaux, whom we have contented up to now by saying that the peace was still on foot.

If you ask me about the departure of the Spaniards, they seem to be making good preparations, but I cannot believe it till I see it. Those of Arras certainly have not proclaimed their peace, and say they will not do so till the Spaniard has fulfilled his promise. I commend myself to your good grace and that of Mrs Davison; my wife and Marie do the same.—Antwerp, 5 Oct. 1579.

Add. Fr. 2 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 35.]

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60. News from the Low Countries.

Since the overthrow received by the States' men about Willebroek as 'per my last' I told you, the Prince of Orange not meaning to leave it unrevenged sent men both by water and by land under M. de la Noue to attempt the taking of the fort; but the enemy that kept it, hearing of their coming, sent to Mechlin for aid, and finding no 'conford' left the place, which the States' men took without a fight. It is thought they will so provide for its keeping that it will not hereafter be lost without great blows. The agreement being published in Mons, Arras, and other places of the confederacy, those of Valenciennes have demanded three months to resolve thereupon; meantime they will remain neuter, yet show more favour to the States than to the enemy. The like is alleged to those of Bouchain, Beauvais, Landrecies, Cambray, and other towns of those provinces, to the great discontentment of the Malcontents. The Prince of Orange so wrought at Ghent, with the aid of the four Members of Flanders, that they hope to be assured of these places; having sent 40,000 gilders for payment of the garrisons, while as much or more is ready to be conveyed shortly.

Count Egmont, as he was travelling towards Mons with three or four wagons laden with ladies and gentlewomen, besides certain stuff, with his plate and jewels, conducted by 80 horse, meaning to celebrate his marriage there, was encountered by M. 'Dentzy,' governor of Cambray, with several soldiers of that town and Bouchain; who slew five or six of the Count's men, took some prisoners, and dispersed the rest. The Count being well mounted narrowly escaped, leaving his ladies and carriages to the spoil. They were taken to Bouchain. Count Lalaing had laid a train to entrap M. de Villiers, governor of Bouchain, but did not succeed.

By cutting a ditch near Bois-le-duc, by order of those of Holland, they laid the country about Heusden so far under water that the Spaniards who went to besiege it were forced to retire, and it is thought those of Bois-le-duc will also be annoyed.

The Spaniards have dispersed into sundry places thereabouts, and 300 of them coming near the gates of Breda those of the town issued out and took them in such a place that they slew eight or nine, took three or four prisoners, and forced the rest to retire.

In Mechlin there is a great stir about the taking in of the soldiers that came from Willebroek. Part of the townsmen will receive them and the other part will not; so they are in arms against one another. What will follow the Lord only knows.

Those of Termonde have drawn up certain sluices and drained most of the country round about Aelst, so that it is thought it will greatly hinder approach to the town.

1¼ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 36.]

Oct. 5 & 8. **61.** Advices from Italy.

Prospero Colonna is at Pisa with 3,000 soldiers, and so far as we hear, ill-satisfied, because no vessels appear there to embark them.

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It is not known when they are coming, and meantime the soldiers are not being paid, insomuch that it would not take much to cause some disorder. Don Pietro de Medici is still here, which is a sign of delay.

On the 28th ult. two envoys from Venice arrived here accompanied by some honourable Venetian gentlemen. They were received with the greatest honour possible, and lodged in the Pitti Palace. On the following day the Grand Duke gave them public audience at his usual palace, and on the 3rd they had audience of the Duchess, whom they presented with a rich collar of jewels, valued at 8,000 ducats. They go on being entertained at feasts and should depart within eight days.—Florence, 8 October.

The lady to whom the Duke of Alva's son and heir was said to be married found out, it seems, that he was not so much so. She is marrying the son and heir of the Duke of Massa, with 80,000 *scudi* of dowry, and they make him a grandee like those of Spain. For the other news from Madrid I care not. Herewith I send you a roll (? *un Rol*) of the preparations at Naples; subject to the risk that if it is not so they (the preparations) it is that lie, as usual, for the truth is that they are the greatest fittings-out ever seen in our time.

It is much affirmed that the Viceroy of Naples will go with the fleet to Cartagena, and that the Commendador Mayor, who is ambassador here, goes to Naples, while the ambassador here will be the Marquis of Alcanluces, who has been staying here nearly a year. Fabrizio Colonna, eldest son of Marcantonio Colonna, Viceroy of Sicily, is going as general of the Sicilian galleys since Gil Danerade (*qu.* d'Andrade) has died. He left Naples for Leghorn with galleys to embark the soldiers who are in Tuscany, of whom Prospero Colonna is colonel. I think he had news of 22 Algerine galleys that went about in these seas, and they were the cause of his not going to Gaeta. Yet some say that one galliot caught them, but that he retired to Gaeta in great haste. Yesterday, St. Francis's Day, news came that these galleys had entered the port 12 miles from here and watered. Some say that they have taken cattle and certain people. The lieutenant of the Pope's guard, who was sent with light horse to reconnoitre, says that they have done nothing but take water. Now that they are gone it is said that Don Giovanni da Cardona, general of the galleys for the kingdom, is coming from Naples with 28 galleys and going to cruise on the coast hereabouts.

Up to now it has been summer in these parts, and never was seen such a dry September as this last, for up till to-day it has not rained. They say the ships are all going to Sardinia and thence to Cartagena.—Rome, 5 Oct. 1579.

Marginal notes in Burghley's hand. Endd. by him and Wilson. Ital. 1¼ *pp.* (*Italy I.* 2.)

Oct. 12. **62.** Poulet to the Queen.

Having received from Monsieur the enclosed letter, making ample demonstration of his constant affection towards you, I would not

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fail to impart it to your Highness. The bearer is also commanded by Monsieur to pray me to signify to you that he esteems as nothing all the testimonies of good will that he has yielded hitherto, and prays you, whatever you hear of the doings here, to assure yourself of his good will in all sincerity. It is possible this clause bore some secret meaning, which I leave to your wisdom.

M. Hallot de Montmorency speaks so honourably of your Majesty and your Court, with profession of his devotion to your service, that you have no cause to repent of your favour to him in England. He took the pains to dine with me yesterday, accompanied by M. de Marchemont, and after dinner took his journey towards Monsieur, and though I had not heard from England since I last wrote to his Highness I thought good to trouble him with a word or two, fearing to offend if having received a letter from him by M. Hallot I let him depart without an answer.

Marchemont tells me that the companies levied in Burgundy and those parts by de Rieux, brother to de Laval, Beaujeu, and others their assistants, mentioned in my former letter, are at the devotion of the Duke of Guise, and have been assembled by his order and at his charges. He is of opinion that their enterprise is all one with the other forces of Champagne, which are indeed commanded by the most 'confident' servants of the Duke, and are said to be two or three regiments, besides those of the king's guards. He says that Matignon received yesterday express command from the King to repair speedily into Champagne; so that he doubts not but some great matter is in hand, but cannot as yet sound the bottom of it, though he professes to fear that it reaches to the prejudice of his best friends.

I learn from others that the companies levied by de Rieux and others are to be employed in the service of the Estates against the Spaniards. If the French have any part in these doings I doubt not but you are made acquainted with it, and therefore forbear to trouble you with the bruits of this town.

The King is at Olinville, accompanied by the Duke of Guise, who seems to have great credit with him at present.

Queen Mother has been sick, but is recovered; and now they say she will not be here until the 15th of next month, being in great hope to speak shortly with Bellegarde at Monluel, a town belonging to the Duke of Savoy, four leagues from Lyons.

We hear by letters of the 22nd ult. from Rome, Venice, and other places in Italy that the Spanish army was to be embarked before the last of September. It is confirmed in many ways that a good part of it is already arrived at 'Calis in Spain.'

The son of the Duke of Terranova departed hence yesterday for Spain, having remained two or three days secretly in the house of the King of Spain's agent here.—Paris, 12 Oct. 1579.

Add. Endd. by Lisle Cave. 2½ *pp.* [*France III.* 37.]

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Oct. 4. **63.** *Enclosed in the above :—*

THE DUKE OF ANJOU to POULET.

M. Hallot de Montmorency being back from England I am dispatching him to the King my brother, and have charged him to call upon you in my name, to let you know in what good health he left the Queen of England and learn from you if any occasion offer for me to employ myself in your service, as you may be sure I will do in all that concerns you and wherein you require it.—Verneuil, 5 Oct. 1579. (*Signed*) François.

Add. Endd. by Poulet. Fr. ½ *p.* [*France III.* 37*a.*]

Oct. 12. **64.** POULET to WALSINGHAM.

Please peruse the enclosed papers, by which you will see the good skill and painful diligence of your servant. I am desired to sue in his behalf that his annuity for one year, of which two or three months are already expired, may be advanced to him. Such honest and towardly servants are worthy to be cherished.

I trust Sir Henry Cobham is on his way hither.—Paris, 12 Oct. 1579.

P.S.—I refer to your consideration to show her Majesty the enclosed copy of my letter to Monsieur, or no.

Holograph. Add. Endd. ¼ *p.* [*Ibid. III.* 38.]

Oct. 16. **65.** ARCHDUKE MATTHIAS to WALSINGHAM.

Not wishing to let an opportunity pass of writing to you our gratitude for your good will, and this bearer, Mr Roger Strange, presenting himself, we have thought good to write begging you not forget us nor diminish your good will aforesaid whether to us privately or to these countries, whose good we desire as our own and whose state is greatly shaken by this war; a matter of no small importance to the realm of England, as you can well judge. Commend us to the Queen our good cousin, assuring her that we shall not fail to obey her when she honours us with her commands.—Antwerp, 16 Oct. 1579.

Add. Endd. Fr. ½ *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 37.]

Oct. 17. **66.** VILLIERS to DAVISON.

I hope with all my heart that things are going well in your country; but as I cannot know in detail what is expedient and what not, I can but remit all to God, to whom we must pray to have a care of all, chiefly of several honest folks who are there. I have often dreaded the scourge of God, principally by reason of the churchmen, who are so horribly corrupt that most of them only think of the kitchen, and even talk of nothing else; for by reading of sacred literature and histories of the Church I perceive that the corruption of the ministers is the cause, or the certain sign, of the Church's ruin, if it be not remedied. And so I say often *Da pacem Domine in*

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diebus nostris and the rest. There is little or no talk of the marriage in France, and it is certain that M. d'Anjou has left the Court ill-content over some article respecting it, I know not what. I am for many reasons extremely grieved at what has happened to Mr Stubbes, and I am even afraid that his intimates may find themselves in trouble. I make no doubt that his friends will aid him to the best of their power, although if her Majesty takes this action to heart I fear it will be difficult.

I have spoken to his Excellency touching the key. He would have liked her Majesty or at least Mr Secretary to write of it to the States; but he has not omitted to communicate, as I think Mr Gilpin will write to Mr Secretary, as also of the merchants' affair with those of Holland and Zealand. I have let them know what Mr Secretary wrote to me, and in pursuance of his Excellency's command have placed her Majesty's letter in the hands of M^e^ Vander Varch. In a few days their deputies should be here; I will do what I can to enable them to make an end of it.

It seems likely that the Spaniards will leave the country; but war is beginning between the districts of Tournay and Cambray with some small towns on one side, and Artois and Hainault, now given up to the Malcontents, on the other. I commend myself to your favour and that of your wife, not forgetting Francis. My wife and your Marie say the same.—Antwerp, 17 Oct. 1579.

Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 38.]

Oct. 21. **67.** Poulet to the Secretaries.

It is generally affirmed that Bellegarde, departing from Carmagnola the 29th ult. arrived at Chambéry on the 10th inst., intending to meet Queen Mother at Montluel on the 15th; and in letters from Lyons of the 14th it is affirmed that this meeting holds. Although many here will not believe it till they see it performed, yet some well acquainted with the humour of the man do not think it impossible. The meeting in this place of surety is no great matter. It has perhaps been 'wrought' by the Duke of Savoy for his better discharge towards Queen Mother; and yet it has been compassed with such leisure that it is to be supposed the advice of the Spaniard has been used therein. But there is great expectation of the resolution, which no doubt will be of great consequence to make or mar in diverse ways.

The ambassadors here have been advertised by letters of the 22nd ult. that the Spanish army in Italy has received its pay and is embarked. Some are of opinion that the ships may pass to Ireland, and the galleys remain on the coast of Spain till some good occasion shall be offered to employ them in Portugal.

It is certain that Queen Mother has been highly offended with the whole company of those in best credit with the King, and it is not to be doubted but that many princes and many other great personages blow at this coal with might and main. The King desiring to keep peace with his mother, or perhaps not daring to

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offend her, and fearing lest these men should receive some 'scorn' in his own presence at her arrival, has sent them all to her one after the other, excepting only d'O, who has been excused by his father-in-law Villequier. Hereby it is easy to see that Queen Mother is king and queen of this country, and has lost no part of her authority; some being of opinion that this reconciliation between her and the King's good servants will prove to be counterfeit. It is thought now that she will be here shortly.

Camillo Fera is lately returned from Monsieur. He gives out that Monsieur professes all brotherly love and fidelity to the King, and upon the arrival of his mother will not fail to return to the Court.

'Otteman,' a professor of the civil law, not unknown to you as I think, has his eldest son dwelling with me, 'and is' schoolmaster to my children. He has lately written to his father that his friends here advise him to agree with his brethren for his portion of heritage; the father being a native of this town of good parentage and having a good right to lands of good value. 'Otteman,' the father, writes back from Basle on the 30th ult. that he could 'like well with' the advice mentioned if it were not that it would be better or worse very shortly, as all the world would know without delay. Further, having lately received a letter from one of Normandy, dwelling in this town, he forbears to write to the Norman, but commands his son to assure him that if those of his country would do their endeavour they should not want assistance, and that, doubting the messenger, he durst not write as plainly as he would. It seems by this that there is something in brewing in that country.

There has been great expectation of the resolution of the clergy assembled long since at Melun, and now lately here; and indeed their short dealing gives cause to think that they have their favourers of all degrees. The King, forced by necessity, has been content to forget his greatness and use very familiar speeches to win them to his lure. Yet lately he had dismissed them in some choler, but they were countermanded the same night, and as yet no conclusion has ensued. For the matters in question between them, I refer you to the bill enclosed; which at the first show does not seem to 'import' you greatly, but the 'consequence' discovers many things worth considering.

I cannot assure you what will become of the companies of horse and foot assembled in Champagne, though I have used the help of M. Marchemont; but it is given out that Matignon is countermanded, and it seems that the matter is not great, since the King has departed to take the air of the country for five or six days, accompanied by the Queen and the Duke of Guise.—Paris, 21 Oct. 1579.

Add. Endd. 2½ *pp.* [*France III.* 39.]

Oct. 25. **68.** Villiers to Davison.

I have nothing new to tell you save that on Friday last [Oct. 21] at daybreak Colonel Balfour took Menin by escalade, without losing

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a single man. He followed point by point the orders given by his Excellency. He found there two cannons, two culverins, and other pieces; so that the Walloons must have been much astonished at finding their road cut off on every side. The Spaniards have left the neighbourhood of Mechlin, not venturing to attack M. de la Noue, who had only 1,000 French and 700 English. So Willebroek remains over.

It looks as if the Spaniard would withdraw. The Burgundians are marching, but I think it is for an alarm which certain French have given them in their own country.

There is reason to fear that Madame has a quartan. She and Mlle d'Oranges greet you and your wife, as do my wife and Marie.—Antwerp, 25 Oct. 1579.

Add. Fr. ½ *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 39.]

Oct. 25. **69.** Agreement made between Claude d' Estampes, lord of la Ferté-Imbault, one of his Highness's Chamberlains in ordinary, appointed on the 5th October current, of the one part, and Baudouin de Gavre, Baron d' Inchy, governor of Cambray, of the other part.

M. de la Ferté assures M. d' Inchy that his Highness will be avowed and supported by the King his brother in his present undertaking, and will have no intelligence with the King of Spain.

He will in case of necessity aid M. d' Inchy with 2,000 foot and 500 horse at his own charges, to be commanded by M. d' Inchy under him; and will spare no means, even his person, if need be.

Payment for a garrison of 300 'heads' in the citadel of Cambray, with 150 horses, shall be supplied monthly or quarterly so long as the war lasts or other need requires. To make the soldiers better affected six months shall be paid in advance.

Further, 5,000 or 6,000 florins shall be paid in cash, to provide the place with necessary munition and indispensable works, such as mills, required for the safety of the citadel.

If the Estates enter into a treaty with his Highness, or M. d' Inchy intends to be comprised in it, he is to have no stricter conditions than in the case of other towns, and this agreement will be void; but if they do not carry out the treaty they have begun the present terms will hold good.

In the event of M. d' Inchy going to the army or elsewhere on his Highness's service or his own account, he desires the French commander to act as his lieutenant with full powers; but he is not to be pressed to leave the place save of his own frée will.

If M. d' Inchy asks aid from his Highness, one-third of the garrison shall be French; and if the succours are attacked by Spaniards or their adherents M. d' Inchy will withdraw them into the town if their safety requires.

In order that M. d' Inchy's authority may be secure, it is agreed that he holds it from his Highness.

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All these things M. de la Ferté, in virtue of his powers promises that his Highness will ratify if M. d' Inchy will swear allegiance to him as his sovereign, renouncing every other prince from henceforth. He will administer the same oath to his soldiers and other subordinates, and will admit a company of French, numbering 100 to 120 men into the citadel, under a French captain, who shall act as his lieutenant. All soldiers, Flemings or others shall swear that if anything happens to (*au cas Dieu advienne à faire sa volonté de*) M. d' Inchy they will obey whomsoever his Highness shall appoint; and that meantime the French captain shall remain governor, and they will obey him as they did M. d' Inchy.

M. d' Inchy shall let his Highness know by the end of December what succour he wants; the agreement to remain in force meanwhile. If his Highness requires his forces elsewhere, and cannot carry out [?]his desire to entertain the present agreement, M. de la Ferté will let M. d' Inchy know his intentions before the end of December. —Signed and sealed at Cambray, Oct. 25.

Copy, somewhat damaged. Fr. 2⅓ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 40.]

Oct. 25. **70.** 'Her Majesty's Answer to the Turk's Letter.'

Elizabeth, etc. to Sultan Murad Khan etc. We have received your letter of March 15 in the current year, and have learnt from it how graciously the letters were accepted which were presented to you by our subject William Harbroun, resident in your city of Constantinople, containing a petition for himself and his two partners to trade freely in your dominions. Nor only that, but how easily and how worthily of an emperor the request was granted. We receive the favour most gratefully, and lest you should think you have done a kindness to an ungrateful prince, we will at no time suffer ourselves, so far as we are able, and according to the goodness which God through whom we reign has implanted in us, making ingratitude abhorrent to us, to be conquered or outdone by any prince who has deserved well of us. But whereas a permission similar to that enjoyed by your allies the French, the Poles, the Venetians, and even the subjects of the King of the Romans, has been granted to a few of our subjects at their own request and without any intercession on our part, we ask that the credit of so singular kindness may not be confined within the limit of two or three men but may be distributed among all our subjects. You will the less regret it that the products in which our realm abounds and which those of other princes lack are so necessary for the uses of mankind that no people can be without them, or fail to rejoice when it has obtained them by long and difficult journeys. But everyone sells more dearly to others in proportion as he seeks a living and a profit from his labour. So as the acquisition of those products is advantageous, but the purchase of them from others burdensome, the advantage to your subjects will be increased by this free access of a few of our people to your land; the burden will be diminished by allowing any of our subjects to go. There will further be the like and equal freedom of trade which we shall grant to your subjects, which we promise shall be as full

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as any of your allies grant to any of the princes, or as has ever been conceded to your subjects. If you will accede to our request, we will see that our subjects trade with your country.

Your expression of goodwill towards us leads us also to speak on behalf of our subjects who are held as prisoners in your galleys (*triremibus*), that whereas they have fallen into this misfortune for no fault committed by them they may be granted their freedom. We pray God, who alone is over all things, and is the avenger of idolatry, and jealous for His honour against the false gods of the Gentiles and others, to prosper you with all those gifts which are deservedly held most desirable.—Greenwich, 25 Oct. 1579, the 21st of our reign.

Copy. Latin. 3¼ *pp.* [*Turkey I.* 1γ.]

[Oct. 25.] **71.** The Queen to Mustafa Beg.

Your letter of Mar. 15 was handed to us by William Harborne, who at the same time recorded your kindness to our subjects. As it has taken the form of promoting the trade of our merchants to the dominions of his Imperial (*Cæsareæ*) Highness it demands our gratitude and reciprocity of good offices. As by your good means matters are so far advanced that he has begun to incline to Harborne's request on behalf of himself and his partners, and we would not willingly be excluded from the conveniences granted to the subjects of other states, we have written to his Highness to testify our gratitude, and to ask him to allow to all our subjects the same permission that he has granted to a few; promising like liberty to his subjects in our dominions. We beg that you will aid us in obtaining this request. And as we have also dealt with him briefly for the freedom of certain of our subjects who are captive in his galleys we ask you to show your goodwill to us by promoting their cause.

Copy. Latin. 1¼ *pp.* [*Turkey I.* 1δ.]

Oct. 26. **72.** Poulet to Walsingham.

Please peruse the enclosed paper. I have written to Mr Wilson by this bearer, Mr Jackson, and doubt not that he will acquaint you with my letter, which contains only an answer to his sent by the same; save that Bellegarde and Diguières of Dauphiné have conferred with Queen Mother at Monluel. She takes her journey to this town, the King intending to meet her at Montargis; and some think they will spend some time 'abroad' before returning hither.

I fear Sir Henry Cobham's lingering on his journey will 'turn both him and me to great hindrance'; it being likely we shall have to seek the King I cannot tell where, or to tarry here I cannot tell how long. I have now no hope to see any part of the term in London.—Paris, 26 Oct. 1579.

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Enclosure in the above:

The English gentleman who I told you three weeks ago was come from the Court of the Catholic King stayed here 20 days in the house where Morgan lodges. He is gone to find the Prince of Parma, and his name is Owen. He has been waiting for an answer to some letters which he sent to England at his first arrival here, by what route I could not learn. He had 150 crowns from the Catholic King for his journey, and a pension of 25 crowns a month. While he was here he was often with the Scottish Ambassador, through whose hands he received letters from England, which I am persuaded were in answer to those he sent; so hence it may be believed that the said Ambassador sent those brought by him from Spain.

At the same time that Mr Wotton came from Madrid, Browne, brother to Lord Montacute, passed by here on his way from the Prince of Parma. He stayed two days, being with the 'Catholic Agent' and the Scottish Ambassador; who paid him 80 crowns, so far as I can learn from what Morgan says.

Morgan tells me that Mr Wilson opened a packet of letters sent by her of Scotland, wherein were letters for the Emperor, the Empress, Archduke Ernest, the King of France, the Queen regnant, the Bishop of Ross, and that after being seen they were returned. He tells me that they dealt only with certain abbeys and benefices affecting the Scots and the Bishop of Ross; and that if they had been on business of consequence they would have gone by that hand; albeit I doubt the Queen his mistress and her council have another object.—*Copy, in Poulet's hand. Ital.* 1 *p.* [*France III.* 40*a.*]

Add. Endd.: with a secret Italian advertisement. 1½ *pp.* [*France III.* 40.]

Oct. 26. **73.** Poulet to [Walsingham].

The gentleman mentioned in your letter is departed hence with good satisfaction and in hope to perform his journey without danger, promising that I shall hear again from him shortly.

The long-expected conference between Queen Mother has at last taken effect; but what is resolved between them I do not yet know for certain. Some say he will continue in his government of Saluces; but I must refer you to my next letter. Diguières, the chief of the religion in Dauphine, who has assisted Bellegarde in all these enterprises, came to the conference. It is said that Queen Mother leaves Lyons to-day, and will be here about the 15th prox. the King intending to meet her at Montargis, and starting for that purpose on the 29th.

Please peruse the enclosed notes of . . . of Italy, which I had of the ambassador of . . . . the same being confirmed by letters to other ambassadors. I refer the other discourse, touching the enterprise of Portugal, to your better consideration.

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Whoever reported to her Majesty that I was the first that informed Monsieur that Stubbes's book was translated into French and printed in this town, has done me great wrong. I assure you upon my poor credit that I never heard it, and would be loth to be found so 'leawde' as either to devise or utter so shameless a lie. God give me grace to say and [do] what I am commanded, and then I [doubt] not but the same God will never give me so little . . . to be a babbler in such matters without [permi]ssion. The truth is that since the receipt of your last letter your friend has told me that he has seen this book in English, and that it has been translated into Italian and sent to the Pope in 'written hand.'

The King is returned from Dampierre, and ca[lled in good?] health, although far from it indeed . . . by those that take upon them to know him.

The ambassador of Portugal 'pretends' to have ne[ws of the?] Spanish preparations, wherein he 'descontyth' . . . of many others.—Paris, 26 Oct. 1579.

Margin burnt. Add. and Endt. gone. 1¼ *pp.* [*France III.* 41.]

Oct. 26. **74.** R. Lloyd to Arthur Atye, secretary to the Earl of Leicester.

I thank you for your letter, the rather that it carried a command from him whom I am so much bound to serve and honour. I have accordingly repaired to my lord ambassador, upon whom I 'have and will attend.' I desire to be employed upon all occasions wherein I may serve his lordship, and so I pray you signify.

Touching those gentlemen: I am not well-acquainted with Mr Savile, but I know he is not in this town. Mr Bodleigh lately arrived here from Orleans, and still remains here, but how long he will stay I cannot tell you. Before the return of this gentleman I had no leisure to find out Mr Bodleigh; I will shortly do it, and satisfy your expectation.

Our news is that the Queen Mother will be at Court about the last of this month. Men are mustered and put in readiness, but for what cause or whether they will be employed are 'letters close' to to me. The King lies mostly at the Louvre, whence he makes many pretty [*sic*] progresses slenderly accompanied. Now he is said to be at Olinville.—Paris, 26 Oct. 1579.

P.S.—The King came to Paris yesterday.

Add. (*The writing is like that of most of Poulet's letters.*) *Endd.* 1 *p.* [*Ibid. III.* 42.]

Oct. 26. **75.** The Landgrave of Hesse to three Electors [*see No.* 47].

The answer of us, William, Landgrave of Hesse etc. to the application of Lewis, Palsgrave of the Rhine, Augustus Duke of Saxony, John George Marquis of Brandenburg, made through their envoys Haubold von Einsedell, Lambert Distelmeyer, doctor of law, Jacobus Andreæ and Martinus Chemnitius, doctors of theology.

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We reciprocate your kind wishes for our health and prosperity, and must in any case extol and praise your zeal in the cause of concord and unity among Christians, considering that Christ enjoined nothing so strongly upon His disciples as love and unity, and has thereby abundantly shown how important to Christians is unity and how much mischief will come of division. You may therefore be confident that we have no less than yourselves always desired a concord agreeable to God's word, and have been inclined to further the same to the best of our power. The Elector of Saxony will bear witness, that as soon as he opened to me in confidence your scheme for a Concord we not only at the outset assented in friendly wise to it and expressed to him our confidence in the theologians who were or were to be employed in the work, but subsequently at our brother's request declared honestly, with a single heart and in all Christian discretion, our opinion, and that of our theologians on the draft of the Concord Book composed at Torgau. How that was received by the theologians of one part, and what a bitter and unjustified censure of us on their part followed, that which was written sufficiently proves. We are informed also that other theologians were not pleased with so biting a document.

None the less we should have persevered with reminders and warnings, not out of meddlesomeness but for conscience' sake and the importance of the matter to us, nay at times cordially participated, as you can well remember. And all our reminders would have been directed to this mark and end. We did not desire to seek any strange or new thing in the work of concord, but rather to warn against generally dangerous innovations.

For this very reason we should at the outset have cited as vexatious and dangerous the appeal in the Concord Book to the first unaltered Confession, and the needless fishing-up of so many selected but for the more part only implicit errors, as well as the condemnations in the article on the Supper and the quasi-approval of that controversy, with the highly contentious and dangerous dogma of the ubiquity of Christ's body and all that depends thereon, and so forth. All this bordered on innovation, seeing that the quoted words 'first unaltered Confession' together with the piling up of so many counter-theses and errors naturally conveyed such a meaning as gave our adversaries more cause to impute to our predecessors and Christian teachers a want of certainty and steadfastness in their Confession, to revile their former action, to accuse of erroneous teaching the founders and defenders of our purified religion and set them apart from each other, to cry down our religion the more contemptuously, and by our own admission to gain additional evidence for their injurious charges of uncertainty and division in our religion; for none of which, we surely and undoubtingly maintain, have you any intention of affording the least ground.

Thus, again, where our predecessors in the article of the Lord's Supper concerning the presence, distribution, and dimension of Christ's true Body and Blood, gave a brief and direct statement of their view in the Augsburg Confession, disapproving and rejecting the contrary doctrine, but otherwise and afterwards would never let

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themselves be moved to a public approbation of the almost bitter polemical writings which passed between theologians on this point before the concord which was come to with the late Dr. Luther in 1537, still less to a condemnation (such as was agreed upon in the summons to the meeting at Laumburg in 1551) or exclusion of any man from the religious peace on grounds of reason, but in the churches and schools of their lands simply adhered to the Augsburg Confession as their symbol, things would not be left in this usage, but the whole Court and Empire would be involved in similar polemical writings and the almost odious accusations embodied in them, and also in the questionable condemnation and the extension of it to be arranged by the authors of the Concord Book, and the responsibility for all would be thrust upon you. It will without doubt be as little convenient to the Electors as to those of other stations to charge themseves with these far-reaching and dangerous disputations, and, as the saying is, make the suit their own.

In like manner we have warned, and again warn in all loyalty, in the Articles of the Lord's Supper to let the words of institution be and remain alone the right ground for the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, and not to mix up with this matter the contentious dogma of the omnipotence [*sic*] of Christ's human nature, but to get rid of this latter, to come to agreement on the new dangerous forms and modes of speech in the Article on the Person of Christ which give birth to quarrels and disputations, and as regards that high mystery of the Personal Union, wherein one may easily stumble upon Nestorianism, Eutychianism, Suengfeldianism [*qy.* Zwinglianism] and the like damnable heresies, to teach only in accordance with the symbols and decrees of the Councils accepted by the universal Church.

If you think the way of an universal synod too hazardous in these times, we have already declared that until God shows a better way, we are with you in holding straitly to the Augsburg Confession and Apology committed to us in the year '30 (short always of the papistic transubstantiation) as that based on God's word; and, so far as concerns the person of Christ, to the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds, to the decrees of the four chief Councils, and to the Epistle of Leo to Flavian, which is accepted by the whole Church; and in no way intend to permit anything contrary thereto in our churches and schools, but to stand henceforth as heretofore manfully in defence of the Augsburg Confession, and all estates who are attached to it.—Cassel, 26 Oct. 1579.

A few extracts only have been given; the entire document occupies 17½ *pp.*

Endd. by R. Beale [?]: 'Copy of the Landgrave's letter to the three secular electors about the book of Concord.' *German.* [*Germ. States I.* 77.]

Oct. 28. **76.** Rossel to Walsingham.

My last told you of the surprise of Menin, the first stronghold of the malcontent conspiracy, effected by Colonel Balfour and his men with the neighbouring garrisons, in pursuance of a plan considered

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some time ago by M. de la Noue and myself. Three days earlier MM. de Capre, Montigny, Hèze, d'Allennes, and other colonels were in conclave there, planning some new enterprise on Flanders. This having failed, and finding themselves in perplexity under the calumnies of the Spaniards they are taking divers counsel for the furtherance of their fine peace. Count de Reulx' troops are at Turnhout, Gheel and the parts adjacent, having on their border the Spanish cavalry at Turnhout. They are fortifying themselves to store their goods, and entrenching after the fashion of Menin, from fear, or rather to give us trouble. Count Lalaing, studying to construct some stratagem for M. de la Noue, who is encamped in the Abbey of Grimberg, near Brussels and the river, has been at Alost, where his designs were recognised. This will hinder those of his accomplices. M. de la Noue has arrived this evening about this matter and others concerning himself. He insists on being allowed to resign, since arms are on the road afresh in France and the King is assembling his forces. Your ambassadors will tell you about this and I need say no more to captain our State, which deplores the idea of peace.

Steps are being taken to get the Union to submit to the contribution settled in Antwerp. They have resolved to continue for three months paying 2½ per cent. on the rents of houses as well as other incomes. If the provinces of the Union agree to this the resources will be sufficient to maintain the war. My fear that most of them will fail to pay their quota keeps me in doubt. Some of the Estates have arrived and are assembling, so that I do not think well of the speech of a person of quality who knows the provinces well in the matter of finance. He maintains that Guelders and Friesland will put off; Holland, naturally slow and not very willing, will cool the others. We shall see the issue, and the decision on the three points. —Antwerp, 28 Oct. 1579.

Add. Endd. Fr. 1¼ *pp.* [*Holl. & Fl. XII.* 41.]

?End of Oct.

77. Note from Paris.

Morgan and his mates being assembled of late after the accustomed manner, and holding a letter in his hand: 'You shall now see,' says he, 'how untruly it is given out that James Fitzmorris is slain, and that Irish matters go hard on that side.' Then he read the letter dated the 11th ult. in Ireland, and directed to two Jesuit scholars called Sydcotts. The letter contained that at the last skirmish 140 Englishmen had been slain, that Englishmen resorted daily to the aid of Fitzmorris, and that eight ships were newly arrived with men and munitions. These men show their good minds. Morgan gives out that these things are done by the Pope and not by the King of Spain, wherein he shows his cunning. He says that the Spanish army in Italy has divided, part going to Africa for the King of Spain, part coming into Ireland from the Pope.

I have received this advertisement from your friend.

In Poulet's hand, but without date, add. or endd. 15 *ll.* [*France III.* 43.]

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Nov. 9. **78.** HODDESDON to BURGHLEY.—Occurrents.

Antwerp, Oct. 25.—The States' men have taken Menin, which was kept by the Malcontents as their chief entrance from Hainault into Flanders and a depôt for plunder as well as a great annoyance to Lille. The Spaniards are 'on their departing' and set forth apace, having handed over to the Malcontents all towns, forts and other places held by them, as promised in the agreement.

Letters have come from Cologne with new articles of peace. An answer must be given by the end of this month, or the Commissioners from the Empire will depart. But all these are taken for 'very' interludes and devices, to breed division by a show of offering peace, when the Spaniards mean nothing less.

Antwerp, Nov. 1.—It is credibly reported that the Portuguese have accepted the King of Spain as their prince, so that on this present king's decease he is likely to have the succession of that realm. Other Christian princes will be occasioned to have regard to this.

The Spaniards still linger hereabouts. Some say they are Burgundians, some Albanians; but they attempt nothing.

The Malcontents are making preparations to recover Menin from the States, who for their part have sent the English and French thither to rescue the town if need be, and upon occasion deal with the enemy.

Hamburg, Oct. 21.—'The Sweden' has besieged 'the Narve' with 13,000 men, and these received an overthrow from 'the Russe,' who has slain 2,000 Swedens.

The King of Pole is marching towards Perno in Liefland purposing to follow his late victory and besiege that place.—London, 9 Nov.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 42.]

Nov. 10. **79.** POULET to WALSINGHAM.

Yet a little while and I trust I shall be happy to see you, and then I shall have many things to say to you. Meantime I am and will be yours unfeignedly. My successor is landed, and there is hope that the King will be here by the end of this week.—Paris, 10 Nov. 1579.

Add. Endd. 7 *ll.* [*France III.* 44.]

Nov. 14. **80.** VILLIERS to DAVISON.

I am sorry I cannot send you news of anything decided in this country. Many things hinder a full resolution: among them the fact that those of Holland, after having been a long time awaited, are not coming, so that the choice between such a peace as is offered and war remains very difficult, weighty difficulties presenting themselves on all sides. If it were only a secular question, I think it could be easily solved; the question of religion is the greatest

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impediment. If this be settled according to the articles propounded by the princes at Cologne it is the ruin of all the Churches, indeed of the whole country. The provinces assembled here have pretty well made up their minds upon the other articles presented by the princes; there remain only the two articles about religion. These are of great difficulty, and have been put off till next week.

I send you some letters from Venice. His Excellency has sent express for M. Junius, to make him burgomaster of Antwerp if he can in the place of M. Van der Stralen. We need a good magistrate badly. M. de la Noue has promised to remain, but the little order that can be put into the soldiers he has to use may discourage him. However, he has fine talents. Just now he is in the neighbourhood of Menin.

Recent events in London have afflicted my very soul, chiefly inasmuch as I fear that general harm may come of them. I do not write more of it; I have indeed only spoken of it to let you know that there is no need to inform me of what has happened. God give her Majesty good counsel. Up to now I have not taken to heart the talk of the marriage; now I begin to muse on it. I commend me to your favour and that of '*Mademoiselle*' your wife; my wife and Marie do likewise.—Antwerp, 14 Nov. 1579.

Add. Endd. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 43.]

Nov. 15. **81.** GILPIN to WALSINGHAM.

The Estates have been all this week and still are so earnestly busied about the devising of Articles touching the 'pretended' hoped peace, that no other causes or suits have been by them 'sorrowed,' but deferred till they have resolved on the principal.

I hear from the Pensionary of Bruges that they hope their late letter to the Queen will serve them for some excuse if any displeasure be contrived at their delay occasioned by so urgent necessity. Therefore until I learn from you her pleasure as to the answer, I doubt they will be slow enough to 'redress their longuess' in taking some order for the satisfaction of their credit. Thus the only hope of the merchants, as they tell me, rests on her Majesty; wherefore it were not amiss, for reasons which I refer to your judgement, if a way were taken to see them by one means or another satisfied. The state of the States declines daily and grows to further extremities for money, insomuch that they can find no other way to pay the few soldiers whom they retain in service hereabouts save by 'making prests' and borrowing of those in their town who are most able. These grow so weary of this, being otherwise burdened with taxes, that the poor soldier continually can hardly receive one month's pay out of two. Of all which I thought good to advertise you, so that upon your next writing I might deal as you may direct in soliciting the States to effect her Majesty's pleasure.

We hear little news since my last save certain credible reports, which have continued these three or four days that M. de Bours, who was governor of Mechlin, was sent thence last Tuesday as a

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prisoner to Maestricht; he being thought the only cause why the Spaniards were not received into Mechlin, where the burgesses will not as yet take in any of their garrison.

Of the proceedings between M. de la Noue and the Malcontents nothing has yet been heard; only that both sides are preparing their forces, so that ere long 'some dealing will pass between them.'

There is talk that Cambray has been surrendered to the Duke of Alençon; but no certainty known. The States of Holland and Utrecht are not yet come, which causes some 'jealousy' among the others.

Enclosed I send you two or three letters, a writing and a book lately sent me from my friend at Cologne, and another small book come out here in print this week.

The men that were reported to be about Strasburg it is now said are 'dissolved,' their intended enterprise in Burgundy having failed. —Antwerp, 15 Nov. 1579.

P.S.—My friend in one of his letters which I have noted in the margin seems [*sic*] our Catholics of Cologne greatly desire to have him go on their affairs to England, and thinks it would be a means to learn all their practices. I wait to hear your opinion thereon.

Add. Endd. by Walsingham. 2 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 44.]

Nov. 15. **82.** N. Lymborch to Burghley.

I commend myself humbly to your good graces, inasmuch as I have always had a great desire to serve her Majesty, having in time past served her father King Henry and King Edward, and as in these troublous times machinations might be set on foot against her in England and elsewhere. Certain personages, counts, lords, and others, all notable men of war have by my means bound themselves and combined in all loyalty to serve her Majesty if required; as by my former letters of 3 Sept. both in Latin and French, which I wrote to her Majesty and yourself, by a young man of this town of Emmerich, named Luloff Bruins. I now offer to bring into that realm in case of necessity, at 14 days' notice, 3,000 or 4,000 soldiers of experience, both infantry and cavalry, to be employed in her Majesty's service, by the method contained in my last. Touching the engineers and inventors of engines and artificial fireballs, also mentioned in my last, they are willing to give practical proof of what they can do at their own charges, and to that end I am ready to repair with four or five of them to her Majesty, and that though they are under oath to me and I undergo great expense in maintaining them. Awaiting her Majesty's good pleasure, I beg you to take this in hand and let me have an answer by this bearer to say what her pleasure is and how I can serve her.—Emmerich on the Rhine, 15 Nov.

Add. Endd.: 15 No. 1579. Capt. Oste to my Lord: the offer of his service to her Majesty. *Fr.* 1½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 44 *bis.*]

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83. [DAVISON] to SIR WILLIAM PELHAM.

Since your departure the time has offered so little agreeable matter to write, and so little opportunity to send it to you, that it has kept me in silence hitherto. That I break it now is rather in order that I may no longer defraud your expectation of hearing from me than because I have anything worth writing.

The state of our poor neighbours in the Low Countries remains as hard as it was at your going, 'without tasting in the meanwhile of any great alteration.' The Spaniards have attempted nothing of importance since the taking of Maestricht, make a show of quitting the country according to their agreement with the revolted provinces; but few wise men look for any performance of it. The Walloons, fortified by the revolt of Mechlin and Alost, have on the other side 'exploited' little else; and having now lost Menin, 'surprised on them' by Balfour without the loss of any of his, and thereby deprived of their only safe retreat in Flanders, are now 'in state' to abandon that province and succour their confederates in Hainault, where war has broken out by those of Cambray, Bouchain, and two or three other towns holding the part of the States against the rest. Willebroek, the fort upon the point of the passage by water to Brussels, won by the help of those of Mechlin from the States, is now recovered and newly fortified, to the disadvantage of those of Mechlin and relief of the Brussellers. In Ghent things are reduced to some quiet by the exile of Hembise and two or three of his faction, authors of all the former troubles among them; and the confusion in the rest of that country has been the more easily redressed.

The peace negotiations at Cologne are still on foot; unlikely to bring forth any other fruit than further division of the country.

The French are still hunting that hare, as near to their purpose now as at the first day. La Noue is 'upon terms' of returning to to France, but his stay is earnestly 'labored' by the Prince. He is now at Menin to execute some enterprise intended against the Walloons.

Of the doings in France I hear little else than that the Queen Mother, having pacified the broil in the Marquisate of Saluces (a trap laid, as some think, for those of Geneva), and having set abroach some new stratagem to a like end, is returned to 'Mount Argis,' where she has been met by the King. The Duke of Anjou remains at Alençon accompanied by the Viscount of 'Touraine' and others, sent for, as we hear, to make ready to wait upon him on his journey hither. He has solicited others of the chief Protestants to do the like; but the wisest of them, still mindful of the bloody and fatal marriage of his sister, made no great haste to run into a second snare. How the match will succeed we are yet doubtful, but pray for such issue as may be to the glory of God, the comfort of her Majesty, and the profit of His Church. Simier, often ready to depart, is not yet gone. There is talk of dispatching some person of quality into France to conclude the matter there. My lord of Leicester has been named for this; but of these things you will hear more fully from others.

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Scotland is quiet at present, and now stands at gaze, awaiting the issue of our doings here.

Many thanks for your letter sent by Mr Spencer.—London, 16 Nov. 1579.

Draft. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 45.]

Nov. 17. **84.** [? Rossel] to [? Gilpin].

Since I left Antwerp I have been working without intermission at jobs required by the war, especially since the 13th; on which day it was decided in council by M. de la Noue to march direct upon Verny [*sic*: *qu.* Vervy, Wervick]. At the same time I quartered the French and Flemings at Wevelghem, that the troops might march at dawn by a covered way so as not to be perceived by them of Hallewyn. At the hour I was ordered to send two demi-cannons out of Menin, escorted by 400 Scottish arqubusiers as an advance-guard and six companies of Flemings as rear-guard. These by the badness (*malice*) of the roads were delayed till 3 p.m. The French and Scots had entered the town, where they surprised several prisoners, among others a sergeant of Captain Croy, who recognised me on the spot and told me some particulars of what was going on in their army. He said there were two ensigns in the church, one under Captain Carondelet, a knight of Malta, the other M. de Perone, who at the moment was at Lille; Croy was in command in the fort on the other side of the Lys. He too was absent. Meanwhile their men came to the aid of those in the church, which was flanked on one side by those from the fort. For this reason we had to remain barricaded all night both on the bridge, to prevent relief coming, and in the streets, where it rained harquebusades. Finally they continued fighting till Sunday the 15th, because M. de la Noue did not wish to use the guns until he had beaten off the relief promised Carondelet during the night. M. d'Alennes' regiment came up next morning, but could not force our barricades. In their impatience the soldiers made an admirable attack by escalade on the strong church through the windows, where the combat, or I should say assault, was for an hour and a half as furious as I can say. Our *chapeaux* did incredible things, of which I was a spectator. It was well assaulted and well defended, but forced at last. Only six were killed in the church; the rest received quarter from the soldiers,—a wonderful thing—a sergeant of Bouffart's and a few others. Towards evening a couple of rounds were fired at the fort across the Lys, and at the same time five or six arrows with Greek fire were shot (*rués*) at a thatched house, which was quickly burnt, and set fire to the fort. Seeing this, the enemy quitted the fort at night and set fire to all the town beyond the river. Next day, the 16th, I advised M. de la Noue that it would be a good thing to go further with the cavalry; which he resolved to do, and sent 800 harquebusiers against Commines. On the way we were told that four cornets of the enemy were at Bondieu [Bondues], a village one league distant from us, which made us turn back. Then came up the cavalry commanded by Seton. We stayed in a village near there, in the church,

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to support and give them something to fall back on. Our men entering Bondieu with a rush surprised and defeated three cornets, taking the ensign prisoner and capturing 150 horses. If night had not overtaken them they would have got them all. After this exploit it was decided to return to quarters. The night was so dark that one could not see another, and accordingly fires of straw were lighted all along the road. The enemy at Hallewyn thought we were marching straight upon him, as a drummer of ours had told him. Fearing this they abandoned the work of reasonable strength that they had made round the church, and subsequently the castle, having first set fire to the town; an unspeakable injury to the Duke of Aerschot. They have left Besselaire [?] and two other castles. Warneton was abandoned on the 17th [*sic*] by the enemy. The same day 400 harquebusiers were sent to Commines where they found 60 soldiers. These sustained the first attack in their fort round the church, afterwards retiring to the castle, where they profess to be awaiting a bombardment, which would do a deal of damage to the Duke. M. de la Noue has summoned them to surrender, calling upon them in the Duke's interest not to ruin his house and his vassals, and has given orders that they are not to be roughly treated, putting off the assault till the 19th or 20th. The Duke's bailiff is obstinate, and says he wants to keep it for his master; we know better. The Lille people are a good deal frightened, and will soon receive a visit. I have sent word to those of the castellary to furnish to us the contributions they were in the habit of making to M. de Montigny, who with his people has gone beyond Lille.

That is how the war stands, and our hopes of giving them a fall if they do not recognise their faults, as M. de la Noue has called upon them to do, and return to the union. God counsel them aright.—Werny, 17 Nov. 1579.

Copy, apparently by Gilpin's secretary. Fr. 1½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 46.]

Nov. 17. **85.** Poulet and Cobham (*a*) to the Queen, (*b*) to Walsingham.

(*a*) 'A copy of such speeches as Sir Amyas Poulet delivered to the French king and queens at his departing, as likewise the speeches of Sir Henry Cobham at his admittance to the said King for ambassador ligier. Delivered at Paris in the Louvre, 17 Nov. 1579.'

Following the example of time past upon like occasion, Queen Mother arriving here the 14th inst. I would not fail to congratulate her safe return, and to that purpose prayed audience. I also gave M. de Gondy to understand by my messenger that Sir Henry Cobham was arrived and desired to be presented to the King and Queen Mother.

I received answer by Gondy that the King made a difference between your Majesty's ambassadors and those of other princes; and being willing to make some demonstration thereof, intended to

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give audience the next day, being the 15th, to other newly-arrived ambassadors, and would shortly omit [*sic*] us to his presence. We should hear from him in a day or two.

On the 16th Gondy informed us that the King was minded to give us audience the next day, and the *Grand Prieur de Champagne*, otherwise called Chevalier de Seure, and la Mothe-Fènelon would conduct us to the Court, where our dinner would be prepared at the table of the Great Master, the Duke of Guise. We could have been content to change our host for some meaner and more friendly personage, but we durst not be so hardy as to disobey the King's command. It was some satisfaction to us to dine at the King's table, and with his Great Master, without regard to his private name or 'partial affection.'

Repairing to the Court at the time appointed, accompanied by the said gentlemen, after dinner we were conveyed to the King's presence; where I, Amyas Poulet, declared that being licensed by your Majesty to return to my native country, I thought myself happy that having at my first arrival here found not only peace but perfect amity between these two Crowns, it was not diminished during my time of service, but rather increased, to the unspeakable comfort of the subjects of both realms and the terror of their enemies. It was not to be doubted that the good offices of ministers served greatly to entertain good correspondence between princes; yet where they have done their best endeavours hostilities have sometimes ensued, the blame of which lies commonly upon the shoulders of the ambassadors, so that I esteemed the continuance of this good understanding a benefit to myself in particular. Your Majesty desiring nothing more than to preserve this amity, with concord and natural intercourse between the subjects of both realms, had made choice of this gentleman, Sir Henry Cobham, to succeed me and reside as your ambassador near his person. And as he would not fail to do all good offices to cherish the amity, so I doubted not but he would find in his Majesty correspondence answerable to your good inclination. Therefore I assured myself that God would bless the two realms with long continuance of peace.

The King made great demonstration with many words of his good affection to your Majesty, of his confident opinion of your unfeigned friendship towards him, of his desire to see the accomplishment of this marriage, of his brother's constancy to prosecute it with all earnestness, and lastly of his good acceptance of my service here.

Sir Henry Cobham.

Then I, Henry Cobham, after thus much had passed by Sir Amyas, humbly presented myself to the King, delivering from your Majesty some salutations of kissing of hands, with the desire of his long and healthful life. Then giving your letters of credence, I informed him how it seemed to have been the ancient custom of the kings of England to have their ambassador ligier with the king of France, to entertain the mutual amity and clear away suspicions and doubts. Thus not only is the friendship between the princes maintained, but treaties are preserved inviolate, in such sort that

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the subjects of both realms freely trade, helping themselves with their merchandise to the great satisfaction of both nations; *etc.* [*No allusion to the marriage.*]

Then the King said: 'I have found the Queen, by many good effects, so much my good friend and sister that by no cause or time may I "let pass to remember" it, considering she has so well observed the treaties between us, and for showing herself thus careful for my estate.' He would not leave the like amity unperformed, having the same desire for the intercourse of his subjects that you have, and would put his hand to the continuance of it. He said how he 'received contentation your Highness liked' his government, declaring that he purposed to pass all things agreeable thereto. Your ambassadors had been welcome, of whatever quality or degree they were, being your ministers. He assured me that he would show he meant to favour me, to my contentment; with more favourable words than my estate could deserve.

I replied that your Majesty would be glad to hear he had that good health which I perceived to be in his cheerful countenance, and well pleased to learn that his mind was bent so affectionately towards you.

Lastly he said he had shown his good will to have all causes pass agreeably to your mind, better sorry there is no better occasion offered wherein he might 'utter' the desire he has to desire your care of him; but trusted God would in time give him means to make you know his meaning and how much he is yours. Also he would inform me of those causes which may concern you and your realm; and again said I was welcome. So I departed from him.

Sir Amias P. to the Q. mother.

Having ended with the King we were conveyed to the presence of the Queen Mother, whom we found accompanied by the French queen. I declared that I doubted not but her arrival in this Court was the singular comfort of the King and all depending on him, and assured myself that they rejoiced to have this opportunity to acknowledge by word of mouth how much they were bound to her for the great pains and dangerous 'travailes' which she has sustained of late for the weal and quiet of this country; and especially that it had pleased God to bless all her actions and doings, as she had done greater things by her bare word than could have been done perhaps by some others with a mighty army. It was most reasonable that the King should acknowledge this debt with thankfulness, and no less so that all the subjects of this realm, both of one and the other religion, should with open mouths acknowledge that they held a great part of their quiet and peace of her wisdom, goodness and favour. I prayed her to believe that no prince in the world received greater content than your Majesty from her safe arrival in this Court, the success of her proceedings and her good health. It was not to be denied that you were greatly beholden to her for assenting to her son's visiting you in your country, which could only be done with many perils. Touching the duke, her son, he had given such plain testimony of his singular good will in that, forgetting his own greatness and without respect to the hazards of sea or land, he passed into England, that you could not escape the

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note of ingratitude if you did not set him in the first rank of those whom you most esteemed. Lastly I informed her of Sir Henry Cobham, as before to the king.

She could not say enough of her assured opinion of your good will towards her, saying she had found long since that you esteemed her not only as a good neighbour but as a loving sister. She spared no words to utter her liking of this intended marriage, lamenting she was not present to accompany her son on his journey to England. She answered for the like sincerity in both her sons towards this marriage, and doubted not to see it performed. After some discourse of the conveniences likely to ensue to both realms and many good words touching myself, she prayed Sir Henry Cobham to draw near.

Sir Henry Cobham my L. with Q. mother.

After the speeches and conference of Sir Amyas Poulet were dismissed, I passed nearer to the Queen, first using some words of courtesy from your Highness; wherewith I gave her your letter of credence, which when she had read I let her know that whereas your pleasure had been to appoint me to reside about the Christian King, her son, you specially commanded me to offer my services to her, and declare to her that while her friendship so long begun moved you to remembrance of her, it was the more so now that the cause of her son had advanced so far with such apparent demonstration of affection, hoping that she would continue these great affairs with the like sincerity, and thoroughly answer your intentions. She might by no means better assure you of this than by entertaining the peaceable government of her son, wherein indeed she had taken so much extraordinary 'travell' that no more could be desired; whereby she and the King remained in singular good opinion with the princes their confederates. Therefore, that your Majesty's subjects might be the more sensible of their quiet and just government, my humble suit was that she would vouchsafe at her leisure to grant an access to intreat for those English merchants who had sustained such injuries and depredations, hoping she will procure order for redress according to her princely manner and godly conscience.

Q. Mother's answer.

Her Majesty said that both she and her sons are well content to do anything that may be agreeable to the Queen of England. The affection her son the Duke of Alençon has shown to your Highness is so well employed that she desired the good success of it before the continuance of her own life. The trouble she has taken cannot deserve the great hap which will come to him and his if after the seeking of so many his lucky chance may be to enjoy a lady of so great quality and worthiness. And now that she and the King were in hope of your favour and grace toward her son, since there can no further trial be made, notwithstanding she will not dissuade her son Monsieur from attending on your pleasure, to whom she meant shortly to go. As for the care you have shown for the repose of the realm of France she finds herself more beholden to you than to any other, because your advice has always been to maintain the quiet, and the princely assistance which you have given can never be

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forgotten. As for any access to negotiate for your causes or the private complaints of your subjects, I should have it at any convenient time.

Sir Amias Poulet.

This was the effect of what passed between the Queen Mother and us. And then I, Amyas Poulet, drawing near to the French Queen, said that, although I was not so happy as to have seen her for a long time, I had not failed to enquire diligently of her health, because I knew your Majesty would always be glad to hear of it. I told her I was happy at my coming to find the two Crowns united in good amity, and thought myself still more happy that on returning to England I left this amity greatly increased, and likely to attain its highest perfection, for the performance of which Sir Henry Cobham was sent to succeed me, who I doubted not would be agreeable to her.

She answered that she had been always glad to hear of your Majesty's health, and doubted not your good disposition towards her.

Sir Henry Cobham my L. to the young Queen.

Then I turned to the young Queen, whom I found standing hard by Queen Mother, using to her some 'accomplements' and delivering your Majesty's letters, beseeching her to be the means to the King her husband for the better preservation and continuance of the amity, and so make you feel the singular goodness whereof she has great fame in this country and elsewhere.

The young Queen enquired, as she opened your letter, if your Highness had your health. I said, well, God be thanked. To my speeches she answered how she would not fail to entertain the amity of the Queen of England, which she found her husband held so dear. She wished you good health and happiness.

After this we left the Queens, whom we had found accompanied by the daughter of the Duke of Lorraine, standing a little beside the young Queen against the wall adjoining the bed's head of Queen Mother; the Princess Dowager of Condé, and the Duchess of Nemours, mother to the Duke of Guise, both of them sitting on Queen Mother's bed's feet, with the young Queen's sister and the Duchess of Guise standing beside them. The rest of the ladies kept other places somewhat further off.

The King was apparelled that day in green cloth of tissue, and his cape of black velvet with the cross of his new order of St. Esprit thereon. He makes some preparation to hold his feast of this new 'brothered or *Gonfalania de St. Esprit*' on New Year's Day.

The Queen Mother left Paris on the 19th in the afternoon, lodging that night at Noisy, the Marshal of Retz' house, and so goes forward to Dreux in Normandy. It is thought Monsieur will meet her at Verneuil, about eight leagues from Dreux.

She took with her, as I am informed, 15,000 crowns for him, with promises of richer sums, one of his excuses for absence by M. Fervacques on the 16th inst. having been lack of money. Another request of his is to be the king's Lieutenant-general, 'which if he stick on,' his coming will not be soon looked for in this Court.

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Queen Mother this month has 'broiled' among those of the finances and receipts for the 'recovery' of money.

The imprisonment of Vomigni has troubled Monsieur's friends here, for it is doubted he has done some great excess and 'trecheri,' or else Monsieur would not have caused him to be apprehended.

M. de Marchemont, to whom I delivered your Highness' letter for his Highness, was informed that Vomigni had discovered to the King something that passed in England, being then trusted to write letters for Monsieur.

The Duke of Guise when at his house at the end of summer had framed a practise for the surprise of 'Stronsborough,' which being discovered was not performed. Some of the companies are dispersed and the rest returned to Burgundy.

The King of Spain has been dangerously ill of a quinsy, but has recovered and is now troubled with the gout in one hand. (Signed) Amyas Poulet, Henry Cobham.

Sir F. Walsingham's letters at that time [?]

(*b*) I have herewith sent a joint dispatch of the conference Sir A. Poulet and I had with the King and Queens, and of Queen Mother's going from hence to meet the Duke of Alençon in hope to entice him hither. The means are fair promises to himself and threatenings used to some about him by Queen Mother; in such sort that M. de Fervacques, sent here by Monsieur, having access to the king and Queen Mother on the 16th, she among other things threatened 'that there was about the Duke which would not have the good amity between the brethren.' But she said their heads should answer for it if they did not guard themselves the better.

The King has a great desire to hold a feast on New Year's Day of his new order of St. Esprit. Preparations are intended which will go forward if Monsieur returns and will be of the company.

The King gives his guard new rich liveries, which he has not used to do for a long time. He does 'devoutly apply' his Mass, wearing very solemnly his beads hanging at his girdle.

Queen Mother is framing certain marriages to draw them of the Religion to her will by means of her rich young darlings; seeking to get some of the best marriages of young ladies of the Religion for the sons of 'Duke Albeuf' and others of the Guises. She 'doth somewhat decay, and by her physicians doubted to decline towards a *poplexia*.' It seemed to me that in her conferences with me her voice and strength was not altogether in as good order as I looked for, and I have since found the opinion of others to be the same.

The King of Spain has had a quinsy and is recovered, but not altogether void of some evil flux or 'rume' yet in his throat, and troubled with gout.

I cannot omit to tell you of something which happened during the dinner. The Chevalier de Seure sitting next me had begun to speak of Portugal, assuring me that if the old King should live

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another year, *voleva esser squartigato* [he would be skinned alive] if the Spanish king would ever get that kingdom; saying further how the old king daily redeemed those of his faction, and left the 'philippians' of the Spanish faction unredeemed in Barbary. Further, if it pleased the King his master, and her Majesty, means might be found to cause King Philip to surcease that practice. I answered that it was thought King Philip had over great forces to be resisted; whereon he said that though kingdoms are not so easily conquered, there are means to suffer them to be lost. Perhaps moreover if the Duchy of Burgundy were seized it would bring forth some honest composition, whereby King Philip might be induced to slack his enterprise towards Portugal. I gave him the hearing. I received courteous entertainment from him and la Motte-Fènelon.

Being but new arrived, as one altogether unacquainted I cannot inform you of this broken and divided state. But my good Sir Amyas will supply my inability at his return. Therefore I refer to him.

Draft (or copy). 13 *pp.* [*France III.* 45.]

Nov. 18. **86.** The French King to the Queen.

Acknowledges her letter of the 10th ult. delivered by Sir H. Cobham, who will no doubt do as much to preserve the amity as Poulet has done.—Paris, 18 Nov. 1579. (*Signed*) Henry, (*countersigned*) Pinart.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Broadsheet. Fr. 8 ll. [*Ibid. III.* 46.]

Nov. 18. **87.** Queen Mother to the Queen.

To the same effect. Cobham will be as well received as Poulet has been.—Paris, 18 Nov. 1579. (*Signed*) Caterine, (*countersigned*) Pinart.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Broadsheet. Fr. 7 *ll.* [*Ibid. III.* 47.]

Nov. 19. **88.** 'The parcels of the Queen's plate which Sir Amyas Poulet delivered to Sir Henry Cobham 19th November, at Paris, 1579:

Two flagons with cover weighing - - -	12 oz.
Two salts in the one cover parcel gilt - -	35 oz.
Three bowls without cover - - - -	70¾ oz.
An ewer and bason gilt - - - - -	90¾ oz.
Two other ewers gilt - - - - -	49 oz. ½ dwt.
Twenty-two silver trenchers - - - -	154 oz.
Fourteen great platters - - - -	354 oz.
Three little deep platters - - - -	48¼ dwts.
Thirteen silver dishes - - - - -	204 oz.
Eleven silver dishes - - - - -	135 oz. ½ dwt.
Eight silver saucers - - - - -	60¼ dwts.
Seven fruit silver dishes - - - -	30¼ oz.

Total 1121 oz. qr. [*sic*].'

Endd. by Burghley's secretary. ½ *p.* [*Ibid. III.* 48.]

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Nov. 20. **89.** Commission to William Lord Burghley, Edward Earl of Lincoln, Thomas Earl of Sussex, Henry Lord Hunsdon, and Thomas Wilson, LL.D. (*added in margin:* in the Commission signed by her Majesty, Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Francis Walsingham were inserted), or any three of them, to negotiate with M. de Simier in respect of the marriage between the Queen and the Duke of Anjou. *One clause, running as follows:* And whereas, after Simier had entered on his embassy, the said Duke came in person into our country to greet us and speak with us, and left the said ambassador with us to prosecute the affair of the marriage, *has been marked for omission.*—Greenwich, 20 Nov. 1579.

Draft, corrected in Burghley's hand, and endd. by him in Eng. (dated 19 Nov.) and by Wilson in Lat. Latin. 2½ *pp.* [*France III.* 49.]

90. *Rough draft of the above, in Burghley's hand throughout. Lat.* 2 *pp.* [*Ibid. III.* 49*a*.]

Nov. 20. **91.** The French Queen to the Queen.

Acknowledges her letter delivered by Sir H. Cobham.—Paris, 20 Nov. 1579. (*Signed*) Loyse, (*countersigned*) De Laubespine.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Broadsheet. Fr. 6 *ll.* [*Ibid. III.* 50.]

Nov. 20. **92.** Villiers to Davison.

I will not repeat what I wrote to Mr Secretary touching the successes gained in the past week by M. de la Noue over the enemy. I wrote at length, and I hope you will see it. I will only say that poor Mr Norris is much annoyed at not having been there; but he has done his duty fully. Those of this town who it was agreed by the Council-General should pay them [*qy.* his men] have made so many difficulties that his Excellency has been forced to garrison the houses of the burgesses; and this again has not been of much service, for there are a lot of ill-conditioned people who do a deal of harm.

His Excellency bids me tell you that he has certain information of la Huguerie and Sarrazin, who as you know were the authors of the last troubles at Ghent, having gone to England on behalf of Duke Casimir, to assist the betrothal of Monsieur, and in view of the marriage are commissioned to offer him the Duke's service. His Excellency does not think it strange that the nobleman in question should offer his service to a King of England. But as you know, the great stalking-horse (*bouclier*) of those who have done so much mischief in Flanders had come to an agreement with the papists to keep his promises to them, and the same with the Duke; and he wished to let you know what I have mentioned that you might make secret use of it; begging that you would kindly keep him well informed of all that comes to your knowledge on the subject.

All honest folk here are very sorry for what has happened to Mr Stubbes, for many reasons. For my part, I am inconsolable, chiefly

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because I fear that the consequences will be other than many people think. God preserve the Queen, her Council and her realm.—Antwerp, 20 Nov. 1579.

Add. Fr. 1½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 47.]

Nov. 22. **93.** Poulet to Burghley.

Being now in good hope to leave Paris at my back in a day or two, although I must confess that I rejoice greatly to taste the sweet air of my native country, I may say truly that my content is not a little increased in that you are pleased to desire my return, which I take to be an argument of the continuance of your favour towards me. I doubt not to conserve the same all my life ; the rather when being restored to my former quietness, I shall have to deal only for myself and my country matters, and not be encumbered with occasions that may alter the good affections of my friends towards me. These satisfactions, though reaching only to myself, are of great comfort ; but the ' full heap ' of my happy return consists in the good amity between these two Crowns, which, thank God, is not diminished since my coming into this country. Of one thing I am assured, that I shall depart hence with a quiet mind, my conscience bearing me witness that I have levelled at no other mark than to serve my prince and country faithfully. I confess that I have committed many faults for want of wit and experience ; wherein my burden will be the easier, because you have part therein, as one of the principal ' founders ' of my journey into France ; and to say truly I do not repent that journey, nor shall it ever repent you to have furthered it.

My lord ambassador will not fail to advertise you of the occurrents of these parts.—Paris, 22 Nov. 1579.

Endd. Add. 1 *p.* [*France III.* 51.]

Nov. 22. **94.** Poulet to Walsingham.

I am Jack out of office, I thank God for it ; yet I cannot forbear my wonted course, to write somewhat to Sir Francis Walsingham. I do not trouble you with a copy of the letter sent by this bearer to her Majesty, because it contains little but ordinary compliments. I cannot satisfy myself unless I acquaint you after the old manner with all my doings, and therefore trouble you with the copies enclosed. I should be glad to hear from you a day or two before coming to Court, and if you lack a trusty messenger pray send my old friend Mr Nicasius. I hear you are in good towardness of health, and I trust to find you in perfect health.—Paris, 22 Nov. 1579.

P.S. (*autograph*).—Your good directions received beforehand may stand me in good stead. I desire to be advertised from you in what things her Majesty will most seek to be satisfied. It will not be amiss that you peruse this device enclosed, because your opinion on it may be required shortly ; but if it be known that you have it, I lose my credit utterly.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. III.* 52.]

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Nov. 22. **95.** Notes for the marriage negotiations.

1. To ordain a certain sum to continue for the time of the marriage, and that there shall be a certain sum for the dowry. And that for the time following the marriage the sum be left to Parliament. Provided that Monsieur's pension shall not endure after he is King of France.

2. If the Queen will continue the articles in an uncertainty for Monsieur's pension as they are conceived, then she shall have for her dowry half of such sum as is accorded by Parliament.

3. If her Majesty will assent presently, then ———

4. If her Majesty will not like any of the former points, then all be referred to the Commissioners.—22 Nov. 1579.

Mem. in Burghley's hand, and endd. by him:

L. Treasurer
L. Chamberlain } with { M. Symier
Dr. Wilson } with { Combelles.

1 *p.* [*Ibid. III.* 53.]

Nov. 22. **96.** Gilpin to Davison.

Though I have not been more successful than I told you in my last letter in suing to the States for their decision as to satisfying her Majesty, I must answer yours received by the last post. According to its contents I have not failed several times to request the States' answer, which has been delayed owing to their being so busy about concluding certain articles touching this hoped-for peace. When this is finished they promise to answer her Majesty. But I see their want is so great and the likelihood of amendment so little with the increase of daily troubles that I cannot see how they will be able to save their credits. This week, being in need of money to pay our English companies, 7 or 8 of whom lie in Flanders under Capt. Morgan, and will not march on any service before they are paid, they were forced to send bills to some of the richest persons of this town, by way of commandment, charging them to bring in certain sums of money. Most of them refusing to obey were with rigour threatened to be compelled thereunto and soldiers put into their houses to lie there at their charges, and to have 20*d.* a day till they had satisfied what was required of them. Notwithstanding this they persisted; and so the Common Council of this town have been called together and have to devise some other way to find money. This dealing gives me less hope that they will be able to discharge their debt to Spinola; who, I think, will do his endeavour to further the sending over of the keys, thereby to induce her Majesty the sooner to satisfy him and his partners. This, for causes, I could wish were accomplished; and remit the consideration of it to your judgement.

I received a letter this week from Mr Secretary with enclosures, which I have delivered. I defer writing for the present, as there is nothing beyond what I wrote in my last worth troubling him with.

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As for news, I know several will write to him who have more leisure than I this week to enquire into the certainty of matters in these parts. Excuse me to him for not writing this time.

Since my last M. de la Noue has, this week, taken by force 'Waruyche,' an open town one mile from Menin, and put 200 Walloons that held it to the sword. Also 5 companies, of horse with some foot, under the conduct of M. de Montigny who came to the rescue of the place were met by 3 companies, one being Scots under Capt. Seaton, and 6 ensigns of French foot, M. de la Noue 'being himself in person,' and wholly overthrown, so that few escaped 'unslain or taken.' This bred such terror among the rest of the Malcontent soldiers that they set fire to Hallewyn and have since forsaken Commines and Wastene. News is daily expected of their surrender of Armentieres, which M. de la Noue has beset and 'makes full account' to have it. Thence towards Cassel; which had, all Flanders will be clear of malcontents, so that Lille will be the next place the States' men mean to deal with, lying in their country already, which will be sacked, spoiled and destroyed. Those of Lille offer 100,000 'gildons' to have their mills saved from burning, the Frenchmen having threatened to destroy them.

On Thursday morning some Spanish horse came to Eheren, a village one league from this town, where a company of the States' light horse lie, meaning to have them 'for prize'; but failing of their purpose spoiled and set fire to the village, and so after losing 8 men slain and 2 captured, departed, having taken but one of the States' men, who had retired to a strong house surrounded with water. This they tried to fire, but losing the aforesaid men durst venture no further.

To-morrow some persons appointed by the States set out for Cologne, with the newly-devised articles to be presented to the Duke of Nova Terra and the commissioners from the Empire, touching the 'pretended' peace.—Antwerp, 22 Nov. 1579.

Add. Endd. by Burghley's secretary. 2½ *pp.* [*Hol. and Fl. XII.* 48.]

Nov. 25. **97.** Sir Henry Cobham to [Walsingham].

I have delivered your letter to Captain 'Mazin' Delbene. He is willing to deal thereafter, but it must stay till the matter of Monsieur's coming is determined on, which he thinks will hardly be brought to pass; he is of opinion that Monsieur will not long stay, such have been the unkindnesses past.

The King is looked for from Saint Germain-en-Laye within two days, and it is thought Queen Mother will be here by the end of this month. I have sent John Furrier to see the interview between the mother and son.

It is reported here that Vominy [*see For. Cal.* 1575-7] 'should be' executed . . credibly spoken. M. de Marchemont does not certify [?] . . .

Sir A. Poulet left Paris on Monday the 24th in the evening and lay that night at St. Denis. This day I have removed to his house, for I cannot get any other so convenient in Paris.

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Signor Mazin Delbene has received letters from Italy that about the beginning of this month Don Pedro di Medici embarked with his soldiers for the service of King Philip. His opinion is that we have cause in England to mistrust his preparations.

As another ordinary courier is shortly going hence I write no more, but desire to hear of your better health.—Paris, 25 Nov. 1579.

Slightly damaged. ¾ *p.* [*France III.* 54.]

Nov. 28. **98.** Villiers to Davison.

I send two letters received this week. I hear that since the execution of the sentence on Mr Stubbs several persons have been imprisoned, and I think the cause of it has been faithfully stated. As I doubt not you have influence with sundry people, although you are not ignorant of these things, yet for my duty's sake and the fear I have lest some of my friends get into trouble, I cannot refrain from saying that the way to pacify kings is not to oppose them, or announce by writings, signatures, or remarks that one does not approve their doings. It is necessary to be humble, or at least, to hold one's tongue. You know why I say this and there is no need of longer discourse. As to some of your country I long ago said to them on matters of less consequence that the opposition they made did more harm than if they had held their tongues. They went wrong through misunderstanding the maxim that one ought to oppose evil; for if they had combated the evil by good counsel it would have been crushed better than by their writings. I had resolved to write no more of these affairs; but the fear lest more harm should come to so many honest folk, who I know do not err through evil will, gives me so much perplexity and trouble that I cannot restrain myself.

The instructions to be sent to Cologne are drawn up. There is in them nothing to please papist Bishops, who will find nevertheless that with all their thousands of transformations they have after all not brought this country into such a mess as they think. If I am not mistaken it will get itself clear before summer comes, at least if affairs here be put in some order.

M. de la Noue has been doing great service, for with few men he is clearing the enemy out of the country, after saving Brussels. He wages war with such stiffness in fighting, such gentleness in victory, and so loyally preserves the very houses and lands of the hostile nobles, that he breaks down the enemy's courage more by his discretion than by his arms. He would do very wrong, it seems to me, to attach himself without great cause to any other than the Prince, for their natures are too much alike. Yesterday he was to besiege Haulterive, but the Prince of Espinoy, fearing that Count Mansfeldt who is very busy at Valenciennes might besiege St. Amand, is pressing him to take his forces into the Tournésis to its succour. Mr Norris joined him with seven companies three days ago. M. de la Noue has with him 8 cornets, well mounted at the enemy's expense; the Prince of Espinoy has two,

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and two more towards the Cambrésis. Of infantry he has 24 companies with himself, 18 at Menin, 5 at Wervick, 7 at Commines, 1 at Quesnoy near Lille, 4 at Courtrai, 4 at Oudenarde, besides 600 pioneers. He is at a point midway among these companies and can reinforce himself in one day if necessary. The enemy is as strong, even stronger; for 27 companies of Walloons are coming to him from the camp. But the leader is different, and people recently beaten do not get their courage for some time.

We all salute you. Commend us to Mr and Mrs Killegrew.—Antwerp, 28 Nov. 1579.

Add. Fr. 2 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 49.]

Nov. 28. **99.** The Queen to the States-General.

In yours of the 1st inst. replying to ours of Sep. 7, we cannot see that settlement we looked for of the money which you owe us, and of which the term for payment has expired; nor that you have given order for the satisfaction of the debt to Spinola and Pallavicino, part of which fell due in June last and part will do so in December, according to the obligations given them for our indemnity and that of our citizens of London. Whereupon we would remind you that you have not shown due consideration for the favours granted by us at your urgent solicitation, in aid of your necessities, not to mention the loss to our subjects in the meantime, and the trouble we have taken for your good. Wherefore, gentlemen, you must devise some other means to satisfy us and those merchants, who are importuning us both for the principal and for the interest since June, as well as threatening the goods of our citizens for the discharge of the obligations. To which if you do not give heed, to our contentment, besides the ingratitude for the favour with which you have been treated we shall be obliged to take notice of it in some such way as will result in no good as regards you. Pray, therefore, take counsel promptly as you would hope for the continuation of our favours.—Greenwich, 28 Nov. 1579.

Copy. Endd. Fr. 1¼ *pp.* [*Ibid. XII.* 50.]

Nov. 29. **100.** Gilpin to Walsingham.

I received your packet this week, and have sent his own letter, with that to M. de la Noue, to Mr Carleil who departed towards the camp in Flanders last Tuesday. The others I delivered here as directed. Having had [*sic*] large talk with M. de Villiers and M. Ymans, they both shew their readiness to 'advance expedition'; and it had been accomplished ere this had not the long negotiation about the peace 'letted' the States. Being with much difficulty assembled together, some of them show 'frowardness' enough to yield to any conformity with what was resolved ere the other provinces were disjoined; so that it is likely sundry such difficulties will fall out among them. M. Ymans told me yesterday he had reminded the States and shown them your letter, to which he wished to answer with a declaration of his proceedings and the States' intention touching the same. I am sorry my endeavour has no better success,

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Enclosed I send the summary of two letters lately received from my friend at Cologne, though of no great importance. I wrote to him three days ago as you directed to encourage his voyage to England, in which I think some good service may be done; advising him if they so earnestly request his going over, to work diligently to understand all the details of their secrets, whatever they may be, which I doubt not he can and will accomplish. For Spain, I know not whether he will be content to take the charge upon him, but I 'take' him very meet for that place, both because he has languages, and also as a jewel-merchant by profession, under which colour he may be anywhere without suspicion. By the next Cologne post, who starts in two or three days, I mean to 'break' with him of the matter, requesting his answer with all convenient expedition; upon which you shall at once be advertised. I am also about a 'practice' to learn with what the crew of English fugitives are occupied at Liége. If it haply fall out to do any service to my prince and country, you shall surely understand it. I am most grieved that my small ability will not yield the means that some services require.

The States, after 15 or 16 months' suit to them for satisfaction of my 'travaile' for them into Germany, wherein I spent above 40 *li. fs.* of my own, have granted me 400 guilders to be paid out of the first money her Majesty should 'prest' to them, adding that if I could find some other means to get so much money here, they would willingly aid me. This I account desperate, for all their customs, imposts, taxes and contributions are already charged so far for payment of their debts, that I am out of all hope unless you will be so favourable to me as to order that if her Majesty hereafter pays any sum to them or their creditors, or otherwise to their use, I might be remembered. This would do a great good in this hard world and dear country, our doings being so slender here that my gains will not meet the cost of my maintenance. I presumed with all the reverence to touch thus much to you, reposing on your goodness extended to all men.

Herewith I send a copy of a letter sent me from Flanders, with details of M. de la Noue's last service [*qy. No.* 84]. I am sorry it did not come to my hands a day sooner, ere the last post departed. The enclosed book came out this week; the other from Cologne mentioned in one of my friend's letters I have not as yet received.

This week's news are very few. M. de Melroy with the articles of peace departed at midnight on Thursday, in post towards Cologne, armed with the Prince of Parma's passport.

M. de Pruneaux had audience to-day before the States, and after declaring as I heard that his master 'thought much' that this last meeting to treat of peace was held without his knowledge or consent contrary to their promise to him, requested to have their final answer for which he had so long been put off.

M. de la Noue lies with his men before a castle between Tournay and Oudenarde, which it is said he has battered, and if rescue comes

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not shortly, 'will bear it away.' It is defended by 5 ensigns of Malcontents, who annoyed the passage toward Ghent.

The Prince of Parma has sent to the aid of the Malcontents three regiments of Walloon foot under the Count of Reulx, M. de Floyon and the Count of Faulquemberg, with 3 cornets of horse led by M. du Gat.

Last Thursday some Frenchmen lying at Herentals, going out to seek booty, were surprised by the enemy, 30 of them being slain and taken, of whom 3 or 4 were 'men that had charge.'

Next Monday according to custom the Magistrates of this town will be changed. I hear the greater part of the new will be of the Religion; others, suspected and not liked, will be rejected.

M. Liesvelt, one of the councillors of State, was this week elected Chancellor, and knighted by the Archduke on taking the oath of office. His predecessor has been 'put unto' a pension.—Antwerp, 29 Nov. 1579.

P.S.—M. Ymans has just sent me word that he will not write till next time, hoping that the States will come to a resolution this week.

Add. Endd. 3 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 51.]

Nov. **101.** *Draft, in the hand of L. Tomson, with corrections by him, of a statement, to be signed by Simier, respecting the negotiations between him and the commissioners* (*see No.* 93). The said articles were agreed upon and put into writing, after several conferences between the said councillors and us, signed by them and handed to us, and signed by us in our turn; always with the proviso that these articles or any of them notwithstanding, the signatures shall not be deemed to have any effect until after the arrival in England of other Ambassadors, persons of high quality sent from the King and the Duke of Anjou, upon the request of her Majesty by letters under her sign manual or through her Ambassador in France. If she sends none such to the king or the duke within from the date of these presents, the articles shall remain of no force. But if she advertises them within that time stated, full powers shall be given to the Ambassadors in the names of the King and the Duke to ratify and confirm the articles, and to resolve upon one article which remains undetermined and in suspense. The day of Nov. 1579.

Endd. Fr. 1½ *pp.* [*France III.* 55.]

Dec. 1. **102.** Edzard, Count of East Friesland to the Queen.

In reply to your letter which has been handed to us by the proctors for the English Society of Adventurers dwelling in our town of Embden we would not have you ignorant that from the year '64 when we granted to the society full immunity of importation and exportation, we have sought nothing so much as to see those privileges confirmed and advanced by the Emperor and the

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other princes of the Empire. But after we had taken much trouble to this end, and had deputed certain of our chief councillors to attend to the matter, quite unexpectedly in less than three months after their coming, with no just cause except that they so decided to do they left Embden in a way disrespectful to us, uttering some flippant scoffs in place of the leave which they did not think fit to take of us, and repaired to Hamburg, to the no small loss of ourselves and our subjects. And though we had then good ground for revoking the concessions we had made, we have kindly allowed them, until the present time when they are beginning to want to come back to continue the trade they had started, though of insignificant amount, often not more than two or three transactions, as they will be obliged to admit if asked. Further when deputies from the Adventurers' Society brought us letters from the Master and Court asking us to renew the former privileges we assented, and confirmed those privileges.

But whereas we are fully persuaded by your letters and other indications that you wish these useful as they are to the subjects of either nation to be not revoked, but restored and established, I will in a few words point certain abuses and defects by which the mutual conveniences of trade are either wholly removed or else diminished, to the great hurt of your realm, and of our town of Embden.

The chief seems to be that whereas it is obvious that Embden in respect of harbours, roads, and lodging may be of more service to your subjects for trade whether by sea or land than any other maritime town of Germany, it is in your realm left free to Italians and other foreign merchants, contrary to the ancient customs still observed by that society, to transport their goods to Hamburg, Dordrecht and other towns where that society has no residence. Secondly other English merchants not belonging to the Society, and perhaps some members of it, transport their goods constantly to Hamburg and other German towns, and sell them; forestalling there the German goods which the inhabitants of those towns were wont in large numbers to transport to the mart or residence of the Society and exchange with it, to its prejudice and loss; upsetting in this way the old trade principles, as well the citizens and merchants of many German towns, who lose the profit which they used to make by bringing and exchanging those goods, exasperating them against the English nation, and give them cause for new counsels. Nay they increase the prices of things, and bring about a dearth of German goods, which are not brought to meet the English at the place of mart, in the same quantity as formerly.

Last but not least, an abuse which hinders the success of navigation here is that with the freedom of import granted to merchants, foreign and English, more goods every day are carried to your realm from the Hanse ports than from our town. All which clearly causes a delay in bringing those goods into public use, and is even less to the advantage of the Merchants Adventurers than of our citizens.

Since then your letters testify above all things to your desire that the privileges granted to the Adventurers may be continued

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and extended, and to your opinion that this will be to our honour and do no harm to our citizens of Embden, we would humbly advise and beseech your Majesty, having duly considered and weighed the hinderances and abuses alleged by us, to restore the old laws and customs, adopted doubtless after serious deliberation, which the Society always enjoyed while it lived in other places where they had a mart, and will in earnest command all merchants, foreign and English, whether belonging or not to the Society, to carry their goods to and from Embden only, as the Society's appointed mart at the present time. By this means you will certainly cause trade to become brisker, while the privileges granted to your lieges will be rendered of the highest use to them, and not injurious to our citizens.—Aurick, 1 Dec. 1579. (*Signed*) Edzardus, *manu propria.*

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson: from the Count of Emden. *Latin.* 5 *pp.* [*Germ. States. I.* 78.]

Dec. 8. **103.** Cobham to Wilson.

I received this morning from Mr Stafford in a letter of his yours with a copy in French. But as Mr Stafford had to pass towards Normandy to find Monsieur, he had opened your letter the better to inform himself in his negotiations, so that he has seen the copy which you wished me to give him. I shall not fail to do as you have directed in your letter. I have to-day sent a man to find Mr Stafford at Monsieur's Court, having informed him of Monsieur's being in this town; wishing him to enquire what intelligence he may perceive to be between Monsieur and the Prince of Condé.

I have sent one to the Prince of Condé in Picardy, that I may certify the Queen about those proceedings; as, whether the intention be to make any enterprise into Flanders with the secret consent of Monsieur or the King, or only to settle himself in Picardy with the favour of the lords and gentlemen of that country.

I was moved thereto because suspicions have arisen upon this action of the Prince, and 'I cannot tell what thought' in that he ventured so near this Court.

Be sure I will not fail to keep the things committed to me faithfully and secretly, hoping that others will do the like.—Paris, 8 Dec. 1579.

P.S.—Before I received your letter, I was ready to dispatch one, certifying Mr Secretary Walsingham of my second audience of the King and the occurrents here.

Add. Endd. 2 *pp.* [*France III.* 56.]

[Dec. 10.] **104.** Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the question of compensation to Spanish subjects.

See Dom. Add.

By Art. 5 of the treaty of Bristol, the actions and rights of all ships' goods etc. not specified in a schedule mentioned in that article are reserved to the subjects of the King of Spain against

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the subjects of her Majesty, by whom their goods are detained, or they are damnified. And by Art. 7 it is agreed that justice shall be ministered summarily to the subjects of both princes, or those lawfully appointed by them to sue. It is requisite both by the said treaty, and by the order of the law, that such as make demands against her Majesty's subjects either in an ordinary court of law or before special commissioners shall exhibit sufficient procuration and authority from the proprietors interested in the thing reserved, to sue and recover the same; otherwise neither can the process be 'vailable' in law, nor would her Majesty's subjects, if they should satisfy the ambassador or any other not so authorized, be discharged as against the true proprietors, but may be 'eftsoons' charged, either in this realm or in the King of Spain's dominions, for the same.

And whereas above the value of £100,000 has been already restored or satisfied by way of compensation to the King's subjects, it is necessary that such as sue for the things reserved by the treaty shall specify the things for which they make suit and not intermix them with the things for which compensation has been made and a discharge given.

Copy. Endd. in a later hand (qy. Sir J. Williamson). ⅔ *p.* [*Spain I.* 33.]

Dec. 12. **105.** 'A note of the charges of the *Scout* for two voyages in transporting 'Duke Allanson' and 'Mounsewer Semyres' from Dover to France.'

'Prest' and conduct from London to Chatham, of 110 men, at 2*s.* 6*d.*	£13 15*s.*
Ten gunners at the like rate	25*s.*
For provision of sea-stores, viz. nails, sheet lead, salt hides, compasses, running-glasses, lead-lines, bowls, buckets, shovels, flag of St. George, etc.	£15.
Two new anchors for the ship	£14 11*s.* 8*d.*
For wages, diets, and 'deadshars,' of 120 men, for 14 days, at 4*s.* 8*d.* every man	£28.
For the 'conduct in discharge' of the said mariners and gunners, at 12*d.* per man	£6.
For travelling charges, carriage of letters, etc.	£6.
Sum	£84 11*s.* 8*d.*
For 'prest' and conduct of 70 mariners, at 2/6 per man, with the charge of the 'prester'	£8 15*s.*
Ten gunners	25*s.*
Provisions and necessaries as before	£15.
Wages, diets and 'deadshares,' for 5 weeks and 4 days, beginning 29 Oct. 1579, ending 4 Dec., at 12*s.* 8*d.* every man	£50 13*s.* 4*d.*
Conduct and discharge, 80 men, at 12*d.* per man	£4.
Travelling charges, etc.	£6.

Totals, £170 5*s.* (*Signed*) John Hawkyns, Willm. Holstok.

Endd. 1 *p.* [*France III.* 59.]

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Dec. 12. **106.** THOMAS CELY to the QUEEN.

"In Andalazia [*sic*] the 12 of December, in Porta Santa Marya—1579."—Since my bringing-up has not been such as to write duly to your Majesty, I crave pardon if my pen run astray, for I am where I cannot attain to counsel, neither do I wish any to know that I am writing, for I am sworn by the Inquisition of Spain neither to speak nor to write anything touching the secrets of the Inquisition nor their house where I was three years in close prison for God's laws and yours, and all my goods taken from me most unjustly, for I take God to witness I never did anything contrary to Spain in all my life. Notwithstanding these great injuries they have condemned me to the galleys for four years; three of which, within two months, are past. My friends have procured your Majesty's favourable letters for me, but they do not avail. I pray God I may be thankful for your good will to me.

There is in the galley where I am a woman who is a courtesan. She is daily in the company of the captain, where she hears much. She is of Alexandria, and is *amiga* to one of the captains of the infantry. This woman talks with me very often, and I make fair weather with her, for I am sure to hear such talk as passes with the captains. I am in one of the chambers of the galley, where I do her pleasure to suffer her friends to talk with her, and she does what she can for me. I thought it good to move your Majesty, for their communications have been such that 'aforce' I must needs venture my life to write, for they touch you and your country very much. I think it good to trouble my Lord Treasurer with this affair [*see Dom. Add. letter of even date*], for I will not trouble your head with a long letter; my Lord Treasurer's wise and politic head will in four words put more into your head in a quarter of an hour than I shall with writing ten sheets of paper. I have written your Majesty two letters touching other affairs; but I wrote in the last, which I sent by one Perse of Weymouth, that I would be worth £100,000 a year to your subjects, and £40,000 a year to your coffers. I hear nothing from you; I fear you doubt I work for my liberty. Truly, liberty I desire, and one year I have to 'accomply and two months, and have nothing but ill biscuit and water; but my trust is in God to attain to my country, and if I may be heard, I trust God will give me grace to 'accomply' my word; if not, strike off my head as a traitor. I am in a galley called the '*Strellya*,' otherwise the *Spera*. In misery I thank God I am whole of my racking. All my study in close prison has been for your common wealths. Send me for God's love to pass this year to come, and bear with my rude and bold manners. I marvel you have not the [? most] fruitful island in the world. You may, if you will put to your hand.

I would fain copy out this letter, for I doubt your Majesty will be troubled with reading it. Have patience with you [*sic*] and take some pains to read it, for I dare not write any longer. This I omit; committing your Majesty to God's good will and pleasure, amen, and all the elect wheresoever. Peruse my Lord Treasurer's letter and 'keep well the Queen of Scots and sure.' I need not give this counsel, but my pen will not otherwise do. I beseech God to give

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me the grace to see the Court of England ere I die. (*Signed*) Your poor obedient servant Thomas Cely of Bristol, of your guard extraordinary.

Add. : To my sovereign lady and mistress the Queen's Majesty of England etc., ye [*qy.* give] these when God shall appoint wind and weather. 1¼ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 28.]

Dec. 18. **107.** ——— to Poulet.

I am sending several letters which have been forwarded to me for you from various places; among others one from the King of Navarre which M. de Chassincourt, his agent at Court, gave me yesterday. The Queen Mother is not yet back from the Prince; the object of her journey was to persuade him to recross the Loire, to which effect he is offered a residence at Coignac and 50,000 *livres* pension. He has not decided to accept this; it would indeed be a great disgrace to him, and I do not see that there would be great security for his return. Meanwhile they are in a great difficulty, for they see that if he is left there his party have a place of retreat and a chief to rally them, as well as a means to facilitate help from abroad. Nor do they see how they can get him out of it by force, for they know not to whom to entrust the operations, having no confidence in the great men and fearing the small.

Marshal Bellegarde is doing everything in Provence and Dauphiné at the devotion of our people. 'They' are also greatly afraid of this conference between the King of Navarre and Marshal Montmorency, now going on at Foix.

The Estates of Normandy continue their demands, and avow everything that MM. de la Rocheguion, Ponttellange and others have done. Meanwhile the Prince is not going to sleep, having fortified, victualled, and munitioned la Fère. I believe that M. de la Noue is now there; at any rate he was at Cambray last Saturday and wrote to us from there.

Murders are beginning again. This week the Chevalier de Tenance was killed by M. de Seure; and at Alençon, in the neighbourhood of Monsieur, the Baron de Montjoy has been killed in a duel. These are ill omens for this poor state.—18 Dec. 1579.

P.S.—Matignon's troops that were in Champagne are in this neighbourhood, and have been made to pass muster.

M. de Ravignan has had his answer, but it contains only remonstrances, prayers and conjurations to the King of Navarre to restore the towns, promising that if he does so the Edict will be punctually carried out. Their object is to induce us to ask, as the King of Navarre is resolutely doing, for some further term, within which it shall be so carried out.

Endd. by Walsingham: from N. to Sir Amyas Poulet. *Fr.* 1 *p.* [*France III.* 58.]

Dec. 19. **108.** Villiers to Davison.

I received yours of the 5th. Owing to the absence of Mr Travers, who was gone to Lierre, I could not speak to him, nor to the other

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who was with him. I touched on it this morning to Mr Gilpin; he thinks there is danger, and that the thing must be managed as gently and discreetly as possible, but as you know we are not always masters of our designs. We all desire here that your country's affairs may be conducted to God's honour and the repose of the realm; and the discussion of particulars only goes on among those who have some particular interests. As for the person of whom you write to me, who shows [?] the letters, I believe it, but I have wonderfully good pledges from him. Still I will think of it; and thank you much. I have written freely to him touching the fault committed by him and others over there in the matter of Cassiodore, who would like to trouble our churches here; but this again was because he wrote to me of it himself. I think he is satisfied; at least so he gives me to understand.

Our affairs drag on as usual. For the third time his Excellency has taken leave of the general burden, not wishing any longer to command without means. He offers his services as a nobleman of the country. I think they will come to a resolution, for they must act or perish. It is those of Holland who back out the most Flanders does very well.

We are assured that the Spaniards are taking the road next Monday; we shall soon see. The Albanians, Italians, and Burgundians remain, by agreement with the Walloons, who have been a little beaten. If they are beaten once more they will recall the Spaniards. M. de la Noue, notwithstanding all the representations made to him, has gone into France. God keep him safe.

The Prince and Princess, my ladies of Orange, and your little mistress greet you affectionately, as do we. Please salute Mr and Miss (*sic*) Killegrew.—Antwerp, 19 Dec. 1579.

Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 52.]

Dec. 22. **109.** Fremin to Davison.

Just a word or two to recall me to your good graces, in which I would be maintained, and to tell you that I have written to you several times and received no answer, which makes me think you are absent or have forgotten your humble servant. Yet I will not for that cease to be your servant as in duty bound by your laudable qualities.

As for the state of affairs here I can tell you nothing just now, because the gentleman who takes this is on the point of departure. You know him, and I have asked him to discourse at large to you on what is happening here. For the rest, count wholly on me. I commend me to your '*Mademoiselle votre compagne*' and all your family.—Antwerp, 22 Dec. 1579.

Add. Fr. ½ *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 53.]

Dec. 26. **110.** Cobham to [Walsingham?].

Mr Stafford, accompanied by M. Simier, came to Paris on Christmas Eve; and as he had stayed so long at Monsieur's Court,

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now at their coming they determined to hasten hence. Whereon I sent that night to M. Gondy to procure Mr Stafford's audience, which was granted, and next day he had access to their Majesties, to whom he effectually delivered his message. But as M. Simier had been at Court the night before and that morning, I think they were well informed of the cause of his coming and heard him willingly. They make show to like and to be as earnest in the cause as they ever were, expressing by many speeches their hope of the present conclusion. In such sort this matter is carried here.

I have sent this messenger to you, to inform you of what he heard the Prince of Condé say, 'and otherwise pass' since his coming to Fère. Please hear him at large.—Paris, 26 Dec. 1579.

P.S.—The advertisement which I received and sent you, of the King of Spain's taking of Genoa, falls not out accordingly. It grew from some of the navy staying there, which now are passed towards Spain.

Marshal Bellegarde is dead and M. d'Aulmont is made Marshal. His [Bellegarde's] government is given to M. de la Valette.

Add. and endt. gone. 1 *p.* [*France, III.* 59.]

Dec. 27. **111.** Rossel to Walsingham.

I have been for two whole months on military expeditions with M. de le Noue. Events will, I think, have been reported by 'Mr Secretary Gilpin,' including the return of M. de la Noue to France from Avelghem, a place which we fortified in order to check Haulterive on the Scheld fortified by the enemy, as well as to facilitate assistance to Tournay, St. Amand, Bouchain and Cambray. To this end was sent Colonel Norris with 7 ensigns, maintained at the cost of the Flemings. He was very welcome at Tournay and caressed by the Prince of Espinoy. M. de la Noue on leaving gave me orders to place the troops in garrison; the French at Loo in Flanders, the cavalry at Oudenarde, Courtray, Menin, and Ypres. On the way came news that the enemy was fortifying at Vamercy [Wambrechies], a place on the Lille river. This made us hasten to the suburb of Commines to the assistance of 7 Flemish companies Colonel Mortagne, who otherwise would have been badly handled by the enemy, led at that time by Count Mansfelt, who was followed by the Marquis of Risbrouk, Count Egmont, la Motte, Montigny, Capres, and other malcontents to the number of 5,000 foot and 10 cornets of horse. These came and assaulted our people's barricades with three pieces of artillery on Friday the 18th, on which day the skirmish lasted from mid-day to nightfall, when they encamped on the ground. A consultation was at once held as to whether we could hold out against their artillery. The decision being in the negative it was thought well to secure our retreat, which was done after burning the bridges over Lys. The enemy has not since found an opportunity of repairing them owing to the bad weather and his dread of the Prince of Condé's army at la Fère, whither M. de la Noue has gone. The Prince writes to the States and his Excellency the cause of his

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coming to la Fère, which is his wish to hold his government of Picardy, a thing that the King and Queen Mother must needs approve. He is accompanied by about 600 horse, mostly nobles of Picardy. His approach has made our Malcontents retreat with their Albanians, fearing the surprise of some town in Artois.

I hope for M. de la Noue's return in February, or at any rate the beginning of March. Meanwhile every possible effort is being taken to get things into order for the support of the war. All councillors will be renewed, especially for finance. These will be reduced to a certain number, and with the chamber of aids and finances will administer the *moyens généraux*, contributed by the various provinces, in one lump sum. This has been recently agreed, even the Hollanders joining, who will conform to equality in the coinage and other usages heretofore accustomed.

His Excellency feels assured of the withdrawal of the Spaniards, and I not; seeing that they are careering daily about Mechlin. The towns belonging to Brussels are much disturbed. The Chancellor of Brabant, the new deputies and others will start to-morrow to revise the law, and remedy the distress caused by the non-payment of the garrisons not only there but at Lierre, where the English who are there have mutinied for the same cause. All the other towns with garrisons are in a like predicament, a deplorable calamity for us and to the fact of our state being governed by everybody on his own account. In this expedition I have recognised more than ever an omen of their mishaps (*plus d'augure en leurs malheurs*); that they put ignorance in command, the foe to excellence. This disgusts me, and I do not want any longer to serve amid ingratitude.

A friend of mine has by my direction been communicating with Mr Gilpin from Cologne, who will have told you of his good dispositions. Learning that you would like an interview with him I have told him to come to Liege promptly, to sound all the adherents of the league so perniciously based on the pretext of the marriage you wot of, which will result in the freeing of the prisoners and other schemes ruinous to this state, which should make us look out to prevent as much ruin to you. I guarantee he will do that service and go further, as has been resolved by Mr Gilpin and myself. I hope you will take his labour into consideration.

Friesland is somewhat shaky; some of the towns assured, but not the principal. Guelders is 'mined' with garrisons as counterpoise. —Antwerp, 27 Dec. 1579.

Add. Endd. Fr. 2½ *pp.* [*Hol. and Fl. XII.* 54.]

Dec. 30. **112.** Walsingham to Cobham.

Yours of the 19th by John Furrier was very welcome, for there was much longing here to hear from France, especially from Monsieur; the rather that it appears by his letters that he is most resolute to prosecute the marriage. But no full resolution will, I suppose, be taken till Mr Stafford's return.

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Touching the employment of certain persons in Spain (since I have no access of speech to her Majesty since my repair to Court, being still entertained as a man not thoroughly restored to her favour), I can say nothing as yet, but mean to pray Mr Secretary Wilson to move her therein.

It is thought that Parliament will be prorogued, since the Commissioners to be sent by the King cannot be here so soon.

Your servant Lewkner shall not stay here long undispatched. More speed would have been used if I had enjoyed my former credit with her Majesty. Notwithstanding, I will call upon Mr Secretary to know her pleasure what she will have done by you towards either the King or Monsieur upon this dispatch sent by you and Mr Stafford.

You will do well in future to direct your letters containing the occurrents to us both, without writing separate letters, unless it be upon special occasion or private matter, as you may think fit.

We have heard nothing from Ireland this month, which we impute to the contrariety of the winds.

The young King of Scots begins to be carried away with young counsellors, and 'Obigny' amongst the rest grows to be over-great with him. He practises with the nobility of that realm to draw them towards France, which he does underhand; for outwardly he makes show to favour the amity of this Crown as most necessary for the King. Besides, he 'bears them in hand' that he will become of the Religion, and thereby stops the mouths of the ministers, who otherwise cannot be stayed from inveighing against him. We have not yet heard from Captain Erington, and therefore cannot say what will become of the lord of Arbrothe and his brother's case.—At the Court, 30 Dec. 1579.

Draft. Endd. by L. Tomson. 1½ *pp.* [*France III.* 60.]

Dec. 31. **113.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

I have detained your servant hitherto, because at his coming John Furrier had received and brought his dispatches from Mr Stafford, and Best had been with the Prince of Condé; so that I thought it most convenient to send the report of that by him. I wrote to you by him of all that had passed here.

Since then the father of Bussy d'Amboise has sent to M. Simier his son-in-law M. de Balligny; by whom a quarrel was offered, on the plea that Simier had accepted an abbey which young Bussy had. Simier accepted the quarrel, and they were to have met next day, but it was not prosecuted. Since then the King and Queen have found themselves aggrieved with this proceeding of Bussy and Balligny; whereupon both parties have received the King's strait command, and thus that matter remains, as this bearer can from point to point inform you by very good means.

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The King and Queen proceed, in all show, hotly to the advancement and performance of Monsieur's marriage.

The King of Navarre has 'passed conference' with Duke Montmorency.

The King has again sent M. de la Personne to the Prince of Condè with permission for him to remain in the Castle of la Fère with 50 soldiers only for his guard. The governor also to remain and the rest of the Prince's forces to be sent away.

Since the death of Bellegarde the King has given his government of Saluces to M. de la Valette. He is gone thither with the determination to leave the government in the hands of his elder brother and to persuade his cousin, the young Bellegarde, to repair to the Court on the King's granting him the government of 'Carmagnolle' and 'Cerisolles.'

The King was content that M. de la Noue should come to this town, but the Pope's nuncio and the Spanish agent have so dealt with him that la Noue does not yet appear in Paris, but remains at his house 18 leagues hence.

M. de Pibrac having come hither to the feast of St. Esprit has told the King that in a place in Languedor it has rained blood, not far from the place where the King of Navarre met Montmorency, 'whereon there runneth a bruit.' At that interview there were with the King of Navarre the Viscount of 'Touraine,' M. de Guitry, and the deputies from the Churches of Languedor. On the other side were Marshal Montmorency, the chief president of Toulouse, with the councillors, and the Bishops of 'Lombeze and Auxe.'

This evening are installed eight brothers of St. Esprit; I enclose their names. 'The occurrents is' that the Spanish 'army' has passed towards the coast of Spain.

I hear that an enterprise of the Protestants is discovered for the seizure of Havre de Grace.—Paris this 'Nueiers even.'

Endd. by Walsingham. 2 *pp.* [*France III.* 61.]

Dec. 31. **114.** Attestation by Melchior de Vades, notary for the town and jurisdiction of 'the city Vicieuse,' to the effect that on Dec. 3 'there entered into the river of the town aforesaid one ship called *St. Peter* laden with munition and weapons, which had on board thirty men and odd of divers nations, who had for their captain one whom they called Alonso Verneno, an 'Irishman,' who, being visited by the Governor and other officials, 'showed them certain letters written by the Pope's nuncio, and letters of provision from his Majesty to the Governor,' whereupon the Governor charged all persons 'to yield the captain and company all favour, help and victuals, and what else soever they should require, at prices reasonable, because the business they went about was undertaken at the

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request of the Pope's Holiness.' Given at the request of Captain Alonso Verneno, Villa Viciosa, 31 Dec. 1597.

Trans. in hand of L. Tomson. ¾ *p.* [*Spain I.* 34.] [*A French version calendared in 'Ireland,' same date.*]

Dec. **115.** Burghley to [? la. Motte-Fènelon].

Monsieur,—Although I have not by any writing to you continued the remembrance of our common good . . . grown whilst you were here ambassador for your king, yet beside my own devotion warranted by my conscience, there are many witnesses of your nation to my commemoration of your rare virtues and sufficiency, not only for the place you held here about the Queen, but for any place of counsel that you do or shall [*sic*] about your king; as without any note of pleasing you, I confess I think the king as happy to have a direct counsellor as you fortunate to be in credit with him. And as whensoever any occasion is given me to hear you spoken [*sic*] I have not forborne to utter my liking of you in the hearing of your countrymen, though perchance some of them may in some sort envy your singular praise; so now being 'provoked' to recommend with my letters the bearer hereof to my acquaintance in France, I have . . . my . . . . not meaning to trouble you thereby, but to . . . to shew your favours to the party, if at any time he shall have need of your countenance. The bearer is named Mr Anthony Bacon, son to him whom you knew here a great counsellor, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England; and allied to me in that his mother, Lady Bacon, is my wife's sister. Since his father's death the care of him and his brother being by the testament of his father committed to me, and by his mother referred absolutely to my consideration, I have assented to have him, according to his honest desire, to travel into France, to see the country and to learn the language, and to enable himself by learning good things there, to serve his country the better. And though M. de Mauvissière has 'loden' him with plenty of commendatory letters, for which I am greatly beholden to him, yet surely I am bound to make as great account of this my own letter to you as of many of the other.

And so, having been glad of this occasion to write for this my particular friend, I will end with the general recommendation of the public good amity between your master, the king, and my mistress, the Queen, and their countries and people; wherein as I know you can and will do all good offices, and as by reports of our ambassadors both present and 'preterit' I understand you do and have done sincerely, so also I wish you to be as well assured of me for my part, to my poor power and small understanding; for so am I sure I shall please the King of all kings, with whom [?] *beati pacifici quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur.*

Draft in Burghley's hand, much faded. Subscription in Fr. in another hand. 2 *pp.* [*France III.* 67.]

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[1579.] **116.** 'An Extract of certain Edicts made in France since a° 1561.'

17 Jan. 1561.—All exercises in towns forbidden, but not to be 'impeached' otherwise to assemble for exercise. No preaching of any doctrine against the Word of God, as it is contained in the Council of Nice and the Old and New Testament.

April 1562.—A prohibition to make any assembly or to preach in the town of Paris or *fauxbourgs* or *banlieue* of Paris.

19 Mar. 1562, at Amboise.—(1) All gentlemen holding '*fee haubert*' shall exercise religion freely in their houses for their families and subjects. (2) All other gentlemen having fiefs may do the like with their families only, so they dwell not in towns, bourgs, or villages, if 'Lords haut Justices.' (3) In every bailliage and *sénéchaussée* such as Peronne, 'Montdedyre,' Roy [?] and Rochelle, upon request by those of the Religion there shall be a town in whose suburbs there shall be exercise of Religion for such as will resort thither, but nowhere else. (4) All persons may live in their houses without search.

14 June 1563.—Prohibition that they of the Religion do not keep any workmen in their houses or shops upon festival days 'allowed' by the Church Catholic.

18 June 1563.—Command to see the observation of the Edict of 19 March 1562, and to nominate towns where named by the Edict.

19 June 1563.—Prohibitions of preachings and administration of the sacraments of the pretended Reformed Religion in the King's Court house.

16 Aug. 1563, at Rouen.—The King declares his majority, his happiness to have expelled all Englishmen out of France, forbids all French, even his brethren, to have any intelligence by message or otherwise with any foreign prince without his leave.

23 Mar. 1568, at Paris.—Confirmation of the Edict of Mar. 19, 1562, with revocation of all restrictions and modifications made since its publication. For the Country of Provence, they shall enjoy the benefit of it; but for the *sénéchaussée* of Provence, Merindol shall be the place for public exercise. The Prince of Condé is avowed a good subject, and those that have followed him.

Sep. 1568, at St. Maur-des-fossés.—A recital of the Edict of Jan. 1561, and the pacification at Amboise, Mar. 1562. All which are revoked, and all Ministers of the Religion shall depart from the realm within 15 days. Prohibition to 'research' any for their conscience, so that they exercise no religion but the Roman.

Sep. 1568.—Discharge from all offices of all persons of the reformed Religion, provided that such as have not openly aided the rebels may resign, and have pensions out of the 'hostel of Paris.'

Aug. 1570.—By advice of the Queen Mother, the Duke of Anjou, and the Duke of Alençon, it is permitted that all persons shall live

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freely in all towns and places without search for their conscience, behaving themselves according to the Edict. All persons having 'fee haubert' or '*haut justice*' shall have exercise in such principal towns as they shall name, and in their absence their wives and families, for whom they will be responsible. The like they shall have in their other houses of *hault justice* when they shall be present, and for their families and subjects. In inferior fees, they shall not exceed the number of 10 besides their families. The Queen of Navarre shall have liberty, though she be absent, in her houses of *hault iustice*, in her duchy of Albret, and counties of Armagnac, Foix, and Bigorre; so that the houses be named by the King. Special towns shall be named for exercise in Provence to the number of 15; and in every town where exercise was publ: [*sic*] on the 1st of last August. No exercise within 2 leagues of the King's Court, or 10 round about Paris. There shall be no difference for matters of religion to receive into universities, schools, or hospitals. They of the Religion are counted capable of executing all estates, dignities, public charges, etc. of towns, and to be received in all councils and assemblies without impediment. Matters that cannot be accorded for those of the Religion at Toulouse shall be remitted to the master of the requests at Paris; and for matters at Rouen, in Provence, Britanny, &c., they of the Religion shall take exception against six. The Catholics shall refuse the judgement of such of the Religion as heretofore have been discharged from judgement. After the publication of the Edict all arms shall be put down.

May 1576.—The exercise of Religion is permitted in all towns and places of France without restriction. Preachings, prayers, singing of Psalms, administration of Baptism and the Supper, celebration of marriages, schools, public lessons, correction according to the Reformed Religion, and other things, shall be free. They shall have their Consistories and Synods, both provincial and general. They shall have no exercise within two leagues of Paris, but shall not be searched in their houses. They shall have no public exercise in the King's dominions beyond the mountains, but there too their houses shall not be searched. They shall have the churchyard of the Trinity in Paris for their burial, and other places. In the Parliament of Paris a new chamber shall be made of 2 Presidents and 16 Councillors, half Catholics, half of the Religion; who shall be sent to Poictiers to judge causes there. In the Parliament of Toulouse a like chamber of 2 Presidents and 18 Councillors. The like at Grenoble, Bordeaux, Rouen, Brittany, &c. The disorder committed the 24th of August at Paris and other places is declared to have displeased the King, and that widows whose husbands were then killed shall be free from taxes for certain years. The heirs of Admiral Châtillon, Montgomery, etc. to be restored. The Vidame of Chartres and M. de Beauvoir are 'discharged of' their negotiations with the Queen of England in 1562.

8 Oct. 1577.—Free permission to live in any town of the King's obedience without constraint to do anything against their conscience, nor be searched in their houses. The like liberty granted as in the former Edict. To have liberty publicly where any place was the 17th

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of September [*sic*]. No difference as to receiving scholars into universities and schools, or sick into hospitals. Those of the Religion made capable of all dignities, offices, etc. Mixed chambers in all Courts of the Parliaments of Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes, and a chamber for those of Bordeaux, Grenoble, and Aix. The like provision for Toulouse and for Dauphine. Certain towns delivered by the king to those of the Religion to hold for six years, for which the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, etc., as French gentlemen of the Religion, shall be bound. After the publication of this Edict all governors and officers of the realm shall be sworn thereto.

1579.—Articles accorded at Nérac by the Queen Mother and the King of Navarre with the Deputies of the Religion for confirmation of the Edict of Sep. 1577; and an enlargement of divers articles of the same; especially the Queen Mother promised 36,000 *livres* to those of the Religion in recompense of damages done to them since the last Edict.

Endd. partly by Burghley. A few additions in his hand; and Walsingham's mark to certain articles. 4 *pp.* [*France III.* 62.]

[1579.] **117.** Considerations touching the Queen's marriage.

In discussing the marriage now under negotiation and ready to be concluded between the Queen of England and the Duke of Anjou it is necessary to consider beforehand the reasons that may be alleged by all who profess to be affected by it, in order that by comparing and weighing them it may more clearly be recognised what good or harm may result from it to the common weal of this realm, to which the whole matter ought to be referred, regardless of all else.

Now this state is based chiefly on the person of the Queen, and her successor whoever he may be; and as a consequence of this last we ought to note the existing factions and parties in this country, in respect alike of the succession and of the differences in religion.

As regards the Queen, in the position she has held for some years past, and especially since the marriage which the Earl of Leicester is said to have contracted, she could seek no more assured comfort for the remainder of her days than in wedding a prince of such quality as the Duke, by whose means and the support of his friends she may preserve her sovereign authority amid the division not of her subjects only but of the chief men of her council, being in no way assured of either the one or the other. Besides, as she approaches the time when she will be unable to bear children, she will be less respected and obeyed by her subjects, who will all try to provide for future events; as has often happened to princes when old, in the name of their own children. The Duke is certainly young as compared with (*au prix de*) the Queen, but he makes up by prudence what is lacking in others of his age, especially in the perfection of friendship and mutual *devoir* which the husband owes to his wife. He has no bad habits, as he showed when he was in his greatest youthful freedom, and God has not willed that he should be able to rely on bodily perfection, whereby he should hold

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in less respect her who has been as much adorned therewith as any princess of her time; so that no domestic troubles need be feared by reason of the disparity of age. I need not recall many similar marriages between the greatest princes of Europe who have had all luck (*heur*) and happiness; especially that of the present Catholic King with his niece, sister of the Emperor.

But to come to what concerns the public, I say that had she had the option, her Majesty could not have accepted any alliance more advantageous for the common weal of Christendom and of her realm. For confirming and drawing closer by it the last league made between her and the Christian King she will lull to rest any dissensions that had taken root in the hearts of their respective subjects, and had always been a means of sowing division among Christians, as may be proved by many examples in every age. This will be much aided if the Duke comes into the enjoyment of his rights as successor to the Crown of France. But setting this aside, I maintain that the Queen by her marriage secures her position against the Christian King, in the event of his desiring hereafter to break his promises made on this point. For the Duke, who will be obliged to have no less care for this realm than for his own property, will always employ himself in the maintenance and defence of it, both by means of its own forces and by the intelligence and resources that he will have in France; his power in which country I will not set out, that I may excite the suspicion of no man. If, however, the King favours the marriage, and in respect of it extends the friendship which he has with his brother to the Queen and her realm, entering into a strait league with them, who will be the third in Christendom to dare to attack either? I know that the Catholic King is the one who will be able to do the most against it, and peradventure would least desire it, regarding as it does the repose of Christendom more than any ambition. But let us suppose that he remains offended by it. This will in the first place be contrary to all right, and secondly he will not risk his lands in Flanders and Italy, whence he would be compelled to withdraw his forces if he carried on a war in these parts, leaving them a prey to his neighbours. So there is nothing to be feared from that quarter. Still less in the future, he being already old, and having only young children, incapable of any great undertaking when he dies, perhaps even of keeping what is left to them, scattered as it is all over Christendom. There is no need to allege the ancient league between this state and the House of Burgundy from which the said King is descended, inasmuch as he and his predecessors have made divers leagues, especially with the French, to the prejudice of that, and it has been variously broken by both sides in the last 20 years, so that on neither side can it be relied on to hinder so lawful and honourable a marriage. Even if it had been still intact, what advantage coming from so distant a country can be compared with the infinite conveniences which English and French will receive from this alliance. What support or succour has this state ever received in its need from the Spaniard? What wealth did he leave when he was in command here or has he brought since?—while he comes to these parts to supply himself with all things necessary to human life. Further, everyone knows

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how little goodwill the Catholic King has for some time borne to this Crown, his best friends being its deadly enemies, the Pope and the Italians. Do not the effects of this already appear in the army which has landed in Ireland? This, if well considered, ought to hasten the marriage and alliance, in order to offer an unanimous resistance to that which even the blind are beginning to perceive, and to strengthen it.

It is said that the French are on that side in order that our Queen may be overtaken with distrust [*sic*] and lay aside the plan she has in hand for their ruin. What likelihood, I ask you, was there that the ruler would come here unarmed and with the retinue of a simple nobleman to serve as a hostage for those who are to conquer Ireland? So little that without wasting more time on an useless discourse I will conclude that no prince in Christendom surpasses the Duke in wealth, greatness, rights, expectations, and all that is required for the good and preservation of this realm, on which he will spend a million *livres* in an afternoon, without reckoning what the lords and gentlemen in his suite will bring over; honourably undertaking to accept no appointment at the cost of this Crown, its estates, dignities, and offices, and content to embellish and adorn the Court of their master and mistress with their magnificent outlay, and make themselves agreeable to those of the country by the courtesy and liberality proper to their nation. And albeit I am of opinion that strangers should be excluded from the principal offices of state, it seems to me that the greatness of a prince is shown by the attendance at his Court of such as can enrich it by a counter lustre as in the case of a jewel and divers sorts of precious stones. I admit that the Englishman can live conveniently by himself in his own country, and do without his neighbours if he wishes. But this must be understood of necessaries, not of other things very profitable to every man, or of others, seemly and acceptable to great people and princes, for which France is the market to all in these regions. I will not particularise, for fear of seeming to find fault or destroy the trade which has gone on hitherto with Flanders for such merchandise as the Englishman will in time provide himself with, as regards manufacture, if he thinks good to receive what the French artisan coming here can impart to him. If France has no gold mines to distribute throughout Christendom, I will not admit that she is the less rich, for it is approved by all who have had experience that no country is so poor as that where that metal grows, and that it brings in no such profit to the lord of the land as corn and wine can do, the two greatest treasures of the habitable earth, growing anew from year to year, and not, as the alchemists say gold does, every thousand years. I doubt not but some hot-headed persons will, as they are wont, allege the power of the English, and the ancient victories won by them in France in order to remove any fear that might be put before their eyes. But they should be reminded that the Frenchman being to-day master, as they say, of his own house and in peaceable possession of it, will be stronger against the English than when he had them in his entrails, enjoying the greatest and richest towns and provinces in the realm. Whereupon I am constrained to suppose that this ancient enmity

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ceasing, the Englishman will remain secure of his neighbour, by whom alone he has always been kept within his boundaries.

Now let us come to the case of those who profess an interest on account of the succession, such as the Queen of Scots, and the children of the Lady Catherine and Lord Huntingdon; these last being assisted by certain Protestants brought over to their devotion; and the Queen by all the Catholics and a good part of the Protestants, following the legitimate claim of her Majesty. Both parties, it will be said, have great cause to dread and hinder the Duke's establishment of himself in this realm under pretext of marriage, and his making himself master of it step by step, ruining and banishing both successor, even if he does not change the state of religion as at present observed. The Protestants chiefly fear this, and for that reason are trying to break off the marriage. Now admitting that this was the Duke's intention, which it is not, let us consider who may be the most injured by these practices. It is beyond a doubt that being himself a Catholic, and having a bad report of all the Protestants in Christendom, who allege that he deserted them formerly, he will so far as he is able support the Catholics of this realm. In this hope the chief among them are already taking his part; not that he may be the means of obtaining liberty of religion for them, which he could not do without great and dangerous disturbance, but that he may defend them from the persecutions they have hitherto endured, maintaining them in their former state. That is why the Earl of Huntingdon and his faction, who see their advantage in the ruin of the Catholics and advancement of the Puritans and others of their religion, are in extreme fear of the Duke; foreseeing that by his support of the Catholics he will weaken their party and strengthen that of the Queen of Scots, even though he may do it for his own advantage and not for her sake. This notwithstanding, they suspect that he has some secret design and intelligence with her; the Earl of Huntingdon and his friends dreading the Queen of Scots more than any in Christendom. And it is certain that on her account only they find this marriage disagreeable, seeing the Queen of England escape them, under whose name and authority they have hitherto maintained their faction, irritating her by every artifice against the Queen of Scots and that Queen against her by the ill-treatment they have procured for her. When the Queen of England once recognises this, she will easily be persuaded that it is best to come to terms with the Queen of Scots, and fortify herself by relying on the friends whom that Queen possesses all over Christendom. It is known how the Catholics have hitherto been persecuted here and the Queen of Scots maltreated, which is proof sufficient of the intention of those who have been the authors of it. They above all others dislike the marriage, not being able to endure any above them in this realm. Now they would use the Queen of Scots against herself; who, notwithstanding their representations, will find more fidelity and more profit in the Duke than in them. For since by the Duke's pleading his own cause, as the saying is, the result will be to support her friends, especially the Catholics, and abase her enemies, this will be a great convenience to her Majesty, and cannot turn out to her prejudice; the Queen of Scots having MM. de

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Lorraine, her relations, in France, the Prince her son in Scotland, and many partisans here, to oppose the effecting of any such design, which seems to me impossible.

The rest missing. Draft, in a foreign hand. Fr. 8 *pp.* [*France III.* 63.]

1579? **118.** *A list of forty-three names, endd. in Fr.*: Names of the new knights of the Order of Saint Esprit. [*France III.* 64.]

1579? **119.** Petition of François Ribot, secretary to M. de Mauvissière, to the Queen and Council, showing that Germain Colas, his uncle, merchant, of Bordeaux, had sailed with 40 casks of wine for importation to England: that these had been taken from him by John Man, a pirate, who sold part of them, the rest being recovered by fishermen, who let the merchant have 12 casks on payment of salvage; and that his profit on these will not be enough to pay the freight and take him home. It is therefore prayed that the Queen will be pleased to remit the duty on the 12 casks.

Endd. Fr. 1½ *p.* [*Ibid. III.* 65.]

1579? **120.** A sheet with the following words in Burghley's hand: *Celebratio differtur.*

Religio.

Coronatio ad parliamentum.

Pensio.

[*Ibid. III.* 66.]

1577-79. **121.** 'The particulars of Sir Amyas Poulet's negotiation at the French Court.' *Abstract in a later hand (? Sir J. Williamson).*

Endd. 2 *pp.* [*Not numbered.*]

? 1579. **122.** 'Advertisements given to the King of Spain touching her Majesty's pretended marriage.'

Beside the particulars of which I have already advertised your Majesty, I understand from certain persons that the Queen of England's counsellors, considering how things went both in France and Flanders, and deeming that they had done amiss in ministering support and assistance to the 'Lutherians,' to the hindrance of God's glory, and of your and the French King's service; perceiving also that the favourers and maintainers of the Prince of Orange are now 'overtaken' and begin to repent of their doings, as also that things begin to frame themselves well in Flanders, and that divers dispose themselves to serve you; and doubting therefore what inconvenience may befall them for having so supported the rebels with men, money, victuals and munition, carried to them in the Queen's own ships, during the time of the siege of Rochelle, the like whereof they did also to the Prince of Orange and his adherents; are led by the consideration of these circumstances, and of the late accident of a certain Irishman that with a number of soldiers brought from Spain 'disametied' the realm of Ireland, to fear that the great preparations your Majesty makes are intended for Ireland, to

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take revenge for their assisting of your rebels. Considering, too, how much they have injured the realm of Scotland in detaining their Queen so long in captivity, and that their young King grows towards ripe years and is well furnished with men of war, and that amongst other things he is heir to the Crown of England, to avoid all this danger and inconvenience they persuade their Queen to marry with Monsieur though she be old, and which they would not consent to when she was young; hoping that assuring the French King to themselves by this means they will be safe from any danger from Spain or Scotland. But if this marriage does not take place, though they give out great speeches of their own strength by reason of the civil divisions in France and Flanders, they secretly fear that both themselves and all England besides are like to smart for their ill deserts.

Copy by one of Walsingham's secretaries. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Spain I.* 31.]

? 1579. **123.** Comparative statement of the revenues drawn by the King of Spain and the Grand Turk respectively from the territories under their rule.

7½ *pp. Ital.* [*Ibid. I.* 32.]

1579. **124.** 'A particular of the present sent by the King of Portugal to the Sheriffa Muley Hamet, King of Fez and Marocco.'

Various objects of mother-of-pearl, silver, silk—'two checkboards, one of mother-of-pearl and gold, with the pieces wrought in India of gold and silver; and the other of silver and crystal, with the pieces of ebony and crystal'—'a sword of gold made in the Indias, marvellous rich'—'a great piece of calambaco, very fine,' etc.

Also particulars of similar presents sent by the King of Spain and the Grand Turk. 'The King of Spain's ambassador was met at the seaside by a second master of the King's horses with twelve spare horses, their furniture being worth by estimation 1,000 marks each horse.' The ambassador entered Morocco with 40 servants of his own. Among the presents, 'one ballace alone, very great, and richly garnished with four other ballaces.' *Of the Grand Turk's presents it is said*: 'In all the presents' (a sword, a pair of balances, the picture of a man in gold, four Turkey robes, a banner with the Great Turk's ensign) 'is said to be contained a mystery.'

Endd. by Burghley's secretary (with date) and in another hand. 2 *pp.* [*Morocco I.* 4.]

1579? **125.** 'Note of certain points in which those about to leave England with their ships in the service of the Catholic King desire to learn your Excellency's decision before they start, that they may not get into lawsuits, and lose in them the time which they think to employ far better in the service of God and his Majesty.'

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Decisions.

1. If the prize is made without doing damage to any subject of the Queen of England, and if it is proved that the goods belong to his Catholic Majesty's rebels, the prize will be good, and not otherwise. Whereupon the petitioners are warned not to make such prizes unless it is perfectly clear that the goods belong to rebels; since otherwise, if injury is done to the Queen's subjects, they will be punished according to the terms of their letters of marque.

1. Seeing that there are in England many of his Majesty's rebels, who have their separate churches and aid the Prince of Orange, managing his business and sending munitions and whatever else the rebels there require, and also carry from Zealand the greater part of the goods which those rebels steal from Spaniards, Portuguese and others, these English want to know, if they happen to capture any ship going to or coming from those parts laden with goods belonging to any such rebel domiciled in England, whether they may not enjoy it as good prize the same as if it belonged to one of the rebels in Holland and Zealand.

2. If it is proved that the goods are those of his Majesty's vassals plundered, as has been said, in that case they may be taken, and judgement will be given upon them, as is said in the next article.

2. If they fall in with any merchant, English or other, who has brought in Holland or Zealand any of the goods stolen on the sea by the rebels, and take them into any of the king's ports, may they not enjoy them as good prize?

3. In that case, justice will be done conformably to right and reason; for it is not just if the merchants have the right to them that they should be taken away.

3. In such case can the merchants, Spanish, Portuguese or others, finding here recovered by Englishmen the goods which they had lost, lay hands on them, or bring the matter before the Court? Because if they can, they will cause great hindrance to the King's service.

4. If they find such vessels in port they cannot make prize of them as at sea, but inform against them, and they will have what informers can claim.

4. If the Englishmen coming to or being in any port of the King's shall find any ship which they know by advices to belong to the rebels, may they lay hands on it and enjoy it as if they had taken it on the high seas [*de fuera de la mar*]?

5. If it is proved that the vessel belongs to the Most Christian King's rebels in Rochelle or elsewhere, let it be good prize, otherwise not; and the petitioners are warned not to molest his other vassals.

5. If they meet at sea any French Huguenot from Rochelle or elsewhere carrying men or munitions in aid of the rebels and fight and beat him and carry him off by force, may they enjoy this as good prize or not?

Spanish. 1¼ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 38.]

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Jan. 1. **126.** Sir Henry Cobham to [Walsingham].

I perceive by yours of the 19th ult. that sundry bruits had then stirred doubtful opinions, but before this, both by John Wellis' dispatch and by Mr Stafford's return thither, I hope all things are satisfied. Now here they 'harken after' the sending for commissioners, and Queen Mother above all others professes to long for the quick success of this amity and joining of hands. God direct her Majesty's heart, and stretch out her hands for His service, to do the best for her self and her comfort.

It seems that Monsieur prepares to leave assured friends, and deals daily in settling his estate and affairs. Occasion has of late been offered him to renew his enterprise in Flanders; but nothing will, as it seems, remove his thoughts as yet. So these causes rest till her Majesty's message comes.

The king has agreed that the Prince of Condé shall remain in the castle of la Fère with a guard for his person, so that he will disperse his other forces. He does not countermand the prince's exercising his government in Picardy.

La Noue is at his house, 18 leagues 'beside' Paris, but the Nuncio and the Spanish agent thunder complaints against him to the king; otherwise it is thought he would by this have been here openly at Court.

Monsieur had appointed a conference with the King of Navarre, but the king, by sending 'Tinterville' [Dinteville] to him has 'procured the stay.'

The King of Navarre has had an interview with Montmorency about the 'causes' of Languedoc.

The advertisements from Italy are that the Spanish 'army' has passed towards Spain, but some of the munitions are perished. I think to hear her Highness's pleasure for sending a person into those parts. He is in readiness.

God send you much 'contentation' this new year.—Paris, the first of the year.

Add. and endt. gone. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 1.]

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Jan. 3. **127.** Rossel to Walsingham.

Just as I was sending off my last letter I had news confirming the negotiation as to Cambray between M. d'Inchy, the governor, and the Duke of Alençon. This news caused much talk among the people generally, some asserting that it was due to the Prince's advice, others that it was done with the assent of the States, and others that it was a private affair of M. d'Inchy; so that the perplexity rendered everyone uneasy, because all parties lowered their sails under the cloak of ignorance. Meanwhile the execution of the treaty remains suspended, of which and of everything M. d'Inchy has advertised the States and his Excellency, who are working together in the matter of the war, as I told you. It is unlucky that the commissioners from the States have not absolute authority with power to take instant decisions; which I think would be convenient, since (*cause pourquoi*) they will leave this in six days to represent to the provinces what is expedient for the war, which of necessity it behoves to continue, and to content the importunate demands of M. d'Alençon, which will be provided for.

For the month of February it is estimated they will have in the field 14,000 foot and 5,000 horse; and to this effect four new colonels and other officers of cavalry are being sent out. M. de la Noue will raise two companies of horse, each to be 100 gentlemen, with 1,000 harquebusiers to follow, to fill up the regiments; and on this subject fresh orders are being sent to him.

Meanwhile after the Malcontents had had sundry squabbles among themselves over the dispute about the departure of the Spaniards, on which matter Montigny gave the lie to la Motte, and Count Egmont a slap in the face to M. d'Alennes, everything has been set right (*repatrié*) by Count Mansfelt, who insisted on their departure; and ultimately they went out of Turnhout, Gheel, and other places on Wednesday the 30th of this [*sic*] month and marched straight for Maestricht. This I think is to do mischief in Friesland, which has been disaffected by the practices of Robles: or else to stay in Luxembourg or Burgundy until the Malcontents have performed some better exploit. To do this they have been brought by the management of Count Mansfelt, and have gone with all speed to St. Amand in order, favoured by the frost and bad weather, to carry it by storm. Three English companies are there, who will be badly handled. The colonel of the French starts to-day to their aid with a certain number of cavalry; while Colonel Balfour with his men will take steps elsewhere to prick them in divers places.

I am vexed that the person with whom I conversed has gone off to Lubeck without receiving my last words, for the good service he might have done by coming here and going on to Liége, upon all the confusions.

The rittmeisters and colonels of the Religion are assembled at Frankenthal, where they turn their thoughts to France; a bad omen. It is given out that they want to look for their pay. The

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assemblies that are being held in various places in France testify to the contrary; as also the maintenance of the army of Italy, which gives expectation of more calamity than ever. I wish that her Majesty's prudence may anticipate these events, so as to continue the peace of her realm, the envy of all the world.—Antwerp, 3 Jan. 1579 [*sic*].

P.S.—The credit of the French increases daily, even to a point which I cannot express. So I hold my peace rather than speak amiss.

Add. Endd. Fr. 2 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 1.]

Jan. 7. **128.** 'An Extract out of a Spanish letter, dated at Madrid, the 7th of January, 1579.'

The 30th ult. there came to this Court in post from Rome a Scottish gentleman named Virgil Fender, who was very honourably received and entertained by the Archbishop of Toledo and Secretary Sayas, with whom he chiefly conferred. On New Year's Eve they two with divers other personages of quality brought him to the king, with whom he had speech two long hours.

This gentleman has received 1,000 crowns in gift from the king and departed on the 5th for France. As one of his servants gave it out, he was to pass from thence into Ireland and so into his own country for the Pope's service.

One of his servants told a friend of his that ere two year came about, all Christendom shall be subject to one only law by the means and the endeavours of the Pope and the King of Spain, who were about to bring the matter to pass.

On the 2nd inst. came letters from Ireland to the Archbishop of Toledo, Secretary Sayas and others, signifying that the Governor with three earls, Capt. Boulter [?] and about 3,000 soldiers were slain; whereat they greatly rejoiced, thinking that the Queen has no more men of war left in that land.

It is reported that the King of Morocco has offered the king passage through his dominions, to go to 'Argiel,' and the assistance of 40,000 men for achieving that enterprise.

Of the king's preparations there are divers discourses made. Some think they are for 'Argil,' some for Portugal, and some for England, but no man knows certainly for what place.

The King of Morocco has sent the king for a present the son of the Duke of Braganza and other prisoners whom he had before refused to release for any ransom.

The king has caused proclamation to be made in certain of his port towns that they shall not traffic with the Portugall, and has sent an express messenger to confer with Don Antonio on his behalf, and to seek to draw him hither, where he shall want as good entertainment.

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It is said that ere long Don Bernard de Mendoza will pass into France.

The king purposes shortly to go to Seville, to give order for the wars. Don Pedro de Medicis is come to the Court with divers captains, men of great countenance, who repair daily to the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Granvella and Secretary Sayas and have also been to visit the Duchess of Feria.

It is written from Portugal that the Commons will not agree to the sentence given in favour of the King of Spain, and that if he will enjoy the benefit of it, he must win it by the sword.

Endd. 1¼ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 36.]

Jan. 7. **129.** Villiers to Davison.

I send some letters that I have received from you; and though I have plenty to write, I will for this journey [*sic*] content myself with telling you that after much debate the Estates have finally resolved to write to the Duke of Aerschot thanking him for the trouble he has taken, and in consideration of other business that he may have, not summoning him back. But they order Grobbendonck, Marolles, and St. Gertrude to return (which they will not do), and bid M. de Rummen remain at Cologne, not as ambassador with any powers, but that through his agency they may hear whatever information Count Schwarzenberg may wish to send here. So ends this long negotiation.

The Spaniards are marching as heavily as they can towards Liége, and have left Brabant. The Duchess of Parma is coming to rule as the King's lieutenant. We have lost this week Mortaigne and St. Amand; no great loss, for they were open places, but Mortaigne was carried by assault, with the loss of Cotton's ensign of English, Sonhai's of Brabanters, and le Febvre's of Walloons. The St. Amand people gave up the keys and remain prisoners of war, among them being Morgan. Mr Norris is in Tournai, where I hope that the regiment that was M. de Mouy's has this day arrived, if it has not been opposed by the way.

My wife, Marie, and I present our greetings to you and Madame. —Antwerp, 7 Jan. 1580.

Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 2.]

Jan. 12. **130.** Cobham to the Queen.

* * * * * * * * *

For their quarrels 'pretended' to M. Simier hitherto, they have been suppressed by the king's command; so your Majesty may be out of doubt that except it be by treason, they shall not have any means to hurt his person. He took his journey toward Monsieur on the 11th, leaving with me the enclosed letter for your Highness. [*See Cecil Papers Part* 2, *No.* 808.] Many of Monsieur's

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gentlemen resorted hither to accompany him out of this town. I have sent my servant to bring me news of his good 'passing forward,' that you may be the 'perfectlier' advertised thereof. I have abstained from dealing with the king in his cause, by the advice of his best friends.

It seemed that the king is so moved with the taking of the town of Mende in 'Gevodans' [Gévaudan] that he takes counsel for the preparation of war. The report of Casimir's levying of 6,000 'royters' and as many Swiss is confirmed, so that it is judged their peace this year will suffer an eclipse.

Duke Montmorency seeks the king's favour, and apparently deals very ill with the Protestants in all manner of ways to please the king.

The king has appointed that ancient Dukes' ambassadors shall take their place as in his father's time; so the ambassador of the Grand Duke of Tuscany has lost his place and the ambassador of Ferrara has taken precedence at the feast of St. Esprit these last holidays.

Simier promises to send expressly to me on coming to Monsieur's Court.—Paris, 12 Jan.

Holograph. Beginning apparently lost. Add. Endd. by L. Cave with date; and in a later hand. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 2.]

Jan. 13. **131.** Cobham to Burghley.

I suppose you understood from Mr Stafford how M. Simier accompanied him hither from Monsieur's Court, since which time he has remained here, informing the king and queen of his prince's affairs and proceedings; so that they are entered into a further opinion of his good success and expect to hear of her Highness's pleasure for the sending of commissioners. Thus the case rests.

Simier left this town on the 11th accompanied by about 200 horse well-appointed. The first night he lodged at St. Cloud, and last night the Count of Reise [*qy.* Retz] lodged him and his chief gentlemen. Thus from place to place he will be safely guarded. The king has commanded Bussy and Balagny to abstain from arms, or from making any unfriendly offer towards M. Simier; yet notwithstanding this Balagny has been seen in the way with some horsemen. Upon this the king had appointed a guard to march with him; but Monsieur's servants undertook to do the king sufficient service for that matter.

The King of Navarre has had some conference with Montmorency in Languedoc; but finding that he was directed by the king to stand upon the delivery of the towns in that province which are in the keeping of the Protestants, he did not stay; but is calling the chiefs of his religion together to take counsel for their preservation and repose. Captain la Merle has taken by night scaling the rich town of Mende in Gévaudan, belonging to the Bishop of Mande,

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Chancellor to Monsieur; whereon, and upon the levy which Casimir and Rocheguyon are making, the king takes counsel for preparing war and gathering of money, which hitherto is but slackly begun. Of late the Protestants intended to have surprised 'Shawmont in Basigni,' which would have served for an entry for the 'roysters.' M. 'Vyllycher' [*qy.* Villequier] has entered on his government of the Isle of France.

The king has decreed that all Dukes' ambassadors shall take the places they had in his father's time. This proceeds partly upon the discovery of a league between King Philip, the Pope, and the Duke of Tuscany. Also Queen Mother has received some indignity at Florence in a process she had there.

There is slyly whispered here a practice which M. 'd'Obeny' is taking in hand to procure the marriage of the young King of Scots with some young Lady of Lorraine.

Please let me become suitor for your favour in my suit of which I left a note with you. I need it, and have taken pains to deserve it. My expenses may if her Majesty please be allowed for a fine. Please therefore let your earnest speeches be my help.—Paris, 13 Jan.

P.S.—As the causes of France are in debate I send you the 'books' of the Estates of this country and a descent, with the marriages of their kings.

Add. Endd.: from Paris, by Bluemantle; *and in a later hand*: All foreign Dukes to take place in France according to their antiquity. 2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 3.]

Jan. 13. **132.** Cobham to Walsingham.

I have received your letter sent by Lewkner and have delivered the enclosed according to their indorsements.

The king continues here and begins to deal with his Council for preparing for war and levying money, but the 'devises' for the finances have not that quick dispatch they are accustomed to have.

They are assured that Casimir is levying 6,000 'roisters' and as many Swiss; and la Roche-Guyon is gathering some French companies; whereon the king sends Rochefort to offer some favourable means.

La Merle has taken Mende, wherein he had a rich booty.

As M. de Châtillon was at Brocher within 3 or 4 leagues of Mende, the king presupposes that he is the chief actor; notwithstanding he was there 'a-wooing' Mme de la Brocher's daughter, who is heir to her first husband, M. de Peyris, 'that was slain on St. Bartilmew's Day in the massacre.'

Duke Montmorency has come to the conference appointed with the King of Navarre, but he would not 'enter to speak' of any

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redress until the Protestants should yield up their towns. It is discovered that he received this order from the king; whereon the King of Navarre repairs again into Languedoc, to take order with the 'substitutes' for those of the Religion that they may not be 'taken and snatched up' unprovided. There is hope that Monsieur may meet the King of Navarre, though it has been deferred.

The king has decreed that all foreign ambassadors (*as in the last*).

'Mount Dragon' has passed in post from Spain towards the Low Countries. He was rifled of his money and baggage, but escaped without further harm.

Don Pedro de Medicis has passed with a few galleys for Spain; the rest of the army, 'through strange and foul weather,' are about La Spezia and 'Gayetta.'

Arnold, Mauvissière's secretary, has stayed here ever since my coming. His brother is now made the Scottish Queen's treasurer, and she has appointed Arnold a pension of 2,000 francs. He carries the special letters of the Papists and the most indisposed.

There is expected from Scotland a sister's son of the Bishop of Ross, called James Brown, and the 'good man' of New Leslie. The Scots have some hope that M. 'd'Obeny' shall bring the king to marry with one of the house of Lorraine.

Last Saturday the 9th, Mr Carye, who lately served la Motte, passed to Nantes and so by sea to Spain. Doyle goes hence to-day to the Spanish camp in Flanders. Copley's wife is come hither, and he is looked for, with others of our malcontents.

One Pierse, a priest, escaped out of York prison, as he says, is come hither to raile [?] and so goes to Rheims.

Julio Rousin [*qy.* Busini] desires you to be a means for recompence of the time and service he employed in Sir Amyas' time. He offers to do great service, and has wished me to send her Majesty herself certain names written from Rheims and sent hitherto to the 'B.' ambassador. I know he has good means and a quick spirit. He demands 100*l.* to pay his debts, and 'therewithal to serve this year.'

Simier is gone to Monsieur with a great number of gentlemen, upon occasion of the quarrel 'made to him' by 'Bowsye' and Balagny.—Paris, 13 Jan.

Pray let me have your favourable means 'for the amending of my silly estate.'

Add. Endd. 2 *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 4.]

Jan. 14. **133.** Fabianus Niffius [Niphus] to Dannewitz.

I had a satisfactory passage, and did the whole journey in four days. On reaching London my first business was to attend to our Serene Prince's letters. These are the facts in the case. I put it to S. 'did he retain the same mind that he was in some months

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ago?' He said plainly that he had changed his view, for if great kings fell out, our position would be more secure, which does not seem bad counsel. But he gave me no opportunity of opening what I told you of when I was here. 4 is very anxious to hear all that I have to advise, and I will deal with him next week. I hope all will go well, for the time has been too short to finish everything this week. Philip Sidney, a young man of eminent wit and virtue, is wholly with us, and displays great affection for our prince.

It is certainly rumoured here that there are disorders in Scotland; for the Earl of Lenox, who is devoted to the French king, has put the Regent in prison and is overturning everything, which necessarily alarms us.

Our prince has shown me many tokens of his kindness, and I find his recommendation of great service. But I wish he would also send me a letter of introduction to the Earl of Sussex. I think it would be useful, as he has much influence, and thinks much of our Prince. It may be of the same tenour as the other.

Commend me to his Serenity, and salute M. Giele from me.—London, 14 Jan. 1580.

Copy (qy. in L. Cave's hand). Endd. Latin. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 3.]

Jan. 17. **134.** Fremin to Davison.

Captain Gainsford being on his way to England, I would not fail to write a word to you, to recall myself to your good graces. The Malcontents are just now in the neighbourhood of Bouchain and Valenciennes where their principal chiefs are assembled to consult as to their course of action. There is no appearance of the Spaniards' departure. They are on the other side of the Meuse for victualling reasons, intending to recross at the right time.

I send you the 'Remonstrance' which his Excellency has brought out; on him depends the salvation of the country. The bearer will tell you the rest.—Antwerp, 17 Jan. 1580.

Add. Fr. ½ *p.* [*Holl. & Fl. XIII.* 4.]

Jan. 17. **135.** Hargenlieu to Walsingham.

I wish to renew the request I made to you last summer, to wit, that you would do me the kindness to obtain the restitution of certain double ducats and other specie, taken in a ship and now in the hands of the Admiralty, to John de la Forterie and James Gabry, agents for Francis le Fort, merchant of this city, a worthy man and a great friend of mine. I will not now trouble you to read my letter to the agents, and will defer entering into further particulars. As I know that I have in no way merited this favour, I beg you to give me the opportunity of doing so by any service you may command.—Antwerp, 17 Feb. 1880.

Add. Endd. Fr. 1*p.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 5.]

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Jan. 19. **136.** F. Giraldez to M. de Gourdan.

This letter will be presented to you by Antonio Fogaza, a gentleman of Portugal, who is removing from the English Court to this in the service of the Most Christian King. Let this be his sufficient recommendation to you, and let him not be put to any charges. I am persuaded that for my sake he will find courtesy and favour from you. When an opportunity occurs, I will show myself your servant, as the Duke of Guise can testify.—Paris, 18 Jan. 1580.

Holograph. Add. Endd. by L. Tomson: From the Port. Ambassador resident in Paris to M. Gourdan. Touching Fogaz. *Ital.* 1 *p.* [*Portugal I.* 21.]

Jan. 19. **137.** Rossel to Walsingham.

In my last, of the 17th inst. I mentioned the large naval force that is fitting out in Spain. According to common report it is to consist of 60,000 men, and is for an attack on Algiers, the resources of the Turk being reduced and his forces dispersed by reason of the defeats inflicted on him by the Sophy. To accomplish this design the King of Spain and the Portuguese have sent ambassadors to the Moorish king. Those from the Turk had already arrived; but they have been sent back and those from Spain welcomed. They have obtained the late King of Portugal's body, and the more notable of the prisoners. The result has been a good understanding between that king and Spain, by means of which they hope to do some exploit against Algiers. I apprehend another design on their part, namely that they will pursue their first plan against Ireland, and other maritime places in our [*sic*] direction. They have stayed all the vessels from here that were at Cadiz; a piece of malice which gives all the more ground to imagine their intention.

I told you that M. de la Noue is on his way back to France in connexion with the settlement of the Prince of Conde's difficulties at la Fère, pacified by his means at the instance of the Queen Mother. In return for which benefit it is reported here, but not well confirmed, that he has been killed. This must be sad news for all public men, especially those on the side of the Religion, still more those who have followed him and been his friends. I can say with truth that he whom you know to be administering in a high station was only superficially well-affected to him, because he would not second his passions—irreligious, I mean. I find that ill-will is borne me for having followed him so willingly. I did it to remove the opinion which was held of the correspondence I carried on here. This was suggested to me by a person of authority to get me out of the way and remove that opinion. I was glad to explain this to you, having the opportunity of this bearer, who is yours assured.

I should like also to speak more in detail about what I see concealed here, but this I can only do verbally. If my old acquaintance were not out of the way I would have sought some expedient for crossing the sea; for to sail any longer without a helm would be too great a risk.

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The French who were sent for from Tournay have remained till now in the suburbs, so discontented that the great part are disbanding, some going to France, others to the enemy. The Spaniards, who have already passed across Luxembourg have stopped to hear what is going on, and according to some advices are inclined to come back with the others against Flanders.

One of these days the briratten [*breederaed*] are to assemble to levy some money to advance to the garrisons of Herentals, Brussels and Lierre, to allow them to act against three cornets of cavalry and a regiment of foot which M. de Haultepenne, '*Barlemoniste*,' is alone keeping in the field to annoy the country. I do not know who will be able to perform the feat. For my own part I know no one; still less in all other affairs.—Antwerp, 19 Jan. 1580.

Add. Endd.: from Russell. *Fr.* 2½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 6.]

Jan. 20. **138.** Bishops of Lincoln and Armagh to King of Portugal.

Nature teaches that one man is born for another's sake, in such wise that he may be of service even to a stranger on the score of his humanity. Reason however bids that we understand ourselves to owe more to those by whom we are ourselves most loved and who are most united to us by conformity of life and morals. Wherefore since Antonio Fogaza your subject is an excellent man, adorned with all virtues both in regard to Christianity and sincere faith, and for the numerous benefits wherewith he has long aided those followers of the old religion in England who are oppressed and well-night brought to nought, we cannot refuse him a small service. It is fair therefore that we say a few words to you touching his integrity, both because it concerns a prince to know what kind of citizens he has, and because we wish to escape the disgrace of ingratitude and can make no other return for all his merits. From the time then of his first admittance to our friendship, his loyalty, recognized in our many great dangers, was such that he was the only person to whom we entrusted the case of our affairs and the protection of ourselves. When he went to Portugal in 1569 to greet in our name King Sebastian of glorious memory we gave him our petition. How diligent he showed himself in that matter may be seen from the annexed copies of that petition and the reply to it. On his return to England he ceased not to refresh us with exhortation, to console us with kind words, to alleviate our misfortune by his efforts, and in every way to soothe our grief; whereof the bitterness is such that but for the presence of such a man, we should deem it intolerable.

Nor did he assist us only when we enjoyed a free servitude with power to move about, but since we have been in prison he has been diligent in relieving us, at great cost to himself, more trouble, still more disrepute. We had besides a church here common to all Catholics, enlarged and decorated largely at his expense, where he kept the lamp by him dedicated to the Venerable Sacrament constantly awake for nine years; and would have done so longer, but our meeting is prevented by all the eyes and ears strained against us by prowling spies and 'Corycœans' surrounding us on all sides.

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Yet we have always a refuge with him, nor does he desert us even in these wretched times and this dangerous place; so that next to God and the saints we hold him our protector, our father, or rather our sanctuary. Which being so, we marvel greatly that no report of his deeds has reached your Majesty's ears, for so we learn from him; but it was better that we should write this announcement of it to you, that all handle for doubt being removed he might be the more commended to his king.

We are much grieved too for his fortune, and beseech you by the Crucified that a Christian and pious prince may not leave so pious and Christian a subject in hiding, but grant rather that when you have read the petition which he brings to your confessor, it may be fairly and kindly considered, and an edict issued, which will be a great consolation to us, and we will pray *inter sacrificia*, which are here much performed in secret, for your safety and long life.—13 *Kal. Febr.* 1580. (*Signed in the name of the English Catholics*) Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, though now *de facto* deprived, and more than twenty years in prison; Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, bound for eight years in chains of iron, but continuously kept in prison for fourteen years, more or less.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Walsingham's mark in many places. Lat. 3 *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 22.]

Jan. 20. **139.** Bishops of Lincoln and Armagh to Leon Henriquez, Confessor to the King of Portugal.

We have heard from Antonio Fogaza, a Portuguese resident here for many years, of good family, but more illustrious for the innocency of his life, with whom we sorely distressed Catholics in England are on friendly terms, that there is with you a countryman of ours, John Castell [*Castellonem*], an *alumnus* of the University of Coimbra, admitted under your patronage into the Society of the Jesuits; whose constant faith, combined with his learning, offers hope of advancing the Roman Church among us, hitherto, alas!—I will not say overthrown, but lacerated overmuch, though we trust that God will grant us to see it reviving in great splendour.

The same we have learnt from his own letters, which though intended for his father, who has been with the blessed these ten months, were opened and read by a noble friend of his (to whom they were addressed in order that they might reach his parent more securely), so that he might reply, if a reply was wanted, as he does in the annexed letter. If you with your usual kindness to Catholics will have it taken to him, you will do a great favour to the whole Church, and we shall look for any letters he may wish to write in answer. But let them be directed to our friend Fogaza above-named, for so both he and we decided; since we know no one else whom we can trust, and there would be danger otherwise of our getting into trouble such as perhaps caused his father's death on account of similar letters having been interpreted and read out in the Queen's Council, which is most unfriendly to us.

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But as our affair has led us to mention Fogaza, it is right that since we have received from him what makes us feel our calamity less grievous, we in our turn should offer him something, though we can return no favour worthy of his merit toward us. We beg you therefore to help us in this, that as his excellence is vouched for in a letter to the king, so our commendation may serve to gain him confidence, and the discharge of his petition; whereby you will oblige him and us. It is, to speak the truth, our own cause in regard to divine worship, though his name appears who has had nothing but labour, affliction and misery. We send a list of those who are in prison, and will face torture and death rather than desert the Catholic religion.—*Dated and signed as the last.**

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Lat. 1½ *pp.* [*Ibid. I.* 23.]

Jan. 21 **140.** COBHAM to WALSINGHAM.

I received your two letters by Mr Stafford on the 19th, and on the 20th the king gave me audience in Giacetto's house. This happened I suppose the sooner upon that they heard of Mr Stafford's coming, for I did not look for it then; but Gondi came to me suddenly, giving me to understand I should speak with the king privately before his going to St. Germain's, otherwise I might stay longer than I knew. I had demanded access to his Majesty two days before, meaning then to have dealt in the causes of some English merchants, reminding him to shew his meaning concerning the order for pirates.

But now I only informed him, for he was ready to mount his horse, how the Queen had sent Mr Stafford to relate to him and to his brother her further resolution in the negotiation of marriage; and as Mr Stafford had somewhat slacked his journey owing to the state of his health, and was directed to address himself first to Monsieur, he desired to go towards Angiers with all diligence, so as to arrive there before the 24th inst. the better to accomplish 'with' her Majesty's commission concerning the appointed day in the articles agreed on with Simier. He besought his Majesty not to 'find it strange his repair thither,' since the necessity of the time constrained him thereto. He did it the rather because Monsieur was the principal person in this action, and would like well to be first informed of her Highness' further resolutions. Which office being accomplished towards Monsieur in such sort as her Highness had directed, he was to return to his Majesty with her letters and message, with such expedition as he could make.

The King said he was very glad to hear of so good news as he hoped Stafford would bring with him; acknowledging that there were some reasons why he might like his brother to be the first to receive her Highness' will, seeing that he must principally 'attend thereon,' showing herewith with how great 'effect' he desired the marriage, and asked me if all things were now accorded.

I showed him that she had resolved to signify to him and his brother her further disposition, which was committed to Mr

* The sequel of this correspondence will be found in the Domestic Papers for March.

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Stafford, a gentleman whom she had found very 'confident' in this cause, and well accepted of his Majesty and Monsieur. The question seemed somewhat strange to me, together with his smiling countenance, casting his eyes therewith on the others that were in the chamber; for we thought either he had little thought of the matter, or else he used some pleasantness, for it has been written to him by her Highness and said to him at Mr Stafford's first being here, that the commissioners who should be sent from hence and those appointed in England had to accord only those things which were to be agreed on.

I further declared to him that whereas her Highness had condescended to have her Parliament begin some day this present month she has now thought good to prorogue it until next month, that there might be a more convenient time for him and his brother to consider of the further proceeding and sending of their commissioners at their good pleasure, after they had now again received her letter with her intention and disposition; since she had appointed this assembly of her estates for the better satisfaction of her subjects in this cause of marriage.

The king said he was well informed thereof, and found her to deal so well with his brothers, that he and himself and all his were bound to do her service; and with such like good language, I was 'licensed' from him.

I found with the king only Châteauvieux, a captain of his guard, and Giacetto with two other Italians, and a few Swiss in a nether court.

From thence M. Gondi conducted me to the 'Lover' to the Queen. At the entering of her chamber I met the Duke 'Denavers,' Duke of Guise, Lansac, with the secretaries, coming from her. I found her in her cabinet with the Princess of Lorraine, the Princess of Condé, and Mme de Fiasco. I declared to her in effect what I had delivered to the king.

'Seeing,' she said, 'Stafford is returned, I hope that God has heard my prayers,' with the same effect she desired; demanding if he meant to return by Paris. I answered, as I had said before, in any wise; for the Queen's meaning was that she should be 'signified' by him of her intention, as she had ever used hitherto. For in these kind of causes none could be [*sic*] understand and handle than her Majesty, who was a mother and a great queen, governing so great a state, wherein there daily happened so many accidents, and yet well passed, through her vigilance and dexterity.

She replied that none had ruled a realm more happily than the Queen, whereof all the world was witness. Now she trusted that Mr Stafford would bring Monsieur to Paris; desiring me to speak to him that he would persuade her son to repair hither according to his promise made to her now two months past. With such other speeches of her son as of his . . . . at Angiers, she licensed me.

As I was going out of my doors to the king, Mr Stafford entered at the gates, and at my return from this audience he made such

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haste that he stayed only 'a dinner time,' taking with him Sir Jerome Bowes and Mr Barington; 'hoping' at his return to have more leisure with him.

I have enclosed something in cipher.

It is bruited that the king will tomorrow morning repair to Compiègne in Picardy, and visit his towns in that province, but others 'nigh unto him' think he will not sojourn far from this town, which I rather believe.—Paris, 21 Jan.

Endd. and again in a later hand. 3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 6.]

Jan. 23. **141.** Rossel to Walsingham.

I mentioned in my last the rumour that M. de la Noue had been put to death in France. He has since been brought to life again, and came on the 15th to Cambray, where he is to collect some force both horse and foot, while the Estates are engaged in deciding what is to be done upon the proposals of his Excellency in respect both of the war and of the satisfaction to be given to Monsieur, who in addition to the title of defender has been 'graduated' with that of protector. It only remains to call him lord, which is a point debated on either side. The king and his council are of a contrary opinion to Monsieur's wish on this point, judging that it would be highly mischievous for France if he were to accept the lordship, which could only be maintained by a lasting war, and so bring war again into France, after they have had so much trouble to get rid of it; considering too the expense that would be necessary to keep the war when the Low Countries have been devastated. On the other hand, it is here pointed out what danger and ignominy will fall on their backs in the event of failure, and the disgrace which will ensue to their posterity. These and other objections are raised in the assemblies of the towns, who are waiting to see how your marriage will turn out.

His Excellency starts today for Breda; his Highness likewise, returning, it is hoped, in seven or eight days. His Excellency will go on to Utrecht, to hasten up as well those of Holland as those of Friesland and Guelderland, that they may be at Antwerp for the meeting of the States-General on Feb. 15, as resolved. It is feared that some new trouble may occur at Antwerp during the absence of the princes; people are withdrawing in apprehension of it, some one way, some another. Sainte Aldegonde and Villiers remain at Antwerp, which I hold to be the right thing in the circumstances.

Our troops, French and Flemings to wit, to the number of 24 ensigns of foot and 8 of horse have entered Oudenarde and Haulterive, and thence are on the look-out to bring victuals and stores to Tournay, waiting for M. de la Noue to join them when his forces are ready. The Malcontents have withdrawn and have their headquarters at Valenciennes. The Spaniards have crossed the river into Luxembourg. Some of their cavalry had recrossed, which caused it to be thought they were returning, as everybody expects they will do.

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I am taking the road to travel with his Excellency, and will be sure to let you know what passes.—Antwerp, 23 Jan. 1580.

Add. Endd. Fr. 1½ *pp.* [*Holl. & Fl. XIII.* 7.]

Jan. 23. **142.** Cobham to Burghley.

I hope my former letters were delivered to you, since which time there have been divers counsels held for wars, with intentions to compass matters by devices and privy policies. But I hear tell that the means to attain to them are not to be come by here as yet, I mean the provision of money; yet the clergy have again opened their purses.

The king and the queen by all shows greatly seek Monsieur's repair to the Court, but he delays on the pretence of visiting his friends and estates in the country; notwithstanding he is daily expected here, if the concluding or breaking of the cause in England do not 'alter the same.'

At present Monsieur is gone from le Mans, and arrived the 14th inst. at Angiers, being now accompanied by M. de Laval, the Marquis d'Elbœuf, Count Brissac, Marshal de Cossé, 'Pompator,' with other principal noblemen and gentlemen. The Viscount de Turenne is daily looked for. Monsieur is determined to go from Angiers towards Berry, with intent to 'have interview' with the King of Navarre.

The regiments of Champagne are in readiness to march with the Duke of Guise, upon the first occasion offered. The regiments of Normandy are 'addressed unto' the leading of Marshal Matignon. The third companies are those of the king's guard, and are to be commanded by Marshal d'Aumont. There are divers pieces sent away upon the river towards Picardy and Champagne.

As yet there is no open appearance of civil wars; rather 'it is held assured' of the contrary.

M. de Couchy of 'D'Alphiné' is arrived here, by whom it is declared that young Bellegarde will keep the towns and places of the Marquisate of Saluces as his father did. He has written to his cousin la Valette, if he would come with a dozen horse to 'cheer' with him, he should be well entertained; but if he pretend otherwise, he would displease him. The Duke of Savoy 'comforts' Bellegarde secretly, and has sent to la Valette to deal gently with him; so that la Valette's return is shortly looked for, without having entered upon the government given him by the king.

M. la Noue has written hither, dating his letter from Cambray the 16th inst. certifying his friends that he has placed 200 French soldiers in the castle of Bouham [Bouchain] beside Cambray, in the face of the enemy's camp; also that certain French companies are put into the castle of Cambray. Howbeit the town made some 'stagaringe' thereat, the enemies' camp 'near approaching.'

I hear from Germany that Casimir is at Kaiserslautern, about 14 leagues from Metz. With him were Count Philip of Nassau, the Count of Haux [? Höchst], George Count of Schwarzenburg, the Baron of

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'Stene'; and of French gentlemen, M. de Buy, M. de Lanty [*qy.* Renty], M. de Clervant, with 200 French horse and 4,000 reiters dispersed in the towns of the Bishops, but most in the territory of Trier.

It is likewise written from Germany that the Emperor 'pretends' to have a diet held at 'Augusta.'

It is reported that the King of Spain has taken two towns in Portugal and put garrisons in them. But the Portugal ambassador will 'take no knowledge' nor be 'acknowen' thereof.—Paris, 23 Jan. 1579.

P.S.—As yet I can hear of no order for the exchange of her Majesty's plate remaining here.

Add. Endd. 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 7.]

Jan. 23. **143.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

Duplicate of the last. Add. and endt. gone. 1½ *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 8.]

Jan. 23. **144.** Du Plessis to Walsingham.

I have received yours of 2 Jan. The answer was almost what I feared, but God will give a better when He pleases. In France our affairs are still shaky; the more so that the king wants to cut down what his mother had arranged with the Prince [of Condé], at his good pleasure. Meanwhile he has sent to the King of Navarre, to take advice of him. The continued urgency of the provinces for their relief, and Bellegarde's new doings in Savoy may prolong our peace for a while, for which I heartily pray.

Here, since the taking of St. Amand, the enemy has advanced to near Oudenarde, to hinder its revictualling and the reinforcement of Tournay which had been begun. He might quite enter the country; but there is an easy remedy, if people will believe the advice given them, namely, to put strong garrisons in the places. The result of the States-General has been to put finances, war and Council on a good footing. The definitive decision of the Provinces is looked for on 15 February; the deputies have promised to do their best with all diligence.

Lastly, I do not fear to importune you afresh for the aid of your favour in making those who have robbed me (*mes larrons*) condescend to some reason; the more so that I have destined it to the subvention of certain worthy persons who are in great need of it, as you can hear more at large from M. Geoffroy.—Ghent, 23 Jan. 1586.

Add. (*seal*). *Endd. by L. Tomson. Fr.* 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 9.]

Jan. 24. **145.** Hoddesdon to Burghley.

My late arrival here is the reason why I have no great matter to report. However, since my coming several principal brokers of this town have offered me their services in taking up money for the Queen's use. Others offer to give me daily intelligence of all that

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shall happen in these parts; but I cannot entertain them, because I have no commission to deal in these causes. As for news, I send in the enclosed such as shortness of time would suffer me to learn. —Antwerp, 24 Jan. 1579.

Add. Endd. ½ *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 8.]

Jan 24 [?] **146.** Occurrents from the Low Countries.

The Malcontents' forces lie between Lille and Valenciennes, 'spending' upon the poor peasants; but nothing attempted since their taking of St. Amand and Mortagne, the reason being want of money to pay their soldiers, who refuse otherwise to serve any more.

Certain ensigns of the States' men, mostly French and Flemings, with 600 or 700 horse, lie between Tournay and Outteryne [*qy.* Herines] serving for safe-conduct to bring wines, victuals, and munitions from Oudenarde to Tournay.

Baron d'Aubigny, who was badly hurt with the powder that was set on fire at Mortagne, is since dead; and M. Montigny not yet recovered, but in danger.

M. de la Noue is at Cambray, where a force will be gathered; divers French gentlemen and others having been with him. It is thought certain that on that side a 'power' will fall into Artois or Hainault, to which end all diligence is being used. Meanwhile he has sent a French gentleman with 200 soldiers to 'sure' Bouchain, and they lie in the nether town.

The Prince of Condé is established as governor of Picardy, the French king having commanded all those of that province to obey his government so far as may tend to his Majesty's service, having allowed him three companies of soldiers to guard his person.

The calling in of M. d'Alençon is very forward, and at the next meeting of the States, which is appointed for Feb. 20, full resolution will be taken on it.

To-day the Prince of Orange with the Archduke Matthias departed towards Breda, and thence to Utrecht, where those of the united Provinces are assembled to further the affairs of the country for resistance to the enemy this next spring, when he will employ his uttermost forces.

News are [*sic*] here that the Pope is dead, and that in choosing a new one some controversy may fall out; which may be a hindrance to the army so long preparing in Italy. Yet the King of Spain with the Duke of Florence 'bears such a swing' in the choice, that none can be elected but such as are to their liking, and do serve their purposes.

Probably encl. in the last. [*Ibid. XIII*, 9.]

Jan. 19-25. **147.** The Operations in Hainault and Artois.

(1) 'The Castellan of Cambray to the Prince of Épinoy.'

The taking of St. Amand and Mortaigne has astonished many persons here, as also their approach to Bouchain. I can assure you

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that our condition was such that if they had turned this way they would have caused great disorder here for lack of forces; for we had furnished 100 men to Bouchain, besides those I had sent to one place and another. M. de Villiers also was short of men for the lower town, saying that he saw it to be in danger without; and sent word to me that if I had the means to get any French I should endeavour to do so, even that I should proceed to the treaty with M. d'Anjou, seeing no chance of help from the side of the Estates. And as I saw the town was excited I went to them; when seeing that they had no forces, and alleging the example of Maestricht and other places which were not relieved, they asked me what succour or support I had, besides that of the States, from whom they expected nothing. I was forced to tell them that I had an assurance from M. d'Anjou, which appeased them somewhat. Whereupon I despatched M. de Ruynsart to him, in virtue also of the Prince of Orange's letter of October 9, in which he refers this matter to you and me; and not having your consent, I proceeded to act.

You know that I foresaw this danger, by my last letter, which you sent to Antwerp. I sent word absolutely to his Highness, the Estates, and the Prince of Orange that if they did not make up their minds to succour me promptly, I should proceed to the treaty; to which they did not vouchsafe a word of answer. If, however, you can send me at once some companies of infantry and some money to pay our cavalry, we will put that off, if it is possible. You must reflect that I have everything on my hands; since the approach of the enemy to Bouchain I have paid out (*tiré*) more than 200 crowns, in order, pending news from M. d'Anjou, to raise some men. But it is trouble lost, for if they are raised we shall have no means to maintain them. You must send us five or six companies of 200 'head' paid; and something for the maintenance of Bouchain, which up to now I have aided from my own stock of munitions and money.

Since the enemy's retreat we have forced the fort of Avesnes, where there were forty soldiers from Landrecies; besides a sergeant, who they say was the cause of the misfortune at Landrecies, named Gougillon [*qy.* Goup-]. But their lives were assured them. We will try to do some other with the little means we have; but if we are succoured as above, some fine opportunities offer. M. de la Noue's arrival was most timely. Just now he has gone on a trip to Fére. He much desires to go to you, but we know not how to find the means. Let me know what means there is; and as soon as possible, that I may advise him.

It is rumoured here that St. Amand and Mortagne have been recaptured, also that Gravelines is besieged; and in fact a good many horsemen have passed through Cambrai. But I cannot understand it, and believe that as a matter of fact all the States forces are near you. The Prince of Condé does me the honour to assist me with all the means he has, which comes very timely for us. Yet I fear from what we can learn that he will himself be in some danger. It seems that the king will not admit him to his government, and that he is secretly preparing troops; even

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making a journey to Compiègne, it is said, as a means of concealing the forces which it seems he wishes to slip through to drive the Prince out. So much that the poor Prince fearing this has for some time been sounding me as to whether in case of need he could find a safe retreat here; as to which I am much perplexed whether it could be done if he were alone and without forces.

The King of Spain is certainly preparing a strong fleet of galleys for Holland or Flanders. Please let me hear from you soon.—The Citadel of Cambray, 19 Jan. 1580.

P.S.—Please consider that it is impossible for me to provide the 'inexcusable' necessaries for a place like Bouchain.

(2) 'A Captain of Bouchain to the Prince of Épinoy.'

I have received yours, and am glad to learn that the States have aided you with men at Tournay. It is a great pity, the loss of men at St. Amand and Mortagne, but I hope we shall have our revenge. 'La Mot de Pardieu' brought some troops here, horse and foot, but I gave them plenty of cannon and harquebuss shots, whereby they lost some men and horses. Then setting out from here, seeing they had blockaded me for ten or twelve days, I set fire to the villages near the town. And yesterday M. d'Icy [? Inchy] sent me 3 companies of horse, to whom I added 200 harquebusiers and a field-piece, and we retook the fort of Avesnes le Secq, where there were forty men from the garrison of Landrecies. These surrendered, lives, swords and belts being spared; except the commander, named Antoine Gobillin, whom I am keeping at my discretion, to make a present of him to M. d'Euvre, for I understand he is the villain who betrayed him. To-morrow we shall start for Noyelles, after this beginning; and the besieged will be the besiegers.

As for my own position, seeing St. Amand and Mortagne taken, and no hope of getting men from there, I had recourse to M. de la Noue, to such effect that 200 French are now in the lower town under M. de Pressagny, a gentleman of good credit, for whom M. d'Inchy has promised to get the Estates' commission. So, provided we are supplied with money, we will let it be seen who we are. My men, 150 in number, have certainly shown themselves willing to back me up, and to shrink from no effort, even had we not been reinforced; wherefore I beg that we may have some money, both for the 200 French and for my 150. Meanwhile please let his Highness, the Prince of Orange, and the Estates know that I will serve them faithfully; and I hope you will send me word that some notice will be taken of the large sum I have spent in maintaining and victualling this fortress. I should be glad to see something begin to be done, for it should be considered what it costs me to give satisfaction to those who have so freely flung themselves into the assistance of the place.—Bouchain, 20 Jan. 1580. (Signed) Joos de Zoete [M. de Villiers].

(3) 'Monsieur de Melun from Tournay to the Prince of Orange.'

I wrote to you this morning, and fearing that the letter may stop on the road, I am sending a duplicate. I have had a letter from

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M. de la Noue at Cambray in which he says that he would like to be near, and is glad to learn that we have got some *gendarmerie* together. I wrote and begged him to come, and have made arrangements for his journey, which is very dangerous just now, our *gendarmerie* aforesaid having passed beyond Oudenarde, fearing the enemy who were gone in search of them. I am afraid they will get separated, and left in here in want of all munitions; though I prayed them not to do so, but rather betake themselves to some safe place as near to this town as may be, in order to help us and revictual us in case of need, pending the arrival of M. de la Noue, whom we hope to see shortly.

I thought it good to advertise you of this, that I might ask you kindly to order the commanders of our troops to act as above; otherwise, if they get separated, I dread our ruin.

The enemy is still all about, sometimes one side of the river, sometimes the other, and I cannot get knowledge of his intentions. The chief thing is to be on our guard quickly.—Castle of Tournay, 25 Jan. 1580. (Signed) Pierre de Melun [Prince of Epinoy].

Copies (*apparently made by Hoddesdon's direction*). *Endd.:* Letters from Cambray and Bouchain to the P. of Epinoy, and from Tournay to the P. of Orange. *Fr.* (*except the headings*). 3¼ *pp.* [*Holl. & Fl. XIII.* 10.]

Jan. 26. **148.** Sir H. Cobham to Walsingham.

I dispatched a packet of letters to you on the 21st, in which I certified you how I had [audience] with the king concerning Mr Stafford's passing direct to Monsieur. Since then the king has been at St. Germain's at 'poyse' with those devout nuns. At this time he is r[eturned] to the Louvre.

The king has sent very earnest commands to the Duke of Maine and the Count of Charny [Jacques] governing in Burgundy in the Duke's absence that they shall suffer none to enter Dijon except . . . . well-known persons, and at his departure to search h . . . . like sort, and to make sure guard over all the d[uchy ?].

The king has sent letters to M. de Thevalle, the governor of 'Metts,' to keep good watch and guard; as also that he should 'espie' towards Germany what preparations they make.

'Rambolet' returned on the night of the 24th from the King of Navarre, having 'in his relation' made all things sure against those of the Religion. The King of Navarre has written to the king that he purposes to send M. de Bouchart with the reasons which have moved those of the Religion to desire the keeping of their town. The king has 'made stay' of the King of Navarre's pensions.

Rambouillet was present at the interview between the king of Navarre and Montmorency, where he openly summoned the king and delivered the 'summance' to him in writing, with which the king was much offended; the rather that Rambouillet having been some days in his company at his Court would not there deliver the summons, but in that open assembly.

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They mean to cause some of the 'gyaunce d'armery' to be mustered, and to give them their pay. So they daily prepare to receive or make war.

I enclose a copy of a letter which the *Ambassador of Florence* here has *written* to *Petruccio Ubaldini*, beseeching you that it may be kept secret for the party's sake who conveys this.

They advertise from *Italy* and they hold opinion in *France* that the *navy* of the *King of Spain* is for the *estates* of the *Queen*.

I am informed for a certainty there is in England a secret practice to *steal* the *Queen of Scots*, and '*Obeny*' practices the *King of Scots;* where there is appointment made to pass her into the *French king's* country. If the Queen will, I can have one who shall be sent to '*Obeny*,' and serve to let your 'factor' in Scotland know what trade is meant. Let me know your pleasure herein.

The French king 'pretends' to [*indecipherable*] out of the place he is [*sic*] now. There are ways and means used 'slieghly.'

It is here judged that if *Monsieur* returns, all will go ill with the *Protestants*.

La Noue's wife is come to this town to-day. I have received letters from her, and returned answers.

There is a man, *a Scot, called Stevenson*, one of the *French king's archers*, sometime known, or servant, to the Earl of Warwick, who 'requires' he may carry my packet. If you will, he shall have one, so that at his landing he may be presently 'visited'; for he is a kinsman to the *Ambassador of Scotland* here, and a busy fellow.—Paris, 26 Jan.

Add. Endd. Italicised words in cipher partly deciphered. 2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 10.]

Jan. 28. **149.** E. Stafford to Burghley.

To discharge the duty I owe you, and to write in few words a great deal of circumstance, which I leave to her Majesty's letter to show you. I find whatsoever they can here gather, either by the letter I brought or by what I said by her commandment, there shall no 'show of breach' be made on their part, and they think they have the Queen at an advantage, and there they will keep her. The haste I send this bearer away in by her command is 'cause I have write no more.'—Angiers, 28 Jan. 1579.

Add. Endd. by Burghley, ½ *p.* [*France, IV.* 11.]

Jan. 31. **150.** M. de Ruissingen to Walsingham.

It is a good time since I have written to you, which has not been for lack of good affection toward you, or from negligence; but I was sent last March to the German cavalry which was on the frontier of Guelders and other places thereabouts. Hardly anything happened there of importance, or worth writing; but now being back again I will not fail to advertise you often of all that occurs.

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As for our affairs here, there has been up to now such confusion and disorder owing to the division of the provinces that the best men have seen no way in which zeal for the glory of God and for the country could be displayed. Now they profess to be putting things into better order. God give them grace to do so, for they need it greatly; *ut habeant Lincyos* [*sic*] *oculos contra illos qui calcanco* [*? clanculo*] *ipsorum insidiantur.*

The Duke of Alençon's practice not only continues, but *indies sumit incrementa, propter plusquam Eudimianum* [*sic*] *somnum Imperatoris et ipsius delegatorum.* I have written at length to some great persons in credit with his Majesty, setting out in much detail the state of our affairs here, and the storm [*ourage;* perhaps *ouvrage*, or *outrage*] and inconveniences which will fall upon his Majesty and the Empire generally if he does not remedy it incontinently and effectually without delay or tergiversation, roundly, without letting anyone hope to delay or suspend matters by means of perfumed or rouged words and promises. And I am sure my letter will be well weighed.

The Archduke sent one of my friends to the Emperor; who is returned and reports that above all things the Emperor wishes the peace negotiations to go on. But I have written to them that they will never get on by means of bishops, but should appoint certain secular persons whom I have named, the most sufficient and experienced that there are in these parts. I hope to have an answer soon and will advertise you of it. We must one and all work *ne respublica naufragium patiatur. Quia me terrent vestigia. Cum nemo unquam rerum suarum habuerit exitum felicem ex illis qui eas partes sunt amplexi, sed omnibus male cessit.*

M. de la Noue has been at Cambray, but is gone back to France. The Prince of Orange has gone for a week to Breda, and the Archduke with him, for whom he has made great cheer. The Prince goes on to Holland and the Estates of the new Union of Utrecht, to prepare the way and bring them to understand the matters to be treated of at the assembly which will be held in this town on Feb. 15.

There have been 200 French about Cambray, come from France to oppose the Malcontents. The garrison of Brussels have had some intelligences in Nivelles, and have concealed 40 soldiers in the house of a burgher, who about midday seized the gate, killing the guard. An ambuscade from Brussels came to their aid, and they took the town, M. de Glymes, and some captains. From Germany there is no news.—Antwerp, the last of Jan. 1580. (*Signed*) Frederich Schwartz von Ruissingen.

P.S.—Please remember me to the Earl of Leicester, Sidney, and and Dr. Wilson.

Add. Endd: From M. Schwartz. *Fr.* 4 *pp.* [*Holl. & Fl. XIII.* 11.]

End of Jan. **151.** Occurrents [from Antwerp].

The enemy with 19 cornets of horse, meaning to have charged the States' men that lay in the county of 'Henowe' about Tournay

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to keep open this passage between that place and Oudenarde, forced them to retire in haste, being but 6 companies of horse and 24 ensigns of foot; and if the Frenchmen 'had not been,' who in a village by means of a barricade resisted the enemy and stayed them, they had overthrown both horse and foot.

De la Motte was with certain forces before Bouchain, but so met by those of the town that he retired. A place called Gauer, belonging to Count Egmont, is said to be taken by them of Oudenarde.

M. de la Noue has left Cambray and gone towards la Fère, where the Prince of Condé lies; whose safety is much feared there, by reason that he doubts practices may be wrought against him by the Queen Mother; most of the gentlemen of Picardy being against the profession of the true Religion.

Those of Brussels have this week taken Nivelles, by intelligence, with 5 ensigns. There was but one ensign of the enemy's there, under M. de Glymes, the governor of the place, who was with others of the chief rulers brought prisoner to Brussels. Since this enterprise they have taken Notre Dame de Hault and Gemblours, where they found no man to resist them; but 'failed of' Alost and Enghien, 'who' hearing of the taking of the other places were vigilant. Nivelles and Notre Dame de Hault will be garrisoned; but Gemblours as a place not tenable is again forsaken.

The Spaniards are still lying about Marche en Famine, and in the Bishop of Liége's territory, which they consume and spend without regard or exception, nor account of the Bishop's displeasure; for want of payment makes them both careless and 'in raging terms urging two months' contentment' for the taking of Maestricht, because half that city belonged to him.

The Prince of Orange is at present in Holland, and on Feb. 1 is to be at Utrecht at the meeting there appointed, whither 'Straelie,' with another of 'this town colonels,' departed this morning.

There is a bruit here of the Duke of Terranova's return to Cologne with absolute authority from the king to compass some peace, to which the Emperor and the princes of the Empire have persuaded him; but they mean to continue their preparation for war against the next spring.

By the last letters from Italy news has come that the army prepared at Naples is departed for Spain. So it will be known shortly whether that is intended which is so diversely bruited and talked of.

Probably from Hoddesdon. 1¼ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 12.]

152. Copy of an Act of the Privy Council ordering the issue of a safe conduct for the Duke of Anjou and his suite.

In a later (? *after* 1650) *hand. Endd.:* Act as it was drawn by order of the Lords, 1579, 25 (or 15) Jan. *Latin.* 1¼ *pp.* [*France IV.* 5.]

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Jan. **153.** [WALSINGHAM ?] to COBHAM.

Since my last I have received a packet from you dated the 23rd ult. and now this bearer, Tupper, servant to Sir Amyas Poulet, repairing thither for private business of his master's, I could not let him pass without some few lines to acquaint you with the present state of things in Ireland; whence we are advertised by the last letters that the subjects there daily decline from their devotion towards her Majesty, being encouraged thereto by Saunders' promises, who assures them of assistance from Spain 'even upon the only writing of his own letters'; offering himself to the Earl of Desmond as a pledge, to be martyred in case they are deceived of their expectation. Which promises of Saunders we were the rather induced to believe were made upon some good grounds, that we had received very lately advertisements of the stay of our merchant-ships in Spain; which, however, the same day that we entered into consultation about Irish causes were disproved by the report of certain of the said ships that came from thence. But her Majesty, doubting the worst, has given order for the setting forth of some of her navy to guard the Irish coast, having already sufficiently strengthened the realm within to daunt those rebels. These merchant-ships that are now come from Spain advertise that the king's preparations still go forward, but that none in Spain dare take upon them to say for what place they are meant; though many are of opinion they are to be employed on Algier. Also that the 20 galleys of Naples and the 10 of Sicily are already past the straits and come to 'Calis.'

For Scottish matters, we hear from Mr Bowes that M. d'Aubigny grows daily more and more in credit, being greatly favoured by the king; and that for the better winning to his devotion of those in the realm that are well-affected, he puts them in hope that he will change his religion, seeming besides well inclined to this Crown. But time will show his meaning herein, and I refer you to your own judgement whether he is to be trusted that has his religion at command to change with every wind for the serving of his own turn.

To prevent the hurt that this may work, though for himself, being of no great sufficiency, he be not so much to be feared as in respect of some dangerous instrument that he has about him (among whom is one Kerr and others, men of judgement and great practisers), My Lords have been earnest with her Majesty to send some persons of good quality to look into his doings, and procure that the Earl of Morton may again be called to the administration of public affairs, from which he seems to have withdrawn; so that by his means things may be kept in more equal balance and d'Aubigny the easilier hindered and prevented in the execution of any dangerous course. This motion of My Lords will, I think, take place, and some good will follow.

For Low Country causes I refer you to the enclosed occurrents lately received.—The second of Feb. 1579.

Copy in hand of one of Walsingham's secretaries. Endd.: Cobham, 2 Feb. 1579. $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.* [*France IV.* 12.]

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Feb. 7. **154.** Hoddesdon to Burghley.

Being now ready for my journey to Embden, I thought it my duty to let you know before my departure that it might be an excuse for the discontinuance of my accustomed writing to your lordship. For the Merchants Adventurers finding themselves to be friendly entreated at Embden, and the market very commodious for the 'utterance' of their cloths, are resolved to establish the greater part of their traffic in that place; for which purpose I mind to go there myself next week, so that I shall have no opportunity to send you such occurrents as pass here. Yet if you please to use my services in those parts in any way, I will be always at your command; being not only myself greatly beholden, but all the fellowship of Merchants Adventurers must acknowledge themselves generally indebted to your furtherance of their causes; humbly desiring that as you have hitherto advanced them against open adversaries, so you will hereafter continue their good lord in supporting them against such as contrary to the honour and profit of our commonwealth shall privily go about to disorder their traffic.—Antwerp, 7 Feb. 1579.

Add. Endd.: Mr Hoddesdon to my Lord. Occurrents from Antwerp. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 13.]

Feb. 7. **155.** Cobham to Burghley.

It seems that the king having been long in a slumbering repose and his spirit 'settled to entertain the quiet of his country,' is now startled and begins to rouse himself toward his affairs, having called to him such of his counsellors as heretofore were ever quickly bent toward their civil troubles.

Since the Queen Mother's repair hither, the minions are sent from hence [*in copy*: sent a little from the Court], and the King is used sometimes to repair early to the Cabinet to confer on affairs, and often sits at Council.

And because he has been by sundry means tempted to some foreign conquest, and with delay shifts away those affairs, it is doubted his mind is joined still with Spain, and bent rather to chasten and 'revenge' certain in his own state than to 'buskle' himself to assault some other country; whereon great secret jealousy has arisen.

It is thought that Monsieur is not resolved to repair as yet to Court, seeing that sundry days have been appointed, and many devices used after his mother's manner, and nothing can draw him.

As to them of the Religion, they look for a storm, being in a very weak state. The Churches are not able to contribute towards the common cause, as in time past. Casimir's levies are spoken of, but undoubtedly are in no readiness, nor as yet are any sufficient means used.

The King of Navarre has been like to be trapped as he was hunting; whereon it is thought he has taken arms. The Prince of Condé remains at la Fère.

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The king having declared his will to be that all foreign dukes or ambassadors should take place according to the antiquity of their duchy, the Duke of Ferrara's ambassador has got the precedence before the Grand Duke's, and [*sic*] goes hence on Monday next, having taken his leave of the king; whereby is discovered some unkindness between the king and the Grand Duke.

The news from Portugal is that the Duke of 'Barseilles,' eldest son to the Duke of Braganza, is delivered from prison, and is at 'Massegan'; and since through the King of Spain's means he was the longer detained in captivity his father has 'made show of the mislike thereof.'

The burgesses of the Parliament in Portugal are come to Lisbon with instructions that they will have no king but one of their own nation. Howbeit King Philip's army is in readiness.

The Duke of Ausouna [Osuna] in Lisbon promises for King Philip, his master, all the friendship he can any way obtain.

Mr Stafford came last night, the 6th, in health but not very cheerful. Now I beseech that I may obtain some favour from you toward the obtaining of my suit, in such sort that you will bind me more and more to you. You can best allege in my behalf my often journeys, for I have gone most of them by her Majesty's command and your directions; also that having now spent 21 years, the best part of my life, in her service, and having sold some of my wife's 'living' to enable me thereunto [*sic*]. And those things which I sue for are not in any ancient tenants' hands, or servants' of her Majesty or her father; and without any store of wood or underwood. Hoping I may be happy by your favourable means, and receive some grace.

I would be glad to know wherein my service can be employed for her profit and for her other causes, if you will direct me to inform you of anything tending thereto.—Paris, 7 Feb. 1579.

Add. Endd. (and in a later hand, with reference to the question of precedence; see Nos. 130, 131). 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 13.]

Feb. 7. **156.** *Copy of the above in Letter-book.* [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (10).]

Feb. 8. **157.** Cobham to Burghley.

I wrote 'this other day' to you by Pyne, Mr Vice-Chamberlain's servant, such things as then came to my knowledge. Since then, Saint-Luc, one of the king's chief minions, is gone hence with such speed that he is entered into his government of 'Bouruaige' before Lancosme, nephew to Villequier, could take possession of it by commission from the king. At this the king pretends to be so highly displeased that he desires her Majesty should be informed how he is resolved to assail him by sea and land, that preparations 'addressed' for that purpose may not seem strange to her. But as his displeasures are not known this sudden show is suspected and doubted to be the cloak of some other design.

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The King of Navarre was last week put in danger of being taken or slain, if the ambush which Montmorency had laid for him had not been discovered; whereon the king has vehemently complained to his Majesty and draws more of his friends about him.

Those of Guienne begin to 'buskle' themselves to stand to their defence, and to seek some advantages. Thus there rises daily very sharp mistrust of secret practices against all such of the Religion as are either here or elsewhere. I doubt not you will consider this and providently foresee for the maintenance of her Majesty's good estate, which is threatened by the advices from sundry places. Yet by letters of the 23rd ult. it is advertised that King Philip addresses his power against the Portugals, since their whole 'commonalty' seems to mislike him for their king. Also at that time Cardinal 'Grandville' was 'extreme sick.'

Duke Casimir stays his further preparations, to hear from some of these parts.

The Emperor by means of his diets in Hungary and 'Bohem' seeks to make money, and deals very roughly with those of the Religion in Austria. There is no great good agreement among those of Germany, owing to certain doctors about the Duke of 'Saxe.'

Mr Stafford, who came hither on the 6th, had audience of the king to-day, and now means to return home within three days. Their Majesties profess to entertain the hope of marriage, requesting that her Highness will not mislike what is 'passed by articles.' —Paris, 8 Feb. 1579.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 14.]

Feb. 8. **158.** *Copy of the above in Letter-book.* [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (6).]

Feb. 8. **159.** Cobham to Leicester.

After remaining many days at Angiers, about his negotiations with Monsieur, Mr Stafford returned here on the 6th and to-day was admitted to the king's presence, and delivered her Majesty's message. In answer thereto the king wished that whatever had passed might be continued; desiring that some good issue might follow to the cause, which he said he and his greatly coveted. After having 'passed these speeches' touching that matter, he requested me and Mr Stafford to certify her Majesty that St. Luc having received much goodness at his hands, had 'miscarried himself' in divers ways, as in abusing his favour in divers causes wherein the subjects and merchants of other princes were prejudiced; which he misliked so much that he would no longer think him worthy to enjoy those benefits and places of credit which he had received. It therefore seemed convenient to bestow his government of Brouage upon some other person; of which St. Luc having got intelligence, had 'through his expedition' entered into that government. This he highly misliked, and was determined to

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draw him thence, by all means he may assail him, and has commanded preparations to that end to be made by sea and land; the place being so situate that it can be approached by both those means. These preparations, he would have her understand, are only for this purpose; and not 'amuse' herself, or think further of these enterprises.

Notwithstanding that all this has indeed passed, and St. Luc's house and goods here have been seized, and his wife kept therein by some of the king's guard, beginning yesterday morning, being Sunday, many doubt whether it be a clear disgracing of St. Luc, or some stratagem committed to his handling; for it is known that he has been an entire favourite of the king, married by him to Count Brissac's sister; a man of quick wit and valiant, affected to the Duke of Guise. Until this matter fell out, the king had, since the rest of his favourites were sent away, shewn to him alone the 'countenance' of a minion; besides that there is no apparent cause for so high displeasure. Therefore the preparations that have been 'framing' by Lansac and Strozzi on the coast, 'though it be spoken' for the Indies, yet this and the other raises some doubt; the rather that a week ago ambush was laid by Montmorency for the King of Navarre, whereby he would have been put in danger of his life, or taken. He being gone to Nérac to a conference with Montmorency, to order the affairs of Languedoc, 200 horse were in readiness to set upon him. The king being advertised of this went to Nérac another way, with great speed; some of his troop, however, were followed and shot at. Upon this he has drawn some more force himself, and has sent to the king to have justice against Montmorency; otherwise he will seek to revenge himself. The king therefore sends to-morrow Colonel 'Strosso' to pacify the King of Navarre, if it may be. Meantime he is preparing by little and little to levy forces, so that they of the Religion and others are much 'amused' and begin to think for their own safeties. Howbeit, the Protestants are much scattered and weakened, having nothing that power they were wont to have, unless God raise some help for them.

Mr Stafford left Monsieur at Angiers, where there were and had been the Duke of Aumale, Marquis of Elbeuf, and other principal persons; and now Duke Montpensier is going to him. Marshal de Cossé continues there. Monsieur pretends to 'call an estate' of the countries which belong to his 'partage,' to consider their opinion of his voyage into England if occasion offer; as also to learn their disposition as to his enterprise to the Low Countries, and that the establishment of the peace of France and means for its continuance may be spoken and consulted of.

M. de Buy passed by this morning, sent from Monsieur to the Prince of Condé with friendly words and good encouragement. The king is in good health and very cheerful. He is feasted daily by one and exercises his dancing in sundry places, as occasion offers, very familiarly, without great 'sequite'; showing himself in these outward appearances and other daily actions rather to delight in a pleasant, quiet life than inclined to war.

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It is advertised from Spain, by letters of the 23rd ult. from Madrid, that they think King Philip's army will be wholly employed against the Portugals, because the whole commonalty seem utterly to mislike him for their sovereign.

(*The remainder appears to belong to another letter.*)

The French king attends daily to his affairs, and confers oftener than has been usual of late years with his Council of State; notwithstanding he 'uses familiarity' and is often feasted by noblemen and great persons. Monsieur remains at Angiers accompanied by the Duke of Aumâle, the Marquis of Elbeuf and M. de Laval, Marshal Cossé remains with him, and the Duke of Montpensier is repairing to him. The King of Navarre is in Guyenne and has lately been frightened by an enterprise 'pretended' to entrap him as he was hunting, which is imputed to Marshals Montmorency and Biron; so that he takes arms unless the king can shortly remedy it. The towns in all places are carefully guarded. All the king's minions are out of the Court; St. Luc, who was one of the minions disgraced, is gone in great haste to Brouage, the king having given his government to Lancosme nephew of Villequier, governor of the Isle of France.

The Protestants of Vienna and Austria have exhibited a supplication to the Emperor for the exercise of religion, which will be a means of troubles in that country. The Emperor will hold a diet in Bohemia and Hungary.

Mr Stafford returned from Monsieur on the 6th. As he means to return home within a day or two, I refer to him to inform your lordship more in detail as to the affairs of this realm; beseeching you not only to continue me in your good favour, but that you will be any best means to advance me in her Majesty's credit, whereby I may receive some fruit of my 21 years' service. It will be the better if you will vouchsafe to renew my suit which I left in your hands for certain farms about my poor dwelling, and 'that' by your favourable words Mr Secretary Wilson may be moved to deal therein for me, to whom I find myself much bound.

Copy. [*France IV.* 40 (7).]

Feb. 8. **160.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

Mr Stafford had access to-day to King and Queen Mother. They have seemed to mislike his message so far, but that they would have the cause entertained and brought to some good end. They 'allow' greatly the care Monsieur 'pretends' to have of his religion.

The king wishes me to say that St. Luc having received much goodness at his hands, *etc.* (*as in the last letter*).

P.S.—Advertising [*sic*] also of Casimir's sending to them of the Religion in France; and some hope of the King of Scots' conversion and marriage according to the King of Spain's liking.

Copy. [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (8).]

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Feb. 9. **161.** COBHAM to WILSON.

I send herewith the letter for which you wrote in yours of Jan. 28, wishing that her Highness may take that compassion of her loving subjects and countries as to vouchsafe to cast her thoughts this year, and use her counsels to be provident for the affairs of her Crown; for there are many causes arising from sundry parts showing appearance of a secret ill-consent intended against religion and her principal favourers thereof.

Thus, as an entire well-willer to my sovereign, I wish the worst were provided for, and thereby do the part of a watchman in praying God to prosper your counsels, and waken your minds to His service and the preservation of the good.—Paris, 9 Feb. 1579.

Copy. [*France IV.* 40 (4).]

Feb. 11. **162.** COBHAM to [WALSINGHAM].

Since the departure of John Furrier yesterday, there have happened but small occasions to move me to write, but that I would let no time nor occasion pass without putting my pen to the paper, especially by this bearer Mr Stafford; since he is detained longer than he looked for, awaiting his Majesty's letters.

I am informed that young Rochefoucauld has entered 'Pontz' and is keeping it for those of the Religion, because Madame de Pons would have surprised it for the use of the Papists. It may be that you will shortly hear of some towns surprised, since everyone begins to think somewhat of their further safety.

The affairs of Scotland are earnestly solicited. The Spanish Agent is a 'kind and often' visitor of the Bishop of Glasgow. There is hope conceived that Mr Henry Kier shall find means to do good offices about the king for the advancement of the Papists' religion. He went hence with M. 'd'Obeny,' and is secretary to the Queen of Scots, as I think you are well certified.

The Master of Ogleby and his brother John, sons to Lord Ogleby, both papists, and lodged in the Bishop of Glasgow's house, return shortly to Scotland. So too Mr Thomas Lenystone, who married this young king's nurse, as I am informed, a Catholic and a continual resorter to the Bishop of Glasgow, returns presently in hope to receive more favour of the king than he has done.

M. 'Villeclier' is at la Fère conferring with the Prince of Condé.

By letters from Spain of the 1st inst. it is advertised that the King of Portugal has agreed that King Philip shall be declared Prince of Portugal after his decease. Most of the spiritualty and lords have agreed thereto, as I am informed this morning by sundry means; and King Philip levies many soldiers in his own realm, besides those from Italy and the Almains who are daily looked for in Spain.

Please inform his Majesty how I have dealt earnestly with Queen Mother to procure the deliverance of Alfonso, her musician. She

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has already directed letters to the king's ambassador at Rome, and promises me to accomplish all means to bring her Majesty's desire to pass.

I have been assured that one piece of the Spanish practice is either by firing [*sic*] her Majesty's ships, or by sinking some ships in the channel of the Thames mouth or in some such like place thereabout, to the intent her Highness' ships may not set out to do her service; 'and this it is devised should not be performed afore some final time that the army of Spain might address themselves towards our coasts.'

As yet this king makes no preparation for victualling or any such matter by sea. Some ships are preparing at Bordeaux, wherefore I am sending to understand the particulars of it, as I will do in other places.

The king has sent M. de Bourie, one of his 'masters of household,' to Saint-Luc, with a 'pretended' message to persuade him to render the government of Brouage to Lancosme according to the king's 'mind.' Meanwhile Lancosme is gathering gentlemen and companies, whereof the Rochellers are well warned; and, as God would have it, they have this year a 'sure sufficient' man for their mayor and governor.

My lord John Hamilton has received a letter from his brother from Newcastle; whereon he is sending his assured servant Robert Cunnyngham, whom I 'accompany' with a letter to you. He is a man of little stature, and a brownish beard.

It is thought that Marshal de Retz will be sent to England if the treaty of marriage continues.

No other occasion is offered me of which to advertise you, otherwise than I signified in my last.—Paris, 11 Feb. 1579.

Probably a draft. 3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 15.]

Feb. 12. **163.** Cobham to [? Wilson].

Mr Stafford having gone hence but yesterday, by whom I wrote, there is nothing for me to 'enlarge' at present.

The Earl of 'Craifort' is come to this Court, but as yet keeps secret. The Bishop of Glasgow went on the 10th inst. with little Douglas in his coach privately, and visited the earl. The Bishop of Ross is now sending a packet from the Queen of Scots into Spain to Sir Francis Englefield, by a gentleman of M. de Sansac's whom the Queen Mother is sending into Spain and so into Portugal. We hear from thence that the Parliament is broken up, because the commonalty would not agree to receive King Philip. Cardinal Birago and the Duke of Guise are being used by the Pope to persuade this king to agree with King Philip for the enterprise into Portugal and other designs which he, the Pope, and the Duke of Florence intend.

The Abate Delbene is daily expected from Monsieur, with a decision when he will come to Court.

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I perceive by your letter that it has pleased her Majesty hitherto to like my service. Howbeit, to my discomfort it seems she is determined to give me no allowance till Oct. 15, whereas her 'streight' command to me was delivered both by you and Sir Francis jointly in his chamber at Greenwich in August last, how that I should without excuse put myself in readiness for this service; whereon I at once entered into great charge of men and other things thereto belonging. Therefore I hope her Majesty will rather take upon her the expenses than lay them on me, who am most unable to bear them. Meantime the cross is grievous to me who hoped rather that she would now at length have begun to accompany her gracious credit with benefits, since I have left my country, my house, her presence, to serve her with all my ability in this country, and in these days, which I pray God prove not worse and worse. But what God and her Majesty will, I must submit to. And now you look that I should give intelligence hereafter; yet her Majesty by this last Privy Seal allows nothing for intelligence, without which you know what can be done.

Copy. [*France IV.* 40 (9).]

Feb. 16. **164.** W. Waad to Burghley.

Immediately after Mr Jacson's departure we heard that Duke Casimir had gone from the christening of the Rhinegrave's child, (where was a great assembly of nobility) to Nancy in Lorraine. This evening, being certainly assured of it, I thought it not amiss to advertise you. The Duke of Maine is there likewise, come only in order to meet and have conference with Casimir; the treaty has been long in handling about which du Mey, the same that was one of the conductors of the forces that were to have been employed about this town, had been sent before from the Guises to Casimir. From this town has gone to Casimir his treasurer of his wars.

This town has concluded a league with the princes and towns in Alsatia, everyone contributing so that there may be always a 'convenient' army in readiness, with the captains and general named for the defence of the country, which complains extremely of the insolences and damage they 'abode' by the late passage of the French; and this suspicious time gives them occasion to look about them, for by report no time is remembered wherein more rumours of wars 'bussie' abroad. As before great storms men say confused sounds and noises are heard, so some tempest is generally 'doubted' to follow.

News is come to this town from Italy that the forces which the Spanish have there are preparing anew to be in readiness, awaiting convenient time and command. In the 'Franche County' we hear that great provisions of victuals are made, part at the King of Spain's charge; the rest the country affords.

Thus reporting to you what is given out in these parts, I leave the consideration to your wisdom, which has always been of marvellous

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foresight for the preservation of her Majesty and the benefit of the realm.—Strasburg, 16 Feb. 1580.

Add. Endd. by Burghley: 16 Febr. 1580 Gallice 1579 Angl. Wm. Wade. 1¼ *pp.* [*German States XII.* 1.]

Feb. 18. **165.** ——— to M. DE ROCHECOURBE.

I wrote to you lately by one le Roy, messenger in ordinary; I do not know if you had the letter. The subject of it was that du Verger had recovered your hackney long ago, in the name of M. de Puibra, who has been at Court there 4 months. He has not seen her, nor have I; nor do I know what he has done with her. I should think you had better write to that gentleman; also on the other matters which most concern you, which it only depends on yourself to be out of. If you send me the letter I will take it to him and solicit your case as that of one whose affectionate servant I shall all my life be. I have never been able to find that M. d'Halli whom you commended to me; still less found means of writing to you by way of the ambassador of England, knowing no one nor having found any who knows you.

I forgot to tell you in my last that you can continue to address your letters 'care of Dame Anne'; as I have made arrangements to be advertised of them at once for the desire I have to hear news of you. I cherish them as much as any man in the world; with which truth I will take my leave.—Paris, 18 Feb. 1580.

Beneath in another hand: With your leave I kiss your hands. I arrived here on the last of last month. (*Signed*) Delozieres.

Add.: à M. de Rochecourbe, à Londres. *Endd. by L. Tomson*: from [*blank*] at Paris; note receipt of a gelding; *and in a later hand*: Bundle of letters concerning Portugal of the years 1580, 81, 82, 83. D. *Over the seal is written*: Saura de ces nouvelles ce porteur s'il lui plait chez [?] l'enbasader [*sic*] de France. *Fr.* 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 16.]

Feb. 19. **166.** The QUEEN to the BURGOMASTER and COUNCIL OF ANTWERP.

Walter Baily, M.D., one of our physicians, has informed us that some years ago his father-in-law, Herman Venonce, in consideration of a sum of money paid into your hands contracted with you for an income of 400 gold guilders payable to him and his heirs for ever, and that the said income with the arrear was settled on him by his father-in-law at his marriage, for payment whereof the said Baily, having called upon you, has received nothing for seven years past either himself or his deputies, but notwithstanding all instances made by him to you due payment of what was assigned to him has been refused. Finding himself thus deprived of all ordinary means of coming by his own he has finally had recourse to us, humbly beseeching us to have justice done him out of such of your people's goods as are in our realm according to the contract made between you and the said Herman. This we shall not be able to refuse, if after once again demanding justice from you it shall appear to be

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the only means left to us of aiding him. Wherefore we have thought good to write the present to you, requesting you to satisfy him, as you would have us see justice done to any of your people who might have similar trouble in getting their rights from any of ours.

We know not what cause you may be able to allege for this refusal, whether it be lack of means, or measures that have been taken, as Baily has informed us, in the way of some placard for the reduction of the interest paid by your town, published in the year '75, whereby it is attempted to knock off a good part of his arrears; a thing which anyhow we hope you would not do, since it is totally contrary to justice, neither Baily nor his father-in-law having ever consented to the placard, that a foreigner for whom you have never done anything, and who has done you no harm should bear the penalty of your recent statutes, directly opposed to your contract. If lack of means prevents you from satisfying him, he will be content to have patience for some further term, in reason, as he or his representative may agree with you; provided that you give him good and sufficient security for the payment to him at that date in London of the arrears in question, as well as in future for the prompt payment of the interest according to the contract made with his father-in-law.

This seems to us very reasonable, and we think you will make no difficulty about it. In case of refusal, you will compel us to grant him the means for which he asks.—Westminster, 19 Feb. 1579. (Signed) Elizabeth.

Copy. Fr. 2 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 14.]

Feb. 19. **167.** The Governors of Portugal to the Queen.

We do your Majesty to wit that on the last day of January it pleased God to take to himself our lord King Henry; whereby we and all these realms are in grief proportionate to our loss, since the quiet of the realm so greatly depended on his life.

We are performing this duty by the hand of Dr. Antonio de Castillo, who will communicate the rest to you as we have ordered. We recognise our great obligations to your Majesty; and we are confident that remembering the ancient alliance between this Crown and your Majesty and your predecessors, whereby in troublous times these realms have often times been aided, and seeing that they stand now in need of your help, you will readily grant us your favour. We look for it with the more confidence that the present occasion and our need are greater than ever in the past, and also because our cause is common to all the princes of Europe. If there is anything in this realm wherein we can serve you, you will find us most prompt.

But we commit everything to Antonio de Castillo and pray your Majesty to give him all credit, both in this matter, and in all that may occur affecting this Crown and its subjects.—Almerin, 19 Feb.

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1580. Signed by the Archbishop of Lisbon, Don Joao Mascarenhas, Francisco de Saa, Don Joao Fello, Diego Lopez de Sousa.

Copy. Add. Endd. Ital. 1½ *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 24.]

Feb. 20. **168.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

Many means have been proffered to procure Monsieur's coming to Court, but neither the sending away of the minions, nor the Abate di Guadagna being sent from the Queen Mother, could do any good; for the said Abbot has 'now lastly' informed the Queen Mother that Marshal d'Escosse [de Cossé] altogether dissuades him, and so governs him that he could not confer with him but in the Marshal's presence.

Monsieur has sent the Prince of Condé and la Noue as commissioners with authority to deal for him with those of Flanders, and has written very earnestly to the king in the Prince's favour. He proceeds as he may in the affairs of the Low Countries, and wins the consent of as many of the Marshals of this realm and those of the Court of Parliament and other principal persons both for that enterprise and also by their advice to set some good order in his own estates for the maintenance of the public quiet and repose of the people belonging to his 'partage'; not 'leaving' to show he has a mind for the whole realm to be reformed, if the King could 'like and think thereof.'

Villequier is returned from the Prince of Condé; and the king seems to be satisfied with the Prince's peacable and humble dealings, having agreed that he may stay at la Fère. The Prince asks to be allowed 300 soldiers for the defence of the town. He has named M. de la Personne the elder as his lieutenant, if it please the king.

M. de 'Strosso' is gone to the King of Navarre from his Majesty. It seems the king will take Marshal Biron from Languedoc and place some person more grateful to the King of Navarre, whom I hear very much praised for his wise carriage of himself among so many doubtful necessities. Though there were some 'ruffling brutes' for a few days and a little moving of small munitions, now all is calmed. And whereas the king had caused his Council to consider whether it were necessary to enter into war and think about the means of maintaining it, after some days' deliberation he met them, 'at what time' Cardinal Birago as Chancellor began to declare that the proceedings, not only of the heretics but of some others whose ambitions the king neither would nor could satisfy, were such that the best advice for the king was to suppress their indispositions by war, and thereby he would by his valour make himself known to his subjects and to the world. After the Cardinal had provoked what he could with his sharp persuasions, the king commanded M. de Roissi sometime called Malassise to deliver his opinions; which was that peace in general was to be embraced, especially before civil wars, which rather dismembered the realm and severed the subjects from their prince, and thereby all the 'executions have happened upon some members of this estate only,

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so that it is judged this evil will rather through time and easy means be redressed than by violence vanquished; especially the time being such as it is, the proof of this has been seen, to the grief not only of the French, but of all Christendom. Notwithstanding, if necessity urged, it were meet his Majesty should use the forces of his good servants; and that for the war, the common people and true subjects might have no more talliage imposed upon them, but that the King might obtain grace of the Holy Father to have the profits of the benefice vacant, and the tenths of the ecclesiastical persons.

The Bishop of Lyons with sudden passion broke off this discourse and showed that it was an heretical opinion to take the sacred livings and the apostolical 'duties,' to employ them those ways.

Lastly the king caused M. Pibrac to declare his opinion; whose words were 'to the effect' for continuing the public peace. The Bishop of Valence concurred with Cardinal Birago. Whereon his Majesty declared that he saw as yet no occasion to enter into hostility with his subjects, desiring their good means for the redressing of disorders and to keep the state in repose; in which disposition he remains.

The Pope has however lately written a letter to the king, requiring him to give ear and credit to Cardinal Birago, who has to communicate to him important matters, presently to be considered.

In the beginning of January was newly confirmed and secretly printed the bull and judgement which Pope Pius Quintus pronounced against the Queen. There was also given out a few days before, a general absolution to all the English nation for the oath which they took at her coronation to hold her as their sovereign Lady, so giving them power not to obey her. This was granted at the request of one Father Thomas Darbyshire, a Jesuit, who was procured to seek it at the request of a great prince whose name I cannot learn, and but this much I understand to be true; and that this Darbyshire came here twenty days ago, and is here now 'pretending' to go secretly to England by way of Flanders.

The Pope has lately sent 400 crowns to the Bishop of Ross, who was in arrears of his pension; declaring that he is informed the bishop has sufficient relief besides, and therefore he intends to employ the pension upon certain Scottish scholars in Paris, as it were towards the erection of a college for them, to which the Queen of Scots has allowed 600 crowns yearly. Thus they 'use these policies' to instruct youth in their papistry, and to entice the meaner sort by these helps and nourishments to increase daily the number of their faction.

I must inform you that divers gentlemen's heirs come hither weekly, and of other quality, who alter their religion. At their coming they are accompanied by such as are papists and maliciously bent towards the state; who by little and little may in time do great harm.

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An English papist has written from Rome to the Bishop of Glasgow that there are three things which are marvelled at. One is that the King of Spain was not privy to the going of those Spaniards who went into Ireland; the 'other,' that the Queen of England was not privy to the Englishmen who went into Flanders; the third, that the Pope is not privy to the bull which is now printed and set forth against the Queen of England.

There is one Meridey *alias* Meredith, born about Bristol, lately gone into England. If he might be taken and well examined he could discover somewhat of the present practices. His brother is here attending on Lady Morley.

I am informed that the Bishop of Ross when in Rome propounded to Cardinal Granvelle the marriage of the Scottish King with the King Philip's second daughter; which has since been negotiated in Scotland by an earl, a friend and kinsman as I understand of the Bishop, and furthered from hence by Vargas, the Spanish agent. But it is thought that the practice is continued rather to cause jealousy to some others and to be a cover for a second pretence; because they judge the Spanish king will match none of his daughters with a Protestant, so that small hope is conceived of it. But the other match, with the Princess of Lorraine, which is managed by the Duke of Guise and the Bishop of Glasgow, is 'well hoped on.' The Duke of Lorraine has referred the matter to Queen Mother and the king.

Now that Monsieur does not come to Court, and the enterprise against Rochelle is discovered which d'O and others had in charge, the minions are returning. M. d'Arx has come, d'O is looked for to-morrow, and Lavalette returns shortly, since he cannot enjoy the government which the son of Marshal Bellegarde enjoys and occupies in the same state as his father did.

I received a letter from Maestricht, dated 8 Feb., stating that on Saturday the 6th there arrived at Maestricht the Count d'Alein, who went thither to dispatch the Spaniards out of that country. They stay only for their pay, which they were like to have, as I was advised within 7 days. The Burgundians also shall have their discharge, and in like manner the Almains. After the dispatch of the Spaniards the Prince of Parma means to go to Mons. They daily expect the coming of the Duke of Aerschot. As for Casimir's preparations, we hear nothing of them. There is arrived at the Prince of Parma's Court Madame de Cecilia, sister to the King of 'Swethland,' and her son. Madame de Parma, the prince's mother, is also looked for. The said party further writes from Maestricht that the Prince of Parma 'expecteth the prophecies' of Sr Scoto the Italian, who has been in England and makes the prince believe there shall be great news from thence ere long; which prophecies are founded upon the present preparations.

Thus the tongues speak, and the pens from all places write of some enterprise meant against her Majesty's territories; which God turn from us. Though such trifling prophecies are not to be

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regarded, yet the preparations of armed men, and the dispositions of men's minds are to be weighed, according to the quality of the causes and the malice of the present time.—Paris, 20 Feb. 1579.

Endd. by L. Tomson. 4 *pp.* [*France IV.* 17.]

Feb. 20. **169.** *Copy of part of the above.* [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (11).]

Feb. 21. **170.** Cobham to Walsingham.

I have received your letters, which came but slowly to hand. From them I perceive that the Queen proposes to send out certain of her ships, which may serve to some purpose. But if all the rest may be rigged out and appointed in other convenient places, it will prove to better purpose. I trust she will find it a frugal part to spend this year in order to save her states for the rest of her reign, and thereby to put from her with a strong hand the malicious forces of the enemy who are thought to be confederated in hope of revenge. For the Spaniards discourse how they may in no way return the Low Countries to King Philip's 'obeisance' so long as England stands in this sort in their way, favouring the King's rebels. On the other side it is said the French King is persuaded that he will never be throughout King of all France till the Queen of England be so 'oppressed' that his Protestants and malcontents may not receive any comfort or relief thence. Other princes are drawn to confederate, as favouring either the Spanish faction or that of France, and those of Italy are drawn into the bargain for fear of the Pope. Therefore since the signs of this secret practice are almost apparent I trust her Majesty will look providently to the cause, both to have her own forces in readiness, as also to prove before they suffer extreme need what the countries of the sea-coast will yield her in good friendship; as Denmark through the persuasions of the Duke of 'Houlste,' and Hamburg with the other cities privileged in England may be dealt with. If the princes of Germany perceive that a league is made against the Queen, being a prince Protestant, it is thought they will be moved to lend so many of their 'powers' as may speedily startle the Spaniards out of the Low Countries; which quickly handled may in part cool this enterprise. Also that they would send to him to understand of the preparation of so large a power, which cannot be thought to be employed for the benefit of Christendom, since King Philip has so good intelligence with the Turk, and peace with the King of Fez and others of the Moors; with some show of care towards her Highness, such as they shall afford.

And since the Spanish King has an ambassador at Constantinople it were not 'without purpose' to signify by some messenger that he is sent thither by the king to be the Sophy's spy (as is true), as well as of other matter. If this is liked, I will seek to inform you further. If any be sent, it were well he should pass this way.

'My thinks' the Duke of Braganza and his eldest son may be 'tempered with' for the staying of ships, and such other provision as the Pope and confederates may seek at their hands; yet I hear

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the Pope is not willing as yet to be discovered as a dealer in this action. I trust you will excuse me if I have uttered my 'simple curious zeal' in the service of my sovereign overmuch. I acknowledge there are many counsels of better purpose; yet I would not 'leave to do' the part of a willing remembrancer.

The lords of Germany have sent a petition to the Emperor to have part of the ecclesiastical livings for the maintenance of the cause of religion, alleging the example of those Kings who have grants from the Pope, whence it is conjectured that some dissension will be kindled in Germany. The King's agent from 'Praga' has advertised him of this.

The Queen Mother has been troubled with her 'grief' in her throat, the King is not well, the young [queen ?] has had a fit or two of ague. There have been some 'household unkindnesses' among them.

Clermont d'Amboise had been like to have been clapped up in the 'Bastyllyon' if he had not escaped; but he is gone, and will do well and do God and his country service to some better purpose.

I beg that my servant Adams may be the next to be sent hither, unless her Highness' service 'import' it otherwise. God restore your health and continue your life to do Him service.—Paris, 22 Feb.

Add. Endd. 3 *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 18.]

171. *Copy (in places abridged) of part of the above. At the end is written:* Here endeth the packet sent by Mr Jackson and followeth the packet sent by Bluemantle. [*France IV.* 40 (12).]

Feb. 21. **172.** Cobham to the Secretaries.

On Saturday M. Gondi invited me in the Queen Mother's name to dine next day at her house; meaning to make a private banquet to the king, not as King of France, but Henry her son and his wife. And that he might be the cheerfuller she desired me to be present, to accompany him as the servant of his good sister the Queen of England, and that I should have there no competitor for precedence, as other ambassadors would be likewise invited, whereby the king might show himself better contented finding himself in such company. My answer was that I humbly thanked her Majesty as one willing to obey her, betaking myself into her hands to be employed at her pleasure, because the Queen's mind was that I should serve her as she should will during the time of this service.

So next day, at the hour appointed, about 10 o'clock, I went to the *hostel de la Reine mère*, a house of her building; being 'quadrante,' all of stone, of three stories, very 'proportially' framed, having in one of the corners at the upper end of the quadrant a pyramid 30 fathoms high as I guess, all of hard stone, with a pair of stairs within the hollowness conveyed up to the top, from whence most part of the city may be seen. At the entry of the gate M. Gondi received me, and in the court I was met by M. la Mothe Fènelon, M. Beauvois,

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a captain of the guard, and Colonel Chomberg, who conducted me into a place appointed for the ambassadors, where I dined in the company of the ambassadors of Portugal and Venice. After the king had dined, the same gentlemen accompanied us to the place where the dancing was to be; and as we were mounting the stairs the king came thither likewise, with the Queen, where, upon the occasion of some disorder through the press, the king staying plucked me to him, speaking to me of the disorder, and enquiring of me if the Queen were in like sort troubled upon such occasions. I 'showed' him that the smallness of the Queen's estate could not bring forth such multitudes of nobility and gentlemen as the realm of France plentifully yielded; but at such times she had the captains of her guard and chief officers of her chamber, who 'gave order,' though with some difficulty, for subjects are desirous to draw near to the person of their kings, as gods on this earth. With this I offered to put myself into the rank of the rest of the Ambassadors, but his Majesty took me by the cloak and kept me still while he was on the stairs, ever passing some pleasant speeches; among other he wished that he might see some cheerful day between his brother and the Queen of England. I said that the Queen might think herself beholden to him for his earnest desire that way, assuring him that I have heard her Highness wish as earnestly that he were blest with children, as also good servants to both of them wished and prayed that this might be a year of good harvest wherein France and England might reap the blessed fruits of their princes' children.

With this and suchlike speeches he passed the time till we were come to the upper 'hende' of the chamber, where he and his Queen being placed in their chairs, he commanded me to sit on the right-hand side, beside his person. The Pope's ambassador, and the ambassadors of Savoy and Ferrara, who had dined among certain ladies, were placed round about behind him, accompanied by the Cardinal of Guise. The Portugal ambassador was beside the Queen and the ambassador of Venice beside me. After some pause the King rose from his chair, saying to me: 'Yonder is a gentlewoman that was one of my mother's maids, married to an Italian called Camillo Fera Mantovano, a servitor of ours; I will do her the honour to dance with her'; asking me if my mistress did not use the like in England. I said she showed these favours after the manner of princes to their servants. With that he took the gentlewoman, dancing the Spanish pavane singularly well: which being done he returned and took his Queen, pacing the measures with her, followed by the Prince Dauphin, the Dukes of 'Mercury' and and Guise, and 'Charles Monsieur' [? Charles de Valois] with some of the 'ladies of estate.' This dance being done, the king and queen after their measures returned to their places. After this the king took Mme d'Autrey [d'Atri] lately married to Count Châteauvilain and danced with her the 'currants,' followed by some other young gentlemen, entertaining the time until there entered a masque; the order of which was: First six musician maskers, playing on their lutes; then two young boys in apparel representing Cupids, having small bows and quivers full of shafts, with certain garlands on their arms and their eyes bound with thin

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veils. Then there followed one of the maskers habited *alla Portughese*, with a 'cassack' and 'gargasses' of 'cramoyzin' satin, 'laid on' with silver lace; his Portugal 'capecloak' and cap both of russet cloth of silver; having in one hand a Portugal dart, blunt at both ends and in the other a timbrell with bells after their manner. There followed him five other maskers attired like him in all points. After they had passed once or twice about the hall they came up to where their Majesties sate and the two boys sang a French song to the lute; afterwards they returned down again, shaking their timbrells in measure; at the sound of which came forth six attired like women in long Spanish white satin gowns, 'garded' with carnation and silver lace, dancing with their timbrells; and on passing each of them took an arrow out of the quivers of the Cupids, with which they threatened each other. The Portugueses likewise took arrows. Thereon the two boys having two scarfs of carnation and silver tinsel made a barrier by holding the scarfs at both ends, the Spanish women keeping on one side and the Portugal men on the other. They came to the barriers one to one still observing the measure in offering 'their fight'; but the Portuguese when it came to striking the women threw down their darts, submitting themselves by their countenances as overcome, which act they passed one after another. On this a garland was put on the women's heads by the Cupids. Then the Portuguese by gestures requested the Spanish women to have compassion on them; whereon the Cupids went away with the barriers. Then the ladies after a while, with cheerful gestures, put the garlands on the Portugueses' heads, and so they entered into sundry dances together.

Thus the greater part of the afternoon of that day was spent. While these things were doing, it pleased the king to 'minister sundry occasions' of speech. Calling to him young Lansac, the chief and deviser of the masque, he willed him to bring the verses that were sung. After he had a little perused them he delivered them to me; whereon I said: "This should present how your Majesty's will were to celebrate the unity of Portugal with Spain." He said: "No; it is to show what they 'pass' and our mislike;" for his mother pretended a right to that realm.

Then their Majesties arose, and I waited on them into an adjoining chamber, where were two long tables furnished with a banquet, wherein the dishes were all of 'India earth of China,' the bowls and cups all of crystal. There was a 'cupbarde' furnished only with crystal cups of sundry fashions and rare workmanship, among which was one very great covered cup of agate and a small one of lapis lazuli. The king went from thence to the Queen Mother, who had not been present owing to indisposition, through a 'rhume fallen into her throat,' whereupon she was that day let blood.

M. de Gondi had likewise invited me and the other ambassadors to the king's masque on Shrove-Tuesday at night; whereon obeying his pleasure I went thither after supper with my neighbour the Portugal ambassador. We were met as before at the gate, and so accompanied to the great chamber: at the upper end of which we

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found the young queen already set, with her lords and ladies about her. After obeisance done, she appointed me on her right hand between her and the Princess of Lorraine, and the Portugal ambassador on her left between her and the Princess Dowager of Condé. The Pope's nuncio and the other ambassadors took their places behind the queen. It pleased the Queen Regent very much to speak of her Majesty's peaceable government, and of her own desire of once seeing her, and of her marriage with Monsieur. From this she 'entered' to speak of her apparel, showing me her gown, which was of white camlet cloth of silver, which she said she had put on for lightness; because the gown which she wore the day before was too heavy. It was of cloth of silver, figured with a damask branch of embossed gold and coloured silk, powdered with H for the King's name, and W signifying *Vive*. She said further she heard that the Queen delighted in the attires of France, and I confirmed it, adding that she liked everything which came from thence.

With this there entered a dozen maskers playing on lutes, and after them six apparelled like Almain reiters, and with them sixteen, two and two, hand in hand, like Almain women, their garments 'parted' with white satin and cloth of gold. The King was one of the foremost two; the next were the Dukes of Guise and 'Mercury,' Count 'Montlmerey' [?] with other gentlemen. They danced first newly devised measures, which the King had learnt privately. After that he came up and took his Queen, and his other maskers danced around with the ladies of state, and so in sundry dances the night was passed till almost 12 o'clock. The King went from thence; the Queen rose and licensed the Ambassadors, so we returned to our lodgings. The King passed all that night abroad in sundry houses in his mask until daylight; since which time, Wednesday and Thursday, he has kept his chamber, resting after his pleasant travails.

Copy. [*France IV.* 40 (13).]

Feb. 21.(?) **173.** Cobham to Leicester.

I have heard otherwise than by your letter of such unlooked for chances as are not to be liked at any time; but in these days they are rather to be thought calendars of evil months than shows of good luck. Howbeit since it has pleased her Majesty in a good hour to enter into consideration of the matter, there is nothing further to be doubted. I beseech you to lay aside, if possible, all your own occasions, and to pardon any injuries offered to your person, and to employ your mind and forces this year only for your country, since her Highness's states are threatened by so great a body of confederates; which in the opinion of the world is judged to be addressed to the invading of England and Ireland. It seems that the consents of many potentates are joined to abolish religion. And since you have for many years received great good at God's hands and your Princess's, I beseech you this year only to do unspeakable service to God and your country. I know you are willing and can well weigh how much it imports your Prince and yourself; hoping you will gather together enough to join their

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hearts and lay their hands to this year's work. I have written at large to 'Mr. Secretaries,' both of the pleasant entertainment I received of their Majesties and of the intelligences that are come to my hands, whereof the one may show to be a fair cloak, and the other advices which manifest a secret armed malice.

Copy. [*France IV.* 40 (14).]

Feb. 21. (?) **174.** Cobham to Sir H. Sidney.

I have received your letter dated Feb. 9, from which I learn the receipt of mine. You signify that you are going to your charge, wherein I pray God to prosper you, recommending to your lordship [*sic*] the care for the quiet preservation of her Majesty and her estates, the necessity of the time so requiring; considering the preparations of Spain, an army being gathered by confederates, and, as it seems by many appearances, intended against her Majesty's territories. This is certified from many places and discoursed of in all Courts; wherefore I trust you will diligently 'put to' all your cares, and bestow all your virtues and 'valures' on the defence of your country, especially upon so imminent a peril, and your speeches to raise up men's hearts to think of their duty to her Majesty, the preservation of the liberty of their conscience and the repose of the country; preparing armour instead of apparel, and weapons for the defence of their lives and goods. I beseech you to let me know what order is taken by her Majesty in those parts, which will be some comfort to me, and I from time to time will signify to you such things as pass here. There are many sent from Rome and these places to abuse the people of England, to put matter of ceremony in their heads, and dissuade them from their allegiance, which I doubt not will be made known to you, and that you will look into it more particularly, as the malice of the time requires. I send you a note of such occurrents as are come to my hands, wherein may appear how sundry princes and potentates concur to oppress religion and use tyranny under colour thereof. You shall also receive the 'passage of the time' and courteous manner used by their Majesties towards me this Shrovetide, which makes some show of good will towards her Majesty, if it were faithfully meant; but daily there break out so many devices that the world is full of 'mistrute' [*sic*]. I beseech you to hold me in your good opinion, and to favour me with your letters to some of the Court, for I assure I have more than need thereof.

Copy. [*France IV.* 40 (16).]

About Feb. 21. **175.** The advertisements which were sent to Sir Henry Sidney.

The minions having been sent from the Court, partly to entice Monsieur thither, and partly upon some enterprise against Rochelle, the matter being discovered, some are already returned, and the rest shortly looked for.

The King of Navarre has been in some danger, but now he disposes his things in better order, and is better accompanied.

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Casimir has bent [*qy.* spent] his Shrovetide with the Duke of Lorraine, making good cheer; to the grief of his best friends, 'doubting some abuse,' though he be wise enough.

They of Strasburg upon discovery of the practice against the town have put all the Frenchmen out; those also that were of the Religion, and had long continued there, for they doubt the practice is yet continued.

The Pope's practice in Poland with the king for reducing the whole country to papistry is discovered.

The King of Swedeland has accepted the Pope's authority and Mass. His sister with her English son is at present at Maestricht in the Prince of Parma's Court.

The Duke of Florence has consented to have the Inquisition in his territories. Bellegarde's son keeps those places and forts which his father had, notwithstanding that the king has given the government to Lavalette, one of his minions.

The king of Spain is levying 10,000 more men in Italy.

Englishmen who come hither are soon corrupted, and by many enticements drawn to leave their religion, which is likely to do great harm in these days.

Copy. [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (17).]

Feb. 23. **176.** COBHAM to the QUEEN.

It has pleased God to call to His mercy the old cardinal King of Portugal, about midnight on Jan. 31. Next morning 'Donnya Cattilina,' wife to the Duke of Braganza, was declared Queen of Portugal; whereon the Spanish King has 'addressed' his army towards Portugal, and is minded to go in person, as is reported by letters dated at Madrid on the 1st inst. which reached the king here early yesterday morning. But I would not certify this till I received further knowledge and had seen and read some letters sent from the Spanish Court to a principal person here, verifying this much; 'as also that the Portuguese will not here tell, nor abide to come under the government of the Castilian.' Preparations are made on both sides, but 'much doubted how' the forces of Spain will prevail. The ambassadors in the Catholic Court were preparing to accompany the king. Meanwhile your Majesty will have him to give order in your affairs; for the malice is not altered though the execution is deferred, as by a copy of a letter which I send herewith to 'Mr Secretaries' you may guess, that they would trouble by all means your quiet estate.—Paris, 23 Feb. 1579.

Copy. [*qy. by L. Cave*]; *signature imitated* [?] 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 19.]

Feb. 23. **177.** *Copy of the above in Letter-book. At end*: Here endeth the packet sent by Bluemantle, and followeth that sent by Mr. Slingsby. [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (22).]

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Feb. 23. **178.** COBHAM to [the SECRETARIES].

The king and other principal personages of this Court received letters yesterday, how the King of Portugal died on Jan. 31, and that the Duke of Braganza's wife was declared queen. The King of Spain addresses his power against that realm, to make good his claim. It will be overstrong for the Portuguese, especially being thus suddenly assaulted by so puissant an enemy.

I hear daily of the confederacy against her Majesty's estates, and seek to discover what I may. I send a copy of the Pope's letter to the French King for credence to Cardinal Birago, to whom here all English 'bad members' specially address themselves. He continually receives letters from the Scottish Queen. In her last, dated Jan. 29, she informed him of her indisposition and recovery.

The Spanish King's practice is so clearly discovered to this King, touching the Marquisate of Saluces, that he is somewhat moved; but there is no 'place' with him to do any good that way. The Spanish agent, Don Francisco de Erasso, who has been in 'Sweneland' almost two years, is, on his return, with the Prince of Parma and passes this way. I suppose his coming thither has been the occasion for the Lady Cecilia, the 'Swenish' King's sister, to repair to the Prince of Parma about some further practice in those parts, or to be 'some spy' in those parts of Germany where she is; which may be understood by some of her best acquaintance in England. It may prove worth the knowledge.

Casimir's coming to the Duke of Lorraine at Nancy 'ashroving' was pretended to be for the demand of the 100,000 *livres tournoises* due to the rittmeisters which the duke is respondent [*sic*] for the King. But Casimir was moved by the Dukes of Lorraine and 'Demayne' to associate himself with the House of Guise, and to take the protection of the estates of France and by force to cause some reformation. This device had been first 'dealt in' by 'Rochegyen,' Chantelou, Pontberacq and other gentlemen of Normandy, who promise to bring 4,000 harquebusiers and 600 French horsemen, Casimir to have 5,000 reisters and 3,000 lanceknights. But he is well-advised to beware of this fellowship.

Those of the Catholic League have put themselves in arms in Dalphinois,' and now those of the Religion are mounted and prepared for defence to the number of 4,000 horse and 2,000 foot under MM. de Lesdiguières, de Gouvernet, de Blascons, de 'Cugi' and other captains. Duke Montmorency has by his cruelty constrained the Protestants in Languedoc to take arms, conducted by M. de Chantillon, Captain Gresmayn (Grémian) la Merle and others. M. de Torre [Thoré] keeps neutral, but they of the Religion cannot trust him. Marshal de Biron in Guyenne is prepared with his forces, having six cannon ready mounted to march into the field. The King of Navarre stands on his guard, but the Protestants in that country are too weak. They see danger approaching on all sides; yet the king seems willing to appease things and not have war.

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The king's messenger 'La Badia,' who was to have gone yesterday to Portugal, is stayed. Letters have come again this morning from Spain, of which I cannot as yet learn the particular contents, for the king is gone to St. Germain's.

It is advertised from Italy that 12,000 foot are now levying for the King of Spain. His army is all arrived; it consists of 9,000 Italians, of whom 'scant' 6,000 fighting men arrived. Many fell sick and died, having been 'through ill weather beaten at sea,' and by change of air and diet. Whereas there should be 6,000 Allmaynes there are shipped 'scant' 4,000. The 3,000 Spaniards from Italy and Sicily are safely landed. I have this from so good a place as may much 'enforce the credit.'

I send herewith a copy of the Cardinal of Como's letter to the Duke of Guise.—Paris, 23 Feb. 1579.

2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 20.]

Enclosed in the above :—

Jan. 14. **179.** The Pope (Gregory XIII) to the French King.

The person who best can tell you our mind and our great desire to be joined with you for the good of the faith of Christ and all the commonwealth is our Cardinal Birago, who has always been partaker of all our purposes. We have not been able to turn to any person more apt than he to be a mean between your Majesty and us that the matters which have often times been propounded to the Cardinal of Este and to you by our nuncio may once for all be concluded with such firmness as is desirable, as he can more particularly explain to you. We will therefore not write at greater length, but only beg that for love of us, and of your own benign nature, you will give him such audience as the business demands.—Rome, 14 Jan. 1580.

Endd. by L. Tomson. Ital. ¾ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 20*a*.]

180. *Another copy of the above in Letter-book, with the Pope's letter.*

[*Ibid. IV.* 40 (18, 19).] *There follows* :

181. The Cardinal of Como to the Duke of Guise.

After Cardinal Birago has declared everything to his Majesty, our Lord desires to interpose himself also in this holy and memorable work; namely to make representations to his Most Christian Majesty and pray him to be willing and disposed to come to this outward demonstration. Your Excellency can well judge how much it will conduce hereafter to his reputation and private interest as well as to the good of his realm, and to your own praise and merit, without any staying to recount the particular good results that it will bring forth. You, who are most prudent, can discern it for yourself. I will say, however, that his Majesty will never in all his life have a finer opportunity of demonstrating to the world and all Catholic

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princes his own excellent purpose of putting an end once for all to the calamities in which this realm is involved as well as the Church of Rome. I leave it to you to judge what a resurrection he will give it with a demonstration like this.

Copy. Ital. [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (20).]

About Feb. 23.

182. Cobham to the Lords of the Council.

At my coming over I received of 'Mr Secretaries' certain articles for the 'avoidance' of pirates and depredations. According to my instructions I declared to the Christian King her Majesty's zeal for delivering from that kind of outrage the merchants and well-disposed persons, subjects to the princes her confederates as also her own vassals. And that her Christian meaning herein might be better known she caused to be set down by the 'advised advice' of your lordships, these articles as the sure means to redress such excess, and thereby tie the hands and stay the proceedings of the rovers. Which his Majesty very well likes, and thanks her for this good demonstration toward the repose of his subjects, and has caused the articles to be communicated to his Council and the principal officers in his admiralty. He has lately caused Secretary Pinart and M. de la Mothe-Fènclon to come to me and deliver the enclosed orders and advice, which the king and his Council approve, willing me to send them to her Majesty, whereby the manner of proceeding against the pirates might by the consent of the princes of both realms be considered and agreed on, after these other articles have been well weighed by your lordships. Pinart said further it seemed to him the king would be well content that a chamber should be assigned here in Paris for speedy judgement of those causes, so that her Majesty's subjects should not need to travel into any further parts of France for the process of those affairs, but hither, where they would be near their country and assisted by the Queen's ambassador.

You sent letters to me to deal with the King in behalf of John Woodward, merchant, of London. His Majesty and the Queen Mother have ordered that all those goods which are not proved to be Edward Taylor's 'own proper,' and so forfeited by *droit d'aubaine* shall be restored to the owners; which I hope is already done, for the letters of the order are sent.

The King has written earnest letters to M. de Gourdan for the delivery of the Englishmen imprisoned in Calais, and to restore the goods to the right owners. Wherein I likewise moved the King, being so instructed by your letters.

I have certified her Majesty that the King of Portugal deceased on the 30th ult. about midnight; whereon the King of Spain is now addressing his powers towards that kingdom, to make good his pretended right, as is advertised from Madrid by letters dated the 5th inst.

Copy. [*France IV.* 40 (21).]

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Feb. 23. **183.** M. DE MONTIGNY to POULET.

Our friends advise us from Italy of the embarkation of the King of Spain's army, and that among the grandees it is held to be directed at England. We are also informed that Monsieur is planning something against you; and that they are on the point of (*après pour*) embarking the Scots upon it by the means of M. d'Aubigny, and that the marriage which is now held for broken off was only a cover for this negotiation. Being on the spot, you can better judge of it than we. One thing we know for true, that Simier has laid the foundation of great divisions in your nation.

Monsieur has returned from Gonnor to Angers. He has now only Marshall Cossè, Simier, and Fervacques to join his Council for business. They do not reckon on his coming to Court again. The Queen has been sick of a fever caused by an issue on the neck; she is better. D'O has visited his government, and returns to Court. La Valette has done nothing so far at Saluces; Bellegarde follows in his father's steps. The leagues continue in Dauphiné and Provence is not yet at peace. The capture of Mende has started the war again in Languedoc. Since the King of Navarre has returned to Nèrac Guyenne is a little quieter. Strozzi has been sent there to settle matters for the reception of the special commission (*Grands jours*) which it is wished to send thither. Judges have been chosen, honest men enough.

St. Luc has been in disgrace for giving some advice to Monsieur; but he has managed by his rate of journeying to outstrip Lancosme, who had been sent to take possession of Brouage. His wife is in prison and his goods seized. The king has granted the Prince 300 harquebusiers for his guard at la Fère, on condition that he will give up St. Jean. The question of his government is to stand over. He has sent representations to his Majesty, but so far nothing has been got from him but fair words.

The king has recently proposed four points to his Council, the most suitable means to restore the royal authority and the dignity of the Church, to carry out his edict of pacification and relieve his people. As soon as I hear of anything being settled, I will impart it to you.—23 Feb. 1580.

Add.: Monseigneur Paulet, gouverneur de Jersey. *Endd. by L. Tomson. Fr.* 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 21.]

Feb. 27. **184.** The LORDS of the COUNCIL to the ESTATES.

Whereas after the long suit made to you by [Robert] Hungate, merchant of London, for the reimbursement of a good sum for which you are bound to him on account of certain merchandise received from him, he has been constrained, being much prejudiced, even to the point of ruin, by your delay or rather refusal to pay him his due, to complain to the Queen our mistress and request power to stay in this country goods belonging to the subjects of that, up to the sum for which he holds your obligations, which has been granted; now the stay having been made, and we having from her

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Majesty charge to give order for execution in this matter to the contentment of Hungate, and considering that the example of such execution cannot fail to bring upon you greater inconveniences, and open the door to others, who having similar grievances have requested permission to use similar means for the recovery of their goods, we have thought to advertise you hereby how we have proceeded, in order that, if it seems well to you, you may rather give satisfaction to Hungate than let us proceed to execution; which cannot be denied him if he may not receive of you some other resolution as to his payment than up to this hour he has done, whatever pretext or subterfuge may be alleged to the contrary.

Draft. Endd.: To the States of the Low Countries from the Lords of the Council, 27 Feb. 1579. *Fr.* 1¼ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 15.]

Feb. 29 **185.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

I sent word late by Bluemantle of the King of Portugal's death. It has since been confirmed; as also that the Duke of Braganza's wife hopes to be accepted for Queen. Here they greatly doubt the army and strength of Spain will overrule right in that behalf, though the Portugals have no liking to come under the government of the King of Castile.

The five who were assigned to govern the realm until the resolution of the Succession maintain as yet the ordinary justice and government, and have sent two ambassadors to King Philip; who is now going towards Portugal as far as Guadalupe, meaning to solemnize the burial of the old King, sending his forces forward towards the confines of Portugal, as letters from Madrid of the 15th inst. certify.

I heard to-day from Lyons that Michael Sael, a factor there for the 'Foulkers,' merchants and bankers for the King of Spain, had received intelligence of the same from Spain, with a dispatch to the Emperor and another to the Duke of Terra Nova of the King of Portugal's death.

They write directly from sundry parts that the Catholic army is prepared for her Majesty's realms, if the affairs of Portugal do not let 'him'; and to the intent she may not be succoured, they have at Rome excommunicated her. Cardinal Alexandrine, nephew to Pope Pius Quintus, has caused many copies of the excommunication to be printed, and dispersed them among the Ambassadors and others at Rome. In the 'discourses' from Italy they write that King Philip was moved to procure this excommunication and gather their forces on suspicion of the confederacy he supposes the Queen is entered into with Monsieur for the taking [?] of the Protestants of the Low Countries. I have shown M. Marchmont thus much, to let Monsieur know of it. And as the chief potentates are confederated together, so in almost all the provinces of France there are particular Catholic leagues and brotherhoods, which they say is 'somewhat offered to be framed' in England; and to that intent there are divers hallowed small crosses and medals which are to be worn secretly, whereof I send you two couple for patterns.

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In Tuscany 12,000 more soldiers are levying for the Catholic King to be commanded by Prospero Colonna and Count Malatesta Sporza. The Italians and other soldiers that first landed in Spain are much consumed by sickness and have no great abundance of victuals. If the earnestly [*sic*] provision of corn from Dantzick and such like places and from her Majesty's coasts were restrained for a few months, as till July, it might be a good means to 'disfurnish' their victualling, and force those of Biscay and Galicia to exclaim for hunger, and wax loath to enter into hostility with England.

The Abbot of 'Brisennio,' a Neapolitan who was nuncio at Florence in Pius V's time, and is now the Spanish king's agent at Rome, has been soliciting the Pope for the excommunication against the Queen.

Arnald, secretary to Mauvissière, is still here. His brother has now received his patent from the Scottish Queen to be her treasurer, and enters into the accounts of his office at Midsummer.

I send a copy of Pope Pius's bull, renewed against the Queen and an indulgence procured by Don Bernardino to infect her subjects. Some principal cardinal lately said that whereas it pleased God that Papa Gregorius Primus, Magnus, first 'induced' the Christian faith into England, he hoped that Gregorius XIII should be the means to return the whole nation to the Catholic faith.

The king is within these three days dispatching M. de 'Longley' on a message to the King of Spain.

The Governor of Milan practised with the captain of Cremona to surprise Mirandola, the only city in Italy that is at the French king's devotion. He has likewise sent money to young Bellegarde, 'who still keeps perforce the state which his father held.'

The Queen of Spain was delivered of a daughter about the beginning of this month. The king proposes to have his subjects sworn to his eldest son, as Prince of Spain.

Count Olivarez is expected to come as the Spanish King's Ambassador to Rome.

The Marquis of 'Sta Croce' is named general of the enterprise which the Spanish army is to take in hand. Four thousand more soldiers are levying in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

Queen Mother has been troubled with a swelling in the side of her throat, 'through the falling down of a catarrh,' for which she keeps her chamber, and sometimes all day her bed. She is now however 'reasonably amended.'

The king was last week at St. Germain's, waited on only by MM. d'O, 'Arx,' Lavalette the elder, Liancourt and Châteauvieux. He has sent for Lavalette the younger, since he cannot obtain the government of 'Chaluce.' St. Luc does not think it good to leave Brouage, since he sees the king's displeasure so much kindled against him [*in copy*: has sent answer to the king that he thinks

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not good to be without a place of refuge since he perceives his Majesty's displeasure to be so highly kindled against him. Notwithstanding he purposes to do him dutiful service in that place].

Some of the commonalty of Dauphiné had a bickering with them of the Catholic league, wherein about 100 were slain.

In this state the affairs of this country remain.—Paris, the last of February, 1579.

P.S.—I send herewith the articles expounded by the Emperor to the States of 'Bohem.'

Endd. 2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 22.]

Feb. 29. **186.** *Copy, not quite identical, of the above in Letter-book.* [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (24).]

Feb. 29. **187.** Mauvissière to M. des Marests, lieutenant to the Governor of Boulogne.

Passport for 'the present bearer' sent by the writer on business of importance to their Majesties. London, 29 Feb. 1580. (*Signed*) M. de Castelnau Mauvissière.

Holograph. Add. Endd. by L. Tomson: From Mauviss. to the Governor of Boulogne. Recommendation of Fogaz. *Fr.* 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 23.]

Feb. 29. **188.** Mauvissière to M. de Gourdan, Governor of Calais.

The same for '*le Sieur de Fougasse, gentilhomme Portugais.*'—London, 29 Feb., 1580.

Holograph. Add. Endd. as before. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 24.]

Feb. ? **189.** Cobham to [? Wilson].

M. de Ravignan, President of Pau, had audience this morning of Queen Mother, having delivered complaints against Marshal Montmorency for laying an ambush to entrap him [*sic*] and for the surprising of Sourez [Sorèze], where great cruelty was used in murdering women and children. He has also complained against Biron for his intent to surprise divers places of his inheritance.

The Queen Mother has answered him with very good words that all things shall be well accommodated, and has asked for the Queen of Navarre's sister [?].

I cannot yet find out to what intent the Duke of Guise is rigging three or four ships in his haven of Eu.

Your servant Fante came to me yesterday. I will shew him all the goodwill I can in respect of the service I owe you; beseeching that I may have your favourable help in my suit.

Draft? ½ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 24*bis.*]

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189*. Lady Cobham at the French Court.

Being invited on Shrove Monday by Queen Mother to her own house, where a sumptuous feast was to be kept, I was met at the stairhead by a great 'scoort' of ladies, among whom were duchesses and countesses, and was led by them into a chamber where the Princess of Lorraine and the Princess of Condé were awaiting the coming of the young queen. Queen Mother being sick, appointed the king and the queen his wife, in her absence to solemnize the feast.

Afterwards I was brought down into the hall where the feast was kept. There the king met me. He saluted me with a kiss and bade me welcome, offering to do me all the service he could. He said he was very desirous to see the Queen my mistress; to which I answered that she desired as much to see him. He said, moreover, it would be great joy to him if he could see her Majesty and his brother together, professing that as long as she enjoyed the presence of his brother she had as it were a part of himself. I answered that I referred that to the will of God and his brother's good affection.

Then he desired of me her Majesty's picture, of which he had heard from M. Gourdan. My answer was that I had made a vow the first that should see it should be his mother, who as I heard was then sick, which my mistress would be very sorry to hear. He told me it was but 'lickell' cold which she had taken, and no doubt she would soon recover. He said further, he 'thought beholding' to her Highness that she was so careful of his mother's good health. Then he desired again to see the picture, which I told him was very excellent; wherefore I trusted he would the rather hold me excused 'for that I made it so dainty.' Then with a smiling countenance he left me, saying that the ambassador's wife was much changed; and in my sight he charged the Princess of Lorraine and the Princess of Condé to accompany me, commanding that I should sit at his own table.

By this time the meat was ready on the table furnished. We stayed therewith a great while for the coming of the young queen. Meantime questions arose among the ladies what could be the cause of her staying so long; to which some answered, it was that she was to be very gorgeously apparelled that day. At last she came in such sumptuous and costly attire, indeed so decked and 'besceatt' [beset] with precious stones and pearls, and so gallantly set out, that it was a most goodly sight to behold.

At her entrance I was shown to her. She saluted me with a kiss, and bade me welcome. I humbly thanked her, and said for my excuse that I would have done my duty to her long before, if I had not been hindered by sickness since my coming over. She answered she had heard of it, and was sorry for it; being then as glad of my recovery, and to see me walking. She asked how the Queen did; I answered, I trusted she was very well, and would rejoice to hear the like of her.

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Then the king took his queen by the hand and led her to the table, where was a towel ready prepared. One part of it was wet and the other dry. This the queen took, and kissing it, gave it to the king. When they had wiped their hands, the queen made low courtesy to the king, and they sat down together.

The king and queen and the rest took their places in order. A little distance from the queen sat the Princess of Lorraine, over against whom I was placed. The feast was very plentiful, with rare dainties. I was 'carved unto' on all sides, and much looked upon.

After dinner the queen called me to her in the presence of the king, and desired to see the picture; saying I should not break my vow in showing it to her, because she was the queen. Thereupon I showed it to her, and as she was looking at it, the king suddenly took it from her, so that it was well viewed by both.

The king said it was an excellent picture; the queen asked me if she were like it. I answered that she was. Then said the Queen is a very fair lady [*sic*]. I told them her Majesty had commanded that whenever I came in the presence of them both, I should wish her there. They said again that if wishing would have prevailed, they would have been together many times long ago.

Then I said to the queen: If it should so happily fall out that the Queen my mistress and your Majesty might meet, it might then be truly said that two of the goodliest creatures and greatest queens in the world were together.

She answered that as appeared by the picture it might be very true of my mistress, but not in respect of herself. I answered that in my opinion she much resembled my mistress; and indeed she does, not only in my opinion, but in that of others. So the queen thanked me for the good opinion I had of her, and asked me if I could find in my heart to part with the picture. I answered that the greatest comfort which I have, being absent from my mistress, is to behold it. Hearing that, she said she would not do me so much injury as to request it from me; but commended me greatly for loving my mistress so well.

She asked me also if I had been continually at the Court. I said, not so much of late as in times past, for I have had the charge of a household and children to look to. She asked me, how many children I had. I told her, five. Then she asked how many of them were here. I said, but one. And she desired greatly to see him; for which I thanked her, and promised that when he was a little able to prattle he should wait upon her. But she said she could not forbear the sight of him so long. Then I told her he was at her commandment.

Then the king departed and commanded us to follow. He led the way up into a goodly gallery, himself keeping the door till all those were entered whom he liked to have present.

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Then showing the pictures to the ladies, he called me to him and brought me to those of the King and Queen of Scots, asking if I had seen them. I said I had seen the king, but the queen never.

So he passed through the gallery into a very gallant chamber richly hung round, wherein there stood a sumptuous bed. The king showed me there the picture of his father, which he said was very like him when he lived. I said it seemed by his picture he was a wise and valiant gentleman, which the king said was true.

Then he went into a very large chamber, where there was the greatest company of men and women that ever I saw in such a place at one time. The women were so gallantly and richly decked 'as it was a world to see.'

Here the king and queen sat down in their state, and the king caused my husband to sit next him, and beneath my husband sat all the rest of the ambassadors. Next to the Queen sat the Princesses of Lorraine and Condé, the queen's sister, and myself; and so the duchesses and countesses with ladies and gentlewomen, all in their degrees. After a while the king rose up and took his queen by the hand, and danced the 'measures' with her. Then bringing her to her place again, he took Madame 'Dawtree' [d'Atri] and danced with her the 'currants.' Next he danced a galliard with Madame 'Pownce' [*qy.* Pons] very excellent well. Afterwards he danced the 'levoltes' very lustily; which ended, he left dancing and sat down again in his state.

Presently there came in a very gallant masque, with excellent music and sweet voices. The men were attired like Portugals, and the women like Spaniards. Both had each a dart in their hands; the men had a thing in one hand that made a great jingling, the women had another device, to snap with their fingers after the Spanish 'order.' Having done their duty to the king and queen they danced 'on towards,' seeming as they would wound each other with their darts. In the end the women overcame the men, and received each a garland. Then they danced again, and in a while the women gave their garlands to the men, and continued dancing. When they had made an end, the king went up into another goodly chamber, where stood a long board furnished with banqueting dishes, very curiously and cunningly wrought; also a cupboard furnished with crystal glasses set in gold, so strange and so many fashions as I have not seen the like. Every table had divers 'coverd paynes' very finely wrought, which being taken off they fell to the banquet. Some ate and some put more into their pockets than into their bellies, so that at last all was gone. Then the king saluted the ambassador and departed. The throng was so great that he himself could not pass out for a great while.

Endd.: The French courtesy to the Lady Ambassador. 3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 24 *ter.*]

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March 1. **190.** Deposition by Melchior of Vades that in February last, *anno* 1579 [*sic*], there arrived in 'this river and channel of this said city' a little chaloppe, which the company said was called enemy to the English nation, and was vouched by them to be of the company of a ship of his Holiness, which is in this city and river, and of others that are at Ferrol in Galicia, whither she is bound. And she has on board nine men and a boy, whose names are as follows:—William All, Mr William Manners, Herne Legal, Julian Ciron, Pieter Lyemote, John Bargine, Thomas Barre, John Nemet, and Nicolas Albertre, and the French boy. There are besides in here two vessels with their munitions and their muskets, 13 harquebuses, 6 targets, 3 halberds, 4 morions, 6 coffers of linen and apparel. And I give this testimonial that if it happen that the shallop and her company arrive at any other port before they come to Ferrol they may not be stayed, because they have been here, and their captain and company that remain in this city and river, upon shew made of their authority from his Holiness and his Majesty, have not only been 'disarrested,' but also furthered with all assistance.

'In witness whereof,' etc.—1 Martii 1580.

Copy in writing of L. Tomson, and endd. by another of Walsingham's secretaries. ½ *p.* [*Spain I.* 36 (*bis*).]

March 1. **191.** Cobham to the Queen.

Letters of Feb. 19 are this day come from Madrid, wherein it is certified that the Portuguese continue constant in their opinion against the King of Castile and seem inclined to accept Doña Caterina, wife to the Duke of Braganza, to be their Queen. Your Majesty may thereupon, if it 'stand' with your policy, show yourself gracious to another Queen oppressed in her right, according to the honourable compassion of great Ladies.

Copy. [*France IV.* 40 (23).]

March 1. **192.** Cobham to Burghley.

The death of the King of Portugal is confirmed, and also that the Portugals are constant in refusing the government of the Castilian king, and are putting themselves in arms and strengthening their passages. On the other side, the king addresses his forces easily and slowly towards the frontiers of Portugal. The five persons appointed by the deceased king still 'keep the state' of the realm, maintaining justice and the ordinary course of law. The Duchess of Braganza is however respected as Queen. No ceremony is used, nor coronation passed, but people's minds are fully bent that way.

The Queen of Spain is brought 'abed' of a daughter, and the king minds to have his subjects sworn to his eldest son, before pressing the cause of Portugal to the uttermost. Meantime his Italian soldiers die and consume.

The king of this country visits of an evening the houses where there is dancing or masking, as is now usual at Shrovetide; and when he is at St. Germain's he likes sometimes to go on pilgrimage to the holy nuns of Poissy.

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Monsieur remains at and about Angiers, visited by the principal persons of Brittany and Normandy and those of his own 'partages.' They of the Religion live in suspicion, but no apparent preparations pretended.

From Italy is news of further aid to the King of Spain.

I send a copy of the Emperor's demands of the States of Bohemia at the parliament lately held at Prague.—Paris, 1 March 1579.

Add. Endd. (and in a later hand). 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 25.]

May 1. **193.** *Copy of the above (without last two pars.) in Letter-book.* [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (29).]

Enclosed in the last:—

194. 'Advertisements sent Mr Secretaries concerning the points following demanded by the Emperor of the States of Bohemia.'

1. That they should give him means to pay his debts, and his father's and Ferdinand's; but that his own should first be paid.

2. That they would give him on every barrel of beer two pieces of silver called *grossi* more than they gave him last year; which were then given for payment of his debts, but now he will have all the 6 *grossi* on the beer to be allowed for the maintenance of his house, which will amount to 600,000 'dallers' yearly.

3. That the grants given him in the last Diet may continue three years longer, which was that every house pay him yearly three 'dallers,' that every Jew pay him fifteen; and that the impost on cattle may continue.

4. Whereas in the Diet held last year the realm of Bohemia was content to pay him 150,000 'dallers' towards the maintenance of the wars in Hungary, 40,000 of which are employed in fortifying two places in the confines, he now requests them to give him 20,000 yearly for continuing the fortifications and the above 40,000 to be repaid to him, having been by him laid out to the use aforesaid.

5. That the kingdom of Bohem do cause to be fortified at 'his' own charges a fort called Vizze, a place of importance in Hungary.

6. That the debts of Ferdinand and Maximilian be paid, since the interest of them is now growing to be almost as great as the principal. The Emperor likewise means to cause those of 'Slesia,' 'Morania,' and Hungary to pay the portion due to the Archduke his brother, which comes to 37,000 'dallers.'

7. His Majesty desires that there may be assigned to the Empress in Bohem 20,000 crowns, upon some city, that she may be somewhat honourably entertained as Queen of Bohemia.

Copy. [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (25).]

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March 1 ? **195.** COBHAM to WALSINGHAM.

I hear that letters are come to this Court from England dated five days ago certifying her Majesty's arming and preparing for sea; but the particulars I cannot at present learn. I have received no letters from England since yours of Feb. 13, since which there has come only one of the ordinary posts.

Awaiting daily to hear some good news of her Majesty's health, and beseeching you that in these times I may in some way be oftener remembered with a letter, wherein I shall be particularly beholden [*sic*] to you, I take my leave.

Copy. [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (26).]

March 1. **196.** COBHAM to WILSON.

As in my last, so now I must inform you that I have received no letters from Monsieur's Court since Mr Stafford was here. Yet I have written to M. Simier, and am now writing by M. Marchemont to Monsieur because he has required me so to do. Monsieur's Chancellor, the Bishop of Mende, is going with the book of accounts for the affairs of his house, wherein he is taking better order than before. The King's message to his brother by Marchemont is only ordinary commendations, with thanks for his letters and offers, and wishing him good success in his enterprise, meaning that of Flanders, as I am informed. The Queen Mother has 'delivered somewhat more warmly her liking' that Monsieur should 'have feeling' of the King of Spain's enterprise against Portugal, and has promised Marchemont to write a few words to that effect. But there is no means ready here to enter into so great an action. Their intestine wrangles and 'particular respects' hold them occupied in trifling, while they let slip causes of more importance, and are wrapped in further dangers, and no remedy is yet ministered to redress their disunion. In this sort the days are passed here and now, with banqueting and masking in Lent as at Shrovetide.

I hope the malice which is suspected to be 'bent unto' our Sovereign will unite all noble hearts and virtuous patriots.

Copy. [*France IV.* 40 (27).]

March 1. **197.** COBHAM to WALSINGHAM.

The other day 'il Signor Capitano del Bene' let me know his views as to the Queen's arming by sea and land. He has thought of sending one into England, or else going himself in person, to offer his services, with a dozen or more with him, as she shall please; and asked my opinion therein. My answer was that I thought his offer would be welcome to her and to his friends in that Court; but as yet there might fall out some chance such that she would perhaps refrain for a while from entertaining any foreign soldiers. I assured him however 'to write' of his courteous intention. You may therefore if you think good signify to him that I have written of his zealous demonstration towards her service.

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Further news has come from Madrid, by letters of the 19th and 20th ult., that Doña Caterina, wife to the Duke of Braganza, is accepted Queen of Portugal, and that the Portugals mean to resist the Spanish forces to the uttermost. This came this morning.

'I think very long' to hear from you, for I have received no letter since the 13th ult., which somewhat grieves me.—Paris, 1 March, 1579.

Endd. ½ *p.* [*France IV.* 26.]

March 1. **198.** *Copy of the above in Letter-book.* [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (28).]

March 1 ? **199.** Cobham to Sussex.

Same news as in letters to the Secretaries of Feb. 29, *to Burghley of Mar.* 1, *and others.* On Sunday, Feb. 28, the king sent a gentleman called d'Abadia in post toward Portugal, and tomorrow they send hence for Spain M. de 'Longley'. . . . . .

Of the marriage is little speech here. As M. Marchemont goes tomorrow to Monsieur, he requested me he might take with him some lines from me. I have thereupon written to M. de Simiers; the copy of which I send you 'hereinclosed.'

Copy. At end: Here endeth the packet sent by Mr Slingsby, and followeth the packet sent by Mr Slingsby the elder. [*France IV.* 40 (30).]

March 3. **200.** The King of Navarre to Walsingham.

I address myself to you as to one who has ere now shown true zeal and singular affection towards the Churches of God in general and our poor Churches of France in particular. Help me, if you please, to make my excuses to the Queen if I have not been as careful in continuing to write to her as might perhaps have been agreeable to the obligation that we all are under to her, of which I for my part am infinitely conscious. But it vexed me to importune her so often with the same thing, having nought to write to her but complaints of the injustices committed day by day against us. Now we were hoping that this conference would afford us some better matter (*argument*) whereon I promised myself to write something more acceptable to her. But on the contrary, all my representations on the non-execution of the Edict have been treated with contempt, and they talk only of spoiling us of what little security we get from our fortresses, the surrender of which was expressly stipulated on the peace taking full effect. On this basis M. de Montmorency has taken arms against us, while M. de Biron has failed in certain important enterprises, up to now at any rate. In this difficulty we implore her Majesty's sage advice, with whom I pray you more and more to deal, laying us ever under more obligation to you. M. du Plessis will inform you of it more at length.—3 May. (*Signed*) Henry.

Fr. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 27.]

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March 6. **201.** The ESTATES to the QUEEN.

We have received the letter from your Council, dated the 27th ult. Understanding therefrom that your Majesty has at the urgent request of Robert Hungate granted him permission to stay the goods belonging to the merchants of the Low Countries, until the settlement of [the sum] still owing to him from us for certain [merchandize] which he delivered to us, in such wise that he should [see to] the effectual execution of such stay, which [was done after] mature deliberation by the Council; and [seeing] that by this means a door would be opened to all [persons] of similar kind, to whom we might be [indebted]; we would not omit to advertise your Majesty, humbly beseeching that the stay in question and others like it may be deferred . . . inasmuch as by this sort of procedure traffic between these countries and your realm will be cut off, which in the interests of good neighbourship must not be hindered on account of a private suit; especially if you will be pleased to consider the endeavours we are making to give reasonable satisfaction to Hungate, having put his debt into the statement we have made of those that are most urgent, and upon which a resolution is shortly to be taken. We therefore beg again that the intended execution may be postponed (*sourcée*) and delayed; whereby you will add to the number of the benefits we have received, and oblige us to pray the Creator to bless (*bienheurer*) you, as we hereby do.—Antwerp, 6 March 1580. *Signed* Houfflin.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Fr. 1½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 16.]

March 6. **202.** COBHAM to BURGHLEY.

Since the Queen has accorded the exercise of Monsieur's religion in some convenient manner, which testifies her good disposition towards him, I trust that if his affection have power, and the benefit of the match be well and duly weighed, he will surely not stay for further liberty, nor tarry for more company at his ceremonies. But undoubtedly, as it seems to me, if the sense of your words written in your letter to me, had been 'with *viva voce*' delivered in French, together with the last packet, it would have moved deeply one of the best men in France to accept so reasonable conditions with so great a possibility in England. And though this has not so far been done, it may be trusted that if other backward dissuasions have not pierced over deep, and secret policies 'possessed the contrary,' he will without doubt easily incline to his desire, and satisfy his affection; which will be the maintenance of his honour in this country, the increasing and emboldening of his well-wishers in the Low Countries, and the establishing of the friendship of the Almaynes, as well as the only means to set up his house, which is in a declining and staggering state. Which I have partly at this time 'by means' signified.

Monsieur's credit increases among the frontier towns, and they of Cambray have accepted him for their sovereign lord, as may appear by the enclosed copy of the articles agreed upon; while further hopes are offered him lately from those parts.

I hear that the Viscount of Ghent will willingly become French.

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Some motherly admonitions, mixed with a little sharpness, have passed of late from Queen Mother to the king in reprehension of his manner of proceeding; whereon there is grown unkindness, and the king has kept himself at St. Germain's.

They of Paris have given the king to understand that the plague is beginning in this town; but other wanton discords have moved them to desire his absence, together with the consent of Queen Mother.

The nobility and the Estates seek to have the minions removed, and the great secret gifts and expenses lessened, if they can.

There is not, as you write, any debts due to me for letters written to you, but much duty owing to you on my part for goodness received. It is enough for me that my service be acceptable.—Paris, 7 Mar. 1579.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 28.]

March 7. **203.** *Another copy of the above in Letter-book.* [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (33).]

Enclosed in the above:

204. 'Certain capitulations made in the behalf of Monsieur, between the Prince of Condé, la Noue, and the magistrates of Cambray.'

Monsieur is recognised as sovereign lord of the said town of Cambray and of Cambresis, with the same rights as the King of Spain.

He can place in the citadel 120 French harquebusiers under the command of Captain Vallières.

M. d'Inchy shall however continue to command on his behalf in the citadel, and shall have 300 harquebusiers.

The Prince of Condé shall be his lieutenant-general in the district, and also of any army which may have to be employed in the defence of the town; in which case Monsieur shall furnish 2,000 foot and 300 horse.

The Prince going to Cambray to negotiate the above was honourably received, with gratification and submission, even by the ecclesiastics.

Endd. Fr. ½ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 28*a*.]

March 7. **205.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

Since my last nothing has happened which might move me to signify it to you; for the king has continued at St. Germain's privately, and the Queen Mother has kept her chamber, attending to the recovery of her health.

On the 2nd inst. between 10 and 11 in the forenoon, a person 'modest in sight, of years about 40, and as they say of some quality of living,' came into the great court of the Louvre, where he

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first knelt down, and with a loud voice lamented greatly the disorders of the realm, of the little justice with the calamities and oppressions which the people daily sustained, praying with fervent words to God to have mercy on the people of this realm; and concluded that except the King should more carefully discharge his duties towards God, and give audience in affairs, God would shortly send vengeance upon him. All which was delivered with a very loud voice, the people coming about him; so that the king being in the Queen Mother's chamber, and advertised thereof, sent Châteauvieux, a captain of his guard, to apprehend him, which was done forthwith. So he remains in prison.

Last week the king gave out commissions for levying soldiers; as to Marshal Biron for Languedoc and those parts, and to Mogeron [Maugiron] for Dauphiné.

It seems that Monsieur's credit increases among them of the Low Countries, as partly appears from the matter of Cambray.

M. de Belleville, governor of Xaintonge, was lately slain going a-hunting. He was formerly one of the king's minions, when he went to Poland; and shewed himself an enemy to the King of Navarre.

Today the Prince of Condé's horses and carriages have passed on the way to la Fère from St. Jean d'Angely, with a passport from the king.

I cannot yet hear of any preparations by sea; but there is speech of such.—Paris, 7 Mar. 1579.

1 *p.* [*France IV.* 29.]

March 7. **206.** *Another copy of the above in Letter-book.* [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (31)] *with copy of the 'capitulations' (see No.* 204) [*IV.* 40 (32).]

March 7. **207.** Cobham to Burghley.

The Portugal Ambassador, Cavaliero Giraldi, has delivered me under the colour of a 'visitation,' a packet with an inclosed letter of 'Donnia' Catherina, Duchess of Braganza, which he desires may be delivered to her Majesty's own hands with all secrecy, so that especially none of the ambassadors 'ligiers' or others may be made privy thereto as yet. His hope is that you will have the right of his Lady favoured and the tyranny of the Castilian king bridled by all such means as her Majesty may think good, both by treating with the king and otherwise. He has in like sort requested me to send his dispatch to Monsieur, since he is much watched by the Spanish ambassador, and his doings looked into, so that if his dealings for his Lady should be any way perceived, it would be an occasion for King Philip to press upon them with great expedition. If her Majesty think good, I shall willingly deliver any such message to the Spanish agent as I may be commanded. It is understood that he has been a busy dealer against Monsieur's marriage with

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her Majesty, and a frequent visitor and a great practiser with the Scottish Queen's ambassador and with the Bishop of Ross. Methinks Giraldi would be glad if her Majesty and the Christian King would join together for the protection of the Duchess of Braganza's right, and desires that such expedition may be used as the necessity of the cause imports and it shall seem good to her Majesty. As yet the ambassador of Portugal 'ligier' in England is not made privy thereto; but in time, Giraldi says, he will be trusted, as one known 'confident' enough in this cause.

Copy. [*France IV.* 40 (34).]

March 7. **208.** COBHAM to WALSINGHAM.

The ambassador of Portugal understanding that this gentleman was about to pass towards England, requested me to send in my packet to the Lord Treasurer his letter to her Majesty, in which was one from the Duchess of Braganza. He desired with many earnest words that this may be kept most secret and in any case concealed from the ambassadors.

I enclose a letter to my cousin Edward Wootton which the Portugal ambassador delivered to me, wishing he may be advertised to have it kept unknown. His 'pretence' is that the Spanish ambassador watches him. He seems now 'appassionate' against the Castilians, and delivers his mind therein more freely than before.

Copy. [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (35).]

March 7. **209.** COBHAM to WALSINGHAM.

I send inclosed a note of [*name blank*] acknowledgement for the receipt of 330 crowns. By the next I think he will write to you the causes which move him to press me to disburse so much to him. If the effect follow his designs, he may be a great means for her Majesty to stay some way her further charges.—Paris, 7 March 1579.

A note follows:—
Written also at the same time to Mr Secretary Wilson, certifying him of certain Italian music-books which I sent by his servant Jackson in behalf of her Majesty, desiring to be advertised of the receipt of them, and that he would remember my suit as time permitted.

Copies. [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (36, 37).] *At the end is written:* Here endeth the packet sent by Mr. Slingsby the elder, the 7th of March, and followeth the dispatch sent by Jno. Wells the 12th of the same.

March 8. **210.** A REPORT from SPAIN.

The examination of Robert Frede of Harwich, master of the *Salomon*, of London, taken at San Lucar 8 March, *anno* 1579, by the Duke Medina Sidonia. First he asked when he came out of England: the master said, three weeks past. Further, in what

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state the realm was, and how all the castles were furnished: the master answered, very well and in good order, for they are repaired yearly.

Further, whether there was any mustering of men throughout the realm. He answered, not to his knowledge at that time. Whereto the duke said there was mustering; saying further to the master that he should tell him the truth of all things and not jest with him, for he would not be jested with.

Further he demanded in what time a number of men would be ready in England. The master said, if need were, in 8 days; whereto he said to his secretary: 'You may now see.'

Further he asked how many ships the Queen had, and in what readiness they were. The master said that she had 60 sail always in readiness to serve; to which the duke said: 'Jesus! hath she so many?'; saying he always thought she had not above 30.

Further he asked if at that time any of them were abroad in her service. The master said there were three then going abroad. The duke asked whither: the master said for 'Yerland' as he thought. The duke asked what they would do there: the master said he thought, carry munitions for the Queen's towns and castles against the rebels.

The duke further said he was sure there was mustering of men in England. The master said he knew no such thing; but if any men were mustered, it was for Ireland, as he thought.

The duke said he knew there were 14 of the Queen's ships abroad. The master said it was more than he knew.

Further the duke asked what speech there was in England of the King of Spain's fleet. The master said the bruit was in England that it was for 'Argier,' Barbary, or Portugal. With that the duke shook his head and said no more; saving he asked the master how 'chance' the Queen of England lent certain soldiers to a nobleman of Portugal whose name he does not remember. The master said he knew no such thing.

All this the duke caused his secretary to write. (*Signed*) Robert Frede.

Add. to Walsingham. Endd. by L. Tomson, with date March 8, 1580. 1 *p.* [*Spain I.* 37.]

March 11. **211.** Passport for a servant of the Portuguese Ambassador, being sent into Portugal.—At the Court, 11 March, 1579. (*Signed*) Fra. Walsingham.

Endd. ½ *p.* [*Portugal I.* 24.]

March 11. **212.** Mauvissière to M. des Marets.

The Sieur 'Anthoyne Fougasse,' the present bearer, was some days ago wishing to go into France, and as he intended to land at your town, he asked me to give him a letter to you, to secure him

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against molestation by any of those who would annoy him. The same request which I made before to you on his behalf I make again hereby, that you will give him all security to go to their Majesties on business relating to their service.—London, 11 Mar. 1580.

Add. Edd. by Walsingham: The French Ambassador's letter to the Governor of Boulogne. 1 *p. Fr.* [*France IV.* 30.]

March 12. **213.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

As this bearer wishes to return with speed, I only write these few words, having four days ago dispatched Mr Slingsby with some letters to you. The king remains at St. Germain's, partly upon a little pain in his leg, partly for his pleasure.

The Duke of Guise is gone to his house near Evreux intending to return this week. There is some speech that he 'should cause' four or five ships to be rigged, but I find no certain foundation for that rumour. It is likely that he could be contented to be employed in some action whereby the opinion of his greatness may be maintained, and he may find means to pay part of his great debts; but no resolution or beginning thereof is as yet known.

I enclose such occurrents as have come by this post from Italy. This bearer gives me no information from Monsieur's Court, only that he told him he meant to be shortly in England. I understand that he has commanded his followers to be in readiness to gather companies, which is suspected to be for the Low Countries. The other day he sent M. de la Fin to the Queen Mother and the king.

For a few days there was an opinion that the king and the Court would remove to Fontainebleau; but that bruit is passed over.

The Bishop of Ross has been with me again, to let me know that his messenger was returned, who had been in England soliciting his suit to obtain her Majesty's favourable letters in his behalf to Monsieur for an Abbey. He now conceives small hope that way, but would have me 'written' to M. Simier. I answered that since he had understood the Queen's meaning, it was not a matter for me to deal in. He further told me how his Queen had written that she had been 'calumniated to have said' some words in dispraise of Monsieur; touching which report he says that she has answered to her Majesty so well that she remains satisfied. With this and suchlike speeches he passed some time.

The abbot of Landors [Lindores:—*probably* Patrick Leslie] the said bishop's kinsman, with whom one of the Duke of Guise's 'Escuierye' has practised much lately, is shortly going to Scotland.

Nothing further is known from Portugal since my last.

They of Rochelle have lately taken a ship very richly laden, wherein they found five pipes full of Spanish 'Ryalls' of two shillings each, and of sugar, chests to the value of 150,000 francs, of rich furs and ostrich feathers, to the value of 100,000 francs.

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Thus much the merchant of Rochelle, who is here making privy suit that the king will not move against them for the enterprise, confesses. Notwithstanding, Vargas, the Spanish agent here, has complained to the Queen Mother, adding that they had 100,000 francs more in pistolets, and that the ship and men were sunk; which indeed is true.

I wrote last January, and caused some of the Religion to send 'by means' to M. de Rohan and M. de Laval, who have territories in Britanny and along the coast, that they would, for the respect they bear his Majesty, inform themselves and advertise me of the Spanish preparation by sea. They inform me that for the present the preparations are to be towards Portugal; as also in the port of San Lucar were seen two very great ships, which had in their lading two huge iron chains of a marvellous length and great bigness, with many mattocks, spades, and shovels, and as yet no preparations making for this king on all that coast.

Francis Erasso, who has been so long in 'Sweneland' agent for the Spanish King, having likewise been in the Prince of Parma's camp, has passed on towards Spain with many packets. He reported to a friend of mine whom I sent under a pretence made for that purpose that the King of Sweden is for himself inclined to be a papist and a friend to King Philip, having now 40,000 crowns yearly from Italy, levied on the lands lately the inheritance of the Queen of Poland, called *Regina Bona*.

Mr Parker, my lord Morley's brother, has been with me, being come hither this last week; 'showing' that his coming is only to see his mother upon some 'occasions' of his father's will. In his company came one Mr Liggins, a young gentleman of the West Country. They both came with the ordinary post.—Paris, 12 Mar. 1579.

2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 31.]

March 12. **214.** *Copy of the above in Letter-book.* [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (38).]

March 12. **215.** COBHAM to LEICESTER.

I received your two letters by this bearer, since which he has been at Monsieur's Court. By his dispatch it will appear what devotion Monsieur has to her Majesty and 'dispositions to his ceremonies, or that it will like him to obtain the company of her Majesty though he bestow his prayers accompanied with a few.' I can learn no particulars from this messenger concerning the matter of marriage. M. Simier sent me a letter with a few courteous words of 'accomplements' only. It seems that Monsieur intends to undertake the enterprise of the Low Countries if it be in any way agreeable to his mind; and his followers are gathering companies secretly. Whether this little beginning will have any other proceeding, God knows; since the manner here has been to make many beginnings, but to finish few. As they go forward in their proceeding, I will not fail 'but' to advertise; so that her Majesty may think of what shall be best for her safety.

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In my last I sent a dispatch touching the affairs of Portugal, which if it may be dealt according to that wisdom wherewith you have heretofore managed the like occasion, it will become I hope as good a safeguard on that side as Flanders is now for those parts, between the enemies and your harm. I trust you will let me understand wherein I may most stand instead in my service that I may the better satisfy your desires, which I have a good wish to perform. I humbly recommend my suit to your furtherance; I think Mr Secretary Wilson has moved it for me of late. You have means that way to bind me and mine much to you.

Copy. [*France IV.* 40 (39).] *At end is*: here endeth the dispatch sent by John Wells the 12th of March, and followeth the packet sent by Charles Cooke the 20th of March.

March 13. **216.** The King of Spain to Don Antonio.

Considering that you have known 'for so many years ago' the good will which I bore to you and 'procured' to shew you on all occasions, I am assured that you will answer to 'her' with such thankfulness 'as doth find you the reason and kindred that is between us.' And as we were sure that you understand the 'notorouse' right and justice that I [*sic*] have in the succession to the 'same' Crown, I pray you to be first in receiving and swearing of me 'for your king and natural lord, as God appointed it should be'; for by you and your example the rest shall do their duty. Being sure that in those things which 'particular' touch you I will keep that account that reason require to do you good, as shall declare unto you the Duke of Soona' [*qy.* Ossuna] my cousin and Don Christopher de Mora our ambassador. 'And, our beloved cousin, our Lord God be in your keeping.'—Cesaye [?] 13 March. (Signed) I the king, *and below* Gabriel de Sayas.

Endd. by Burghley's secretary: 13 Martii 1579. A copy of the Spanish king's letter to Don Antonio [*apparently a translation by a Spaniard or other foreigner*]. 1 *p.* [*Spain I.* 38.]

March 15. **217.** Hoddesdon to Burghley.

In my last of the 6th inst. I told you of such matters as I had then to write of, being emboldened to do so by your courteous letter which I received from Antwerp the same day. Since then I have been invited by 'Grave' Edzard, who welcomed me very courteously and gave me entertainment much above my calling, promising to further our traffic here all that he may; as I hope he will do, if the dissension between him and his brother Grave John be no hindrance, for they have not been perfect friends these 10 years or more. Among other causes of their variance, as I hear, the elder 'doth somewhat stomach' that his younger brother should have a pension from England, and himself none; for which reason he has not favoured our nation as he perhaps would have otherwise done. But both the brothers seem to be of so good a nature and bear such reverence, towards her Majesty, that I think if she would vouchsafe to be a 'moyenner' between them,

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this controversy, which is only nourished by certain misreporters might soon be pacified; whereby she would not only be assured of both the earls for ever after, but also purchase an assured remembrance among the people of this country, who greatly desire to see the concord of their Lords. Grave John has not been here since my arrival, but during his brother's abode in this town he lies in a very strong castle, about 8 English miles distant. He has sent his secretary to me, declaring his readiness to pleasure our company whereinsoever he is able; so that I see no place better to be liked in every respect than this town, where, if there were any wants concerning our traffic (as, to speak uprightly, I hitherto see none) they are at present supplied by the courteous demeanour of the people towards us, and hereafter if we continue here would be easily amended, as daily experience shows. For the town is at present not only much enlarged in quantity of building, but far better frequented with trade than at our first coming hither we found it, and the situation is so strongly fortified, partly by nature, partly by industry, that besides the walls, which are very thick, it may be environed with water 5 English miles about by means of certain sluices made for that purpose. The country adjoining is very light, though somewhat subject to inundations of the sea. Very good powder is also made here; and I was in good hope to have drawn the trade in it chiefly to this town, if other men's disorder had not hindered my endeavours. Since my coming I dealt with one of Brunswick for the value of £2,000 in saltpetre to be delivered here; but before I could go through with the matter, there was such buying up of powder in Hamburg by some of our company, and the price thereupon so increased, that most part of the saltpetre which should have been brought hither was forestalled by those of Hamburg to 'feed the humours' of our merchants there; who within one month have done more hurt in that respect than those who made provision for the Low Countries did in all last year. So although there shall be no unwillingness in me to perform this service, for the accomplishment of which I have my money in readiness at Hamburg, yet I assure you the price of powder is of late so enhanced that I am likely to be a great loser on what I must provide hereafter, and yet shall hardly get it so well made as what I have delivered already. This sudden alteration proceeds from no other cause than the greediness of our own merchants, as the thing itself will more effectually declare, if this disordered running to Hamburg do not either stay itself, or be shortly stayed by your means.

The matter of 'Groening' continues 'at one stay,' yet 'Battalense' [*qy.* Barthold Entes] on behalf of the Prince and States is building a strong fort at 'Delfsile,' and does what he can to restrain victuals from 'Groening,' having lately burned four mills and taken a monastery adjoining the town.

The King of Denmark is making great preparations to receive the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, with the Dukes of Brunswick, 'Prusen,' 'Pomeren,' Mecklenburg, Luneburg, Casimir, and the three Dukes of 'Holst,' besides sundry other earls; who, with their

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ladies, intend to meet about Easter next at Colding in Denmark. The King is making great provision for a navy; it is thought to aid the Kings of Poland and Sweden against the Emperor of Moscovia. —Embden, 15 Mar. 1579.

Add. Endd. 2 *pp.* [*Hasne Towns I.* 55.]

March 19. **218.** Captain James Sydee to [? the Alcalde of Ferrol].

19 Mar. 1580.—This is to let you know how at our coming we found the place in some disorder. See what you do in the service of the king your master. I am not a pirate nor am I come to do anything prejudicial to any vassal of the King of Spain or other Christian king allied with the Queen of England my mistress. The fact is that there are in this port certain vassals of hers who not content wtth having personally rebelled against her will not give over molesting others who are vassals to that Queen, my mistress and theirs. And for its being a royal port (*camara*) of Spain, and for the truce, a thing so important as it is right it should be, I do not want to get into a quarrel (*mi poner en demandas*) with them. As for their saying that they are in the service of the Holy Father, I do not know if he has given them any such power; if they have it, I shall be pleased to see it. We trade every day in his [*qy.* King of Spain's] territories without molestation, and his vassals in those of the Queen.

I am sorry to importune you at such length, but the matter requires it, being of so great importance, when I see a country like this in arms without cause against the friends of its king, and in defence of traitors. Again I beg you to take good counsel, and not deprive your king's vassals of their trade and their fishery; wherefore I hereby protest against all and sundry who do the like; because as I have said, I am not in arms save against the rebel vassals of my Queen, as may be seen by my actions. See too how I cannot but lodge a complaint about the way in which they have taken arms; not to say how I and all my company have seen that those rebels are favoured all through the country, by whose orders I do not know, only that I see it in effect; whence we think to be favoured, considering the cause there is for it, for the friendship of princes is worth more than the compliment of traitors; if your honours see my reason, and if you knew for whom they act, as I do.

It is true that James Fitzmorris who in this country called himself an earl without being one was a knight and the cousin of an earl. But if you and the other gentlemen of this country ask me who are the lord bishop and the others [?] you must please ask him if he was brought up to steal or mind cows, or, to put it better, both. One of his masters, William Hall, a robber and pirate all his life, fled his country to escape hanging. John Fleming fled his country for bankruptcy; as for the maintenance of the truth shall be maintained against those persons or better men than they if they put it in question. For the pacification of the land I am come to this port, and when I am gone, my intention will be seen by what has passed. Touching those gentlemen and myself, we will leave

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the quarrel for when we meet. But I think that if the bishop is well-advised he will find it better to be a sexton in Spain than a bishop in Ireland, and the captain, to go with mules here than to mind cows in Ireland, lest they be taken in the rear like their Captain Fitzmorris, as happens to such traitors.

The reason why I did not take the ships was that they were anchored below this town, which is a royal port, and I am ordered not to disturb it by reason of the existing treaties. And if I should take them it would be a bad job for your lordships, whose illustrious persons would be forced to maintain those vagabonds by charity. And I beg you to send and show this letter to the Count, because the translation has to be shown elsewhere. If I knew where he was I would not trouble you with this.

You are aware that it was with maintenance from this port of Ferrol that those gentlemen started who took from us a bark of Plymouth, from whence we come, which was the reason why we were ordered to arm against them; and the answer given here is that they have nothing to do with those who serve the Pope. The reason why I do not now come ashore here, as I have been requested, and as I have disembarked elsewhere in Spain, is as I think you will be able to see from this letter. (*Signed*) Jacome Saides.

On the back: 'the bishop' *followed by a list of arms (in Spanish) similar to that in the 'Advertisements' of June* 2. *Sp.* 3 *pp.* [*Spain I.* 39.] (*A translation will be found in Ireland, Vol. LXXII, together with other correspondence on the same subject.*)

March 19. **219.** *Another copy of part of the above, but signed in full. Endd.:* The copy of the first letter sent to the Allcalldye Ryall of Farroll. *Sp.* 1 *p.* [*Ibid I.* 39*a.*]

March 19. **220.** *English translation (somewhat inaccurate) of the above, in a different hand to that in the Irish papers. Endd. by L. Tomson:* Copy of a letter of James Syda to certain magistrates in Spain. 3 *pp.* [*Ibid. I.* 39*b.*]

March 20. **221.** Cobham to Burghley.

I have heard and clearly perceive by your last that Spark the scrivener is fallen into decay, and that the Queen would mislike his having the reversion of those offices of the Usher of the Receipts. I know not who has been his means therein, nor have I received, as you seem to be informed, any £100 or other sum to grant my goodwill therein, as he must needs confess. Now however that he is in distress, having in some ways had friendly dealings with him, I would be loath to heap coals on his head, or in stirring therein perhaps offend some other. Therefore I refer the consideration of his reversion to her Majesty's pleasure and your liking. I have covenanted with him to be my deputy, which in honour I am bound to acknowledge; submitting myself, if it be not for her Majesty's service, to do as shall be found convenient in that

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behalf. I am further given to understand that he 'pretended' to shift himself into France, and as it is said, for money that I 'should owe' him, which surely is nothing so; for all accounts between him and me were cleared on the 1st October last, as this bearer can 'apparently' certify. Therefore I am that way somewhat 'injuried.'—Paris, 20 Mar. 1579.

Add. ¾ *p.* [*France IV.* 32.]

March 20. **222.** [COBHAM to the SECRETARIES.]

Since the king last came to Paris, he has for the most part kept his cabinet, partly owing to indisposition, partly through the extremity of the weather, for much snow and bitter frosts, which have continued this s'ennight, so that he did not come down into his dining-chamber till two days ago. The first day as he was at dinner M. Pibrac, a man much esteemed, and 'in expectance' thought fit to be Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals, 'governed' him all the dinner-time, which was somewhat noted.

Next day the king repaired to the Queen Mother's chamber to sit in council, after which consultation 'some speeches have been delivered that the king should pretend to make show of wars with King Philip.' Howbeit, it seems as yet far from any such purpose; but her Majesty shall be advertised according to the sequel of this motion.

M. d'O has procured his Majesty to assign to M. Rambouillet 20,000 francs with a yearly pension of 4,000 to give up his Captainship of one of the French guards to M. Manou, brother to M. d'O. Yesterday the king commanded him 'to be delivered his patent,' and to take the oath for that office. He further promised Rambouillet that M. de Pyn shall surrender to him the government of Metz, and that in recompense de Pyn should have the next vacant 'room' of Marshal of Frances with other favours; but he is not at present removed from Metz.

Monsieur has sent to the king by la Fin that he would be loath to enter into the action of the Low Countries without his command and furtherance. He has taken his seal from the Bishop of Mende, the gentlemen of his house having been ill paid. They say he means to bestow it on M. Perot, a man esteemed to be wise and just, and secretly somewhat affected to good religion.

They certify from Saluces that la Valette has persuaded his cousin young Bellegarde to submit to the king and surrender his charge, whereon some of his father's captains have retired into the castle of Saluces. Other affairs of this country remain as I have before written.

From Spain and Portugal we hear that in Portugal they are not thoroughly united; for whereas a sentence or two had passed against Dom Duarte [*qy.* Antonio] whereby he was judged illegitimate, since the death of the Cardinal-king he has procured a bull from the Pope that his cause shall be heard and judged by the Pope's nuncio and the Bishop of Lisbon only and jointly. So the

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matter is not yet decided, but many of the commonalty ally themselves to him. Notwithstanding this uncertainty, they have appointed 8,000 horsemen, armed with 'lances de Gay' [= *lançaz zagayas*] to be in readiness between Coimbra and Lisbon, with 25,000 foot, well-furnished. They have further sent to all parts of their frontiers certain principal personages to gather the armed men and prepare to resist the enemy when they are assaulted. Dom Duarte de Meneses is to command in the country of Algarte [*sic*] on the coast, and Don Diego de 'Zzotsa' [Souza], who was general on the sea when the late young king passed into Barbary, with command in that quarter of the realm called 'Lemtesio' [Alemtejo] which is the next frontier towards Castile, where it is thought King Philip will make his first entrance.

The young Duke of 'Breseilles' [Barcellos], eldest son to the Duchess of Braganza, as he returned from Barbary duly ransomed was at his first landing at San Lucar entertained by his kinsman the Duke of Medina Sidonia, but is now detained there against his will. Howbeit, the eighty other gentlemen who returned in his company have been suffered to pass into Portugal.

Dom Luys, Count d'Atogia [Atocha], viceroy of the Oriental Indies, wrote to the Cardinal-king in his own name and that of the rest of the gentlemen and captains in the Indies that rather than the Castilian king should possess their conquests, which they had obtained with many travails and loss of many lives, they were resolved to betake themselves first to the Turk or to some of the Indian kings as subjects; beseeching the king and Council to consider deeply of this matter and their determination. The letter was read to the Cardinal-king some days before his decease.

The Catholic king caused his eldest son to be sworn Prince of Spain at Madrid, on the 1st inst.

The Duke of Alva is sent to be the king's General of the Army.

There are some in Portugal who would be content to have the realm governed hereafter by some senate, in the form of a commonwealth, to take away this division and dissension.

These are the last advertisements from Spain.

It is now given out here 'in the favour of' the Pope that he will take from King Philip the 'Croysados' and other grants of spiritualties, because his forces are to be employed against the Christians. It is however sufficiently known that the king has paid for his Catholic pardon, and that secretly the Pope's power and will is with him. [*The rest from copy, see No.* 223.]

Perhaps he 'thinks long' ere the army be employed against those whom they call infidels and rebels to their 'ceremoniald' Church, the which their indisposition and bloody zeal God turn on their own heads.—Paris, 20 Mar. 1579.

Incomplete. 2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 33.]

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March 20. **223.** *Copy of above in Letter-book.* [*Ibid. IV.* 40 (40).]

At end is: here endeth the dispatch sent by Charles, and followeth the packet sent by Adams the 27th of March 1580.

March 20. **224.** COBHAM to BURGHLEY.

Queen Mother is well amended of her sickness. There have been some consultations lately held in her chamber, on which rumours have been spread that the king is disposed to have war with King Philip. Since however the king's mind is known to be far alienated from war, and his coffers bare of money, and the divisions within this realm yet continuing with their diffidence among the greater sort, it is judged that all such politic speeches or brags are delivered rather to please the Portuguese than upon any sincere intent.

It is also said here that Monsieur 'has or should levy' soldiers for his enterprise in the Low Countries; but as it is known that he will not enter into so great an action without the king's consent, it is deemed the cause will be passed with many procrastinations and little action. And this opinion is made good, for the king has declared his unwillingness to deal with the Flemings, being subjects of another king rebelling against their natural lord; except these gentlemen now come from the Prince of Orange can persuade Monsieur.

News from Spain and Portugal as in the last. In this sort the estate of that country remains, and not yet united, nor the right of the Crown confirmed to any person by the consent of the whole realm.

The Duke of Guise is at a house of his wife's near Dieppe. It is said he will return some day this week.—Paris, 20 Mar. 1579.

P.S.—As I was dispatching this bearer, Bluemantle delivered me your letter. I shall not fail to 'accomplish the effect' of it, and send answer with expedition.

Add. Endd. 1½ *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 34.]

March 21. **225.** The CAPTAIN of FERROL to CAPTAIN SYDEE.

Do not be surprised that we should have taken up arms, having seen that you did not want to anchor where other vessels usually do, but made as though you wanted to carry off two of his Holiness's ships that were in this port, saying that they were Irish, and vassals of the Queen of England and traitors. To this I reply that we hold them for persons of importance, and highly respectable men, and we are not breaking the peace between his Majesty and the Queen; rather it is you that are breaking it, and we want to keep it, all being friends. Wherefore I beseech you for your part let the friendship between his Majesty and the Queen be preserved, for it is of old date. And if you think to do anything else, pray pardon us if we are as ready to attack anyone who wants to annoy us, as to defend; for we are men like yourselves and the rest. And do not

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be speaking evil of the Irish, especially of the lord bishop, whom we hold in this country above our heads. Your wish to fight a duel in this place cannot be allowed; but do us the favour, you and those gentlemen, of not insulting the bishop and the count, and for the rest we will be your servants in all reason.—Ferrol, 20 March, 1580. (*Signed*) The Captain Juan Pita da Beiga.

Add. to Jacomes Seyres. *Endd. Sp.* 1½ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 40.]

March 21. **226.** Captain Sydee to the Alcalde of Ferrol.

I have received yours, in which you say that they were in arms because they saw that I did not anchor in the ordinary harbour. Looking to the treaties between the Queen my mistress and the King of Spain it seems to me that any part of the harbour is as free to me as to the ships that anchored there, called the Pope's.

Whoever told you that I made as though to seize them, must have seen badly, for I have no intention of touching them in a port of the King of Spain's. I know and say that they are traitors; let those of good intelligence judge. If they see the truth and do not dare to publish it, let them keep it to themselves; and if they take them for respectable men, many discreet persons are living in error.

I have nothing more to say about the bishop, lucky man, since so many illustrious gentlemen hold him in high esteem.

With regard to the count we do not yield to you, since we hold his lordship in the same degree as you the bishop; without infringing the loyalty we owe our Queen.

You say that you are not breaking the peace, but charge us therewith. My actions show, and will show. I have no more to write except that I am somewhat affronted by your saying that we esteem you little; for as you say we have done no injury in this place. There is nothing to complain of, nor can it be said that we have given them any annoyance. For my part, you gentlemen may see that they do not infringe the treaties as you charge me with doing; for I have no intention of doing so.

What you say about not fighting duels, I do not understand; but if you have no power in that matter, neither am I, as I have said, come to annoy any vassal of the King of Spain.

Our Lord guard the illustrious persons of yourself and the rest of the town-council, and may God grant the Count as much health as I desire for myself.—From this port, 21 March 1580.

Copy. Endd. Sp. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. I.* 40 *bis.*]

March 21. **227.** The 'Regent' [President of the Court] of Coruña to Captain Sydee.

It grieves my soul that vassals of the Queen of England come to annoy those vassals whom she has in the ports of this kingdom; and still more when natives of that kingdom are treated and received

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as it is right they should be in all the ports of this coast. I am sure that the Queen will not be pleased with such news, looking to the relationship, peace and concord which exist between the two realms. I will receive you in private if you think it necessary that in any matter such order should be kept as all those who have recourse to these ports are wont to keep, without alteration.

A certain English ship was maltreated of late, as many others from these realms and from other parts must have been. Those who did the mischief got into safety betimes, though orders had been given to seize them, and the ship which you say you wanted to board is sequestrated till the case can be heard and justice done to the injured party.

I hear that you have written much to the Justice of Ferrol, and complain of his having wished to take arms. I have much more reason to do so, since without regard for order you wanted to board the ship that was sequestrated; still more knowing the obligation that in this realm to defend traders and all who come peaceably to its ports. And as I do not want to have any occasion to do so, use all convenient diligence and pass on further, for it would grieve me. I say no more.—Coruña, 21 March. (*Signed*) El licenciado Antolinez, Regente.

Add.: el señor Seydes. *Endd by Sydee. Sp.* 3 *pp.* [*Spain I.* 41.]

March 21. **228.** Ralph Lane to Burghley.

Yesterday came to me out of the west the master of a ship, who was in 'Calys' on the 1st of this month; and brought me thence such news as I think not unfit to advertise you of, though I hear of your pain, which I am right sorry for. The news are these, and that for certain, as he constantly affirms:

The five Governors of Portugal have dispatched commissions to all their signories both in the East Indies and in Africa, willing their governors to have great care of all their charges, and in no sort to resign them into the hands of any whatsoever without the great seal of Portugal, what other warrant soever shall be offered to them. Tangier and other towns in Africa have answered, assuring the Governors that they will perform their commissions to the uttermost.

The King of Spain prepares to go to Guadalupe, and has written to the Governors of Portugal to have good regard to the performance of universal justice in their country, as though he took himself to be their king. But the Portugals have, it is said, 'purchased' a new bull from the Pope to the 11 arbitrators of the right to the kingdom, that they should have special consideration of certain points in favour of the Duchess of Braganza's and Don Antonio's titles, which will ask a longer time to decide them than was looked for by a great deal. The whole country is marvellously inclined to Don Antonio. And it seems as if the Portugals will all die before they subject themselves to the King of Spain.

The Portugals have levied 10,000 foot and 6,000 horse for their defence.

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Touching the news of Spain, they are that the king's armada is very great, and that 30 of the smaller barks are 'cumen' off as far as Biscay. On Feb. 27 the Duke of Alva was proclaimed general both by sea and land, and was coming down from the Court and looked for 'very presently' to come in person to be invested in his charge.

Upon the arrival of the Pope's bulls lately sent from Rome, all opinion of motion towards Portugal is ceased in both Spain and Portugal, for the decision of the right is wholly referred to the order of justice.

Further he tells me that the King of Spain has made all the nobility swear homage to the prince his son. But that it is not known otherwise than by conjecture to what parts the army is meant, but greatly mistrusted to be for these parts, or some service for the Church, since the Duke of Alva is proclaimed General, as this fellow constantly affirms.

If you had been well, I had brought him to you; but having most urgent cause upon a seizure made of certain goods that belong to my patent of transportation, for delivering £600 aboard to a pirate, so send him back again to-day. My humble suit to you is that I may have your letters-patent to the sheriff of Dorsetshire, the sheriff of Poole, the Customs comptroller [*sic*] and treasurer of the same town, to stay such goods as by one Peter Vogleman, a stranger, were lately bought of a pirate, until by order of law he has answered such matters as I am to charge him with for conveying money to Clerke and other pirates.—21 March 1597.

Add. Endd. 2 *pp.* [*Spain I.* 42.]

March 21. **229.** [The Queen] to the Estates.

We had hoped to receive from you other contentment than we have hitherto done in the matter of our letters respecting the debt due to Palavicino and Spinola. We have therefore, being infinitely importuned by them, dispatched this bearer to represent to you what it is that we desire and expect to see promptly resolved and executed by you therein, to put us out of this trouble and the clamour of those merchants. We have given more ample instructions to the bearer to represent this on our behalf; and beg you to give him credit as to ourselves, and to send him back without delay, with a resolution to content us.—Westminster, 21 March 1579.

Draft. Endd. Fr. ½ *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 17.]

March 22. **230.** Hoddesdon to Burghley.

Experience of your courteous acceptance of my rude letters emboldens me to write to you of my proceedings with Grave Edzard touching the affairs of the Merchants Adventurers. Although at my first coming I was invited by him and very courteously entertained, as I reported in my last of the 15th inst., yet I thought to have stayed my second repair to him until the coming of her Majesty's letters in answer to him, sent to her before my coming to London,

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But the time growing somewhat long, and small appearance of the 'sudden having of the same,' moved me to repair to him on the 16th, when I had audience and conference touching the said affairs of the company, according to the enclosed, in the 'Dutch' language. At which time he opened himself to me, saying he was offered a pension by the King of Spain, which he had hitherto refused, as bearing most reverence to her Majesty, who may command him in any thing reasonable. He is willing for a pension to bind himself, and desired me to signify as much to some of greatest credit about her Majesty. This earl of whom I write is very wise, of a comely personage, about the age of 50 years, not without some impediment of speech. His eldest son is to marry the only daughter and heir of the Grave of 'Ezence' [Esens], a gentlewoman of the age of 20 years. Her father being already deceased the greater part of her lands are already in her own possession. It joins with the lands of this earl, so that in time he is likely to be great; having already appertaining to this town above 200 sail of good ships and 'boyards,' chiefly maintained by the trade with Dantsic, in corn etc. They have also some trade into Spain and Portugal. The difference between his brother Grave John and him is because he will suffer his brother to have no government with him nor any inheritance in this land after his death. I have had some conference with him by way of entreaty for brotherly friendship to be and continue. He has shown me the wills of his great-grandfather and grandfather, which both dispose the government to the eldest only, ordering that the younger brethren shall have their several portion during life, if they remain unmarried; but if they marry, then an 'allowance of pension.' For this reason Grave John is still unmarried, and therefore his brother through friendships and allies is much the stronger.

I have not as yet been with Grave John, who is at a castle 8 miles from here. He sent me a roebuck; also his secretary to welcome me. He claims by custom half the lands in equal government. Their father died without making a will. The house is not 'above four descents ancient.' The commons desire but one head to govern. The 'sittewation' of the country for conveying a force out of Germany to aid any foreign prince is well-known to you.—Embden, 22 Mar. 1579.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Hanse Towns I.* 56.]

March 22. **231.** Hoddesdon's report of an interview with the Count of East Friesland.

On Mar. 16 I repaired to Grave Edzard, and declared to him that the privileges granted by himself, his mother and his brother to the company of Merchants Adventurers, subjects to the Queen of England, were the chief cause of my coming hither, to establish the merchants' trade in this town. Which could not well be brought to pass without his assistance for the bringing hither of all foreign merchants with such of their commodities as were necessary for England; the defect of which was the principal cause of our sudden departure before. Therefore we were now to crave his aid for

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severe regard to be had in the keeping of certain ordinances without which it is not possible to bring the trade to good effect. The first is, to have a special care that all such officers as have any commission to meddle in his territories with merchants should be of good behaviour and just in their doings; especially that those who judge causes give the stranger justice with expedition, for there is no better means to nourish trade than sincere justice. Likewise that 'customers or tolners' take diligent regard to maintain all men in their due rights and not demand anything more than duty. Finally, that all others as 'wayers,' wharfingers, lightermen, carmen, porters, packers etc. might be straitly enjoined to use the merchants courteously and not require more than due and reason; for the merchants will not gladly resort where any exaction is used.

My second request was, that he would cause a certain, unremovable rate to be set on all manner of coins; to the end that the merchant might know his certain payment, without which it is not possible for the merchants to establish any such trade as the Merchants Adventurers commonly carry with them to the places where they frequent. For the exchange, which is the ground of all great trades, commonly moves to the place where the Merchants make their residence, and is much hindered, through the want of 'fix' payments, of continuance etc.

Thirdly, regard must be had that the toll which strangers here pay be not higher than it is in other ports of Germany; for small tolls make a heavy purse. All which ordinances, and any others necessary, being severely observed, and his letters written to the Bishop of 'Monster' and 'Osenborch,' the Landgrave of Hesse, the Grave of Oldenburg and other princes of Germany, that the merchants' goods may have safe passage through their countries without taxation from either their officers or others that serve the merchants, there is no doubt but that in a short time he would grow famous and his country be greatly enriched. And in token of the good will the merchants had to this, they presented him with a standing cup of silver-gilt, engraved with their arms, wishing him all success and long life. This he courteously received, and took notes of all that was said, in a pair of 'writing-tables' as fast as I uttered it, and gave present answer himself, saying that he had heard my speeches, and well understood them. To the first branch he answered that our privileges should be firmly kept according to the composition, in which we had 6 years, as he thought, to come.

To the second he would give strait order, and look severely to it himself, that our company and all strangers should be well used, with expedition of justice and also defended in all their rights and liberties from the exaction of the 'tolner' or others, and courteously intreated by all other his subjects with whom they should have occasion to deal.

As for the rates of money, he has long had a great desire to establish them; but the difference is so great between the valuations appointed by the Empire and the rates set in the Low Countries, on which the country adjoins, that he cannot well bring it to pass as he would. Yet he will do the best that in him lies to take order therein.

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As concerning the tolls of strangers, he will cause the rates of Hamburg and other places to be learned, and take order that the toll here be not set higher, but rather lower than those rates, to encourage the stranger to bring his goods hither. Also he will direct letters to the princes of Germany, for the better passing of the merchant with his goods through their countries, whereof he has no doubt, for they are his good friends, and some allied to him.

After his answer, I replied to the first point, saying that I did not know of any other privilege than those which are not only granted under the hand and seal of himself, his mother, and his brother, but also promised and confirmed by the solemn oath of all three. Of this for my own part I had no doubt; and therefore would seek no other, not knowing how to pen the same more effectually, desiring him both for the continuance thereof, and also that there might be a present certain rate set upon all coins payable here. This he promised should be done out of hand, and that our nation should have no cause to complain, so far as we would deal according to what was meant when the privileges were granted us; which was, that we should be 'freed in toll' of all such goods as we brought hither or transported from hence. It was not thought that we should pass our goods any further, but that the stranger would fetch them from hence, whereby he might receive some benefit from our trade. But as it was used last summer, we made his town but a thoroughfare, 'bearing the name' both of our own goods and of strangers, and so his tolls thereby defeated; for which cause he willed his 'tolner' to take 'pawndes' of our nation for the toll of such goods as they shipped, until further order were taken. These he told me should be released so far forth as we would look better to the 'premises.'

Whereunto I answered that if he would command the said 'pawndes' to be delivered and discharged, I doubted not that such good order would be taken by the Company that he would have no cause hereafter to mislike of their dealings; provided always that such order might not be prejudicial to the tenor of our privileges granted by him, his mother, and his brother. Whereupon he promised that order should forthwith be taken for their redelivery.

This being done, I presented the countess his lady a chain of gold with a device of the Company's arms thereupon in stone, desiring that she would not only continue a good friend to the Company but also a mediator in all causes between the earl and them if any question or difference should hereafter arise; which God defend. Which chain her Grace very courteously received, with promise amply to pleasure the company in all that she may. And so with thanks I took my leave.

Enclosure in the last. 3 *pp.* [*Ibid I.* 56A.]

March 24. **232.** SALE of a SHIP.

Whereas Geerbrant Waerwyck having a power of attorney from Philip van Aveliers, dated 25 Aug. 1578, caused to be stayed a hulk, 'surging' (*gelegen*) outside the North dam gate of this town of Middelburg, formerly called the *Minion Gale*, but now the *Star of*

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Portsmouth, brought in by Sir Henry Radclyffe or his assigns, and having sued it in court with three several Tuesdays' proclamations, with one day of releasing, which day by the authority of the Burgomaster and Aldermen, by an act bearing date 24 Dec. 1578, was made by putting up bills to arrive at the ownership of the said ship, according to the custom of this town; and thereupon for the preferring were appointed by the bailiff Hugo Joos, burgomaster, Robert Jans de Lanoy, and Salvador de la Palma, aldermen; who having heard the proclaimant, and seen his justification, pursuant to the sentence of the burgomaster and aldermen, dated 22 Jan. 1579, whereby the proclaimant was authorized to sell the ship, provided he should bring the money to the Countinghouse to the use of those that shall be found entitled to it; and Sir Henry Radclyffe not appearing having been 'put from his action which he might pretend upon' the ship; have ordained that it shall be openly sold 'by the Utropes to the most enhaulser' [by auction to the highest bidder] after three several crying days, whereof remained for buyer (for he bid most for it) John Patrisen, on the 9 Feb. 1579, for the sum of 91*l.* 2*s.* Flemish; upon express condition that the buyer shall have to the ship, four anchors, two cables, a long hawser, a rope wherewith the ship is made fast, a mainsail (*een groot schoverseyl*) with two bonnets, a foresail with two bonnets, a great topsail (*mersseyl*) with a fore-topsail, two spritsails (*blinden*) with a mizzen (*bezaen*), four chains with a false netting (*een loos bounenet*), one cast piece with shot and 'crasbarres' (*cruysballen*), nine pikes, four halberds, two iron clubs, four shovels, and a drum, 'as good and as bad as all is to be seen' on board, and upon the 'garrotts' where it lies. The buyer is bound to pay his money within a month at latest, so that he enter into sufficient surety, which is subject to the Court at Middelburg. The ship shall be delivered as by the laws of the town at his costs and charges, as she rides in the haven of the town; and with her appurtenances shall immediately on the conclusion of the bargain (*nae de palmslach*) come and lie at his charges; with other conditions as agreed upon. After which promoting of justice, the burgomaster and aldermen 'proceeding to the preference,' and finding nobody with a recognised status to prohibit (*op het verbodt bekennt staende*) but one Giles le Tor, attorney for Andrew van Assche, pleading before this Court, and having seen his demands, and also by the consent of the proclaimant, who recognised the debt, have preferred the said Giles, and ordered that to him should be paid the sum of 91*l.* 2*s.* in part payment of an obligation of 150*l.* with interest 'after ten in the hundred,' given by Philip van Asseliers and his wife, bearing date 16 April 1576, to the said Giles. After which proceeding the ship with all her appurtenances is adjudged to the said John 'Paterson,' and he is put in possession by the bailiff in the King's name.—24 March 1580.

Endd. by L. Tomson: The Act of Court for the sale of a ship by M. Asseliers. *Dutch.* 3 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 18.]

March 24. **233.** *English version of the above.* 2½ *pp.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 18A.]

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March 24. **234.** Secretary Brulart to Cobham.

I have told their Majesties what you said to me upon the remarks I made to you this morning. They replied that having directed M. de Mauvissière to tell the Queen of England the same thing as you declared to them from her, they hope soon to have an answer; and that for the moment they can add nothing to what I said to you on their behalf. I thought I would let you know this at once, to satisfy my promise. 'C'est du xxiii^{me} jour de Mars 1580.'

Add. Endd. Fr. ½ *p.* [*France IV.* 35.]

March 25. **235.** Cobham to Walsingham.

There is no doubt but that the Pope has a good mind to trouble the state of her Majesty, and King Philip thinks it a most necessary means of taking the courage away from his Low Country men, so that not only are their hearts prepared, but they have, it is thought, joined their counsels and purses to make an enterprise that way. To that intent it seems their forces would be most willingly employed, only that God hitherto goes between them and our harm, preparing some other lets. Therefore as in your letter you well show that *Non est consilium contra Dominum*, so surely something 'would' be done according to the counsel of the Almighty for the protection of his persecuted and threatened people. And methinks the religious princes 'should' not stay 'at agaze' and see the malicious prevail to root out the glory of the living Creator; I mean those princes of Germany, who take their ease but too much, seeing the danger prepared alike for them.

I have delivered to their Majesties the matter which my lord Treasurer wrote by Bluemantle, perceiving by their answers that they feel the greatness of the cause and consider the dangers, but refer and pass over to her Majesty to understand her opinion of the means of proceeding jointly in the remedy against these extremities offered by King Philip. M. Mauvissière is to enquire the like of the Queen.

It seems that because they are here not assured of the union, and doubt their disagreement in Portugal, and that the successor is not yet declared nor any farther association offered by the Portuguese, it is likely that these respects cause them in policy to keep themselves coy; for it is possible they look to have some further advantage or compact offered by Portugal.

I hope to find an Italian who will venture to go and remain in Spain for her Majesty's service, and in reasonable sort. I am seeking also to entertain someone belonging to this king's ambassador in Spain. When I have compassed this, I will advertise you, and seek your further instructions.

I have to ask your favour that I may enjoy Mr Wm. Waad's company, whose coming hither I have procured, trusting he is on the way. Notwithstanding, he relies so much on your liking that he would not bestow himself but to your satisfaction. He has left

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order to receive intelligence at Strasbourg in an ample and sure sort as if he remained in those parts, as appears from his letter which I have received today by Mr Henry Hopton.

Mr Hatton, Sir Christopher's kinsman, has been here these four or five days, and went yesterday towards Orleans.—Paris, 25 Mar. 1580.

1¼ *pp.* [*France IV.* 36.]

March 25. **236.** Advices from France. (Cobham to the Secretaries.)

On the 21st inst. the King assembled the whole or the greater part of his Council, joining with them six of the 'principals' of Paris for his own liking, namely, the President Nuile, Marcel, *médccin* Miron, *le trésorier* Miron, M. de Preoys [*qy.* Paroy] (*alias* Luylier) and one other; who being set the King propounded to them his occasions for money, and that at least 6 or 7 millions of *livres tournoises*, requiring them to assist him with their counsel how to levy it with the least 'grief' of the people. He thought it most convenient to be taxed rateably on the walled towns only.

Answer was made by some of them that it could not easily be done; since in seeking for a less sum not long ago the 'bourgeoises' had made great difficulty and shown themselves dangerously moved.

Upon which speech thus delivered, the King swore that if any of the towns refused this demand, he would make them know that he was chief of one party, using these and other threatening words, so that none of them durst then move for any general assembly of Estates, because he had heretofore shown himself himself highly displeased with the like motion.

Then some of the Council declared that when the towns should be moved therein, it was likely they would agree to a great part of the demands, if they might take order and employ the said sums for the 'disbursing' of his debts. Whereat the King, much offended, said they would be his tutors, and so with passion departed.

Notwithstanding, they are devising means to levy great sums. The king has put a new imposition on salt, and has commanded that none of his dominions shall go to Brouage to fetch salt. If they do, any other subjects are permitted to assail and spoil them lawfully.

It is certified from Lyons, by letter of the 16th, that M. de Mandelot, governor of that town, has passed into Dauphiné with two cannon and six field-pieces, together with the company of Maugiron, governor of Dauphiné; having with them 4,000 footmen and 600 horse, to fight against those of the league in that country, who have taken arms for its liberty and retired into the mountains; and are like to be overthrown if those of the Religion do not join them. As for the matters of Saluzzo, they stand thus: young Bellegarde has joined la Valette, having surrendered the fort of Carmignola and the town of 'Reicell' [*qy.* Ceresole] into the king's hands, but the captains of the castle of Saluzzo do not yet yield;

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whereon Bellegarde and la Valette, with some help from the Duke of Savoy, are battering it with cannon. so that it is thought they will not hold out unless succoured.

By letters from Spain it is certified that the plague has consumed a great part of the Almaynes and Italians.

Those of Castile and of King Philip's other dominions have granted him to maintain 20,000 men for some months towards the conquest of Portugal. They write that he has not above 70 galleys nor above 50 ships; and those but in mean order and as yet ill-appointed. The king has lately caused 5,000 soldiers to be levied in the kingdom of Naples, and 3,000 in the Duchy of Milan.

Though the Duke of Alva has been appointed general of the land army, it is not understood that he has yet been admitted to the king's presence, but acts as he receives orders by letter and commission in writing from the king. The king has not admitted to his presence the Bishop of Coimbra and Don Manuele de Melo, ambassadors from the Governors of Portugal, but has written them to stay at a town 'as' he shall pass to Guadalupe, where he will give them audience.

Fabrizio Colonna is, they write, dead of the plague.

The king left Madrid on the 6th, but has appointed the ambassadors to remain there. The fleet remains about Carthagena and Cadiz. It is written that they are arming and putting ships in readiness in Biscay.

The Portuguese have 50 good ships besides the 'army' they have sent into the Indies; whence a ship has come richly laden. From Flanders 2,000 harquebuses have come to them with some powder. The parliament still continues. They have chosen from it 6 of the clergy, 6 of the nobility, and 6 of the burgesses to join in council with the Governors. They have sent to the Pope requesting him to favour their cause and to send a cardinal with commission to King Philip, whereby he may be 'procured' to dismiss his army, and the cause be decided by way of justice. I send a note of such advertisements as are come to hand touching Monsieur.—Paris, 25 Mar. 1580.

Endd. 2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 37.]

March 26. **237.** Walsingham to Gilpin.

I find by your letter to Tomson that there is some stay made by the third member of the town of Antwerp in delivering their bond for the payment of the interest; which would be strange to me if you did not 'assure' by the word of the Pensionary Van der Werke that 'contentment' would begin the Monday next after the date of your letter. But what I find most strange is that they refuse to be bound for more than one year. The debt is not her Majesty's but the States'. She has, upon their power given her, dealt for them as she would have dealt for herself. She was hardly brought

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to do so much, but insisted greatly upon present payment both of the principal and the past interest. But at their instant request, and at the contemplation of their extreme necessity, she was content to interpose herself as mediatrix for a longer day and for reasonable interest. At what term the States would pay the principal she knew not, nor could well conceive, considering their present occasions for employment of money; and therefore for their benefit she was content (which otherwise she would not have done by any persuasion) to make the prolongation for a year, and until they 'satisfied' the principal; and so she has bound herself, meaning notwithstanding that the debt shall not run on more than the year, unless they themselves be the causers of it, and become suitors to her for further prolongation. I cannot promise them what favour they shall find herein, her Highness having so many extraordinary occasions as she has of employing her money; and therefore though the like manner of bonds be demanded of them as she has already given, they must not think it strange, considering it is for their good and not hers, and her Majesty has as good reason and is as desirous to be 'answered' her debt, as they are loath it should run on.

The obligations both for principal and interest are to bear date from 31 December; and so you are to proceed with them, and most earnestly to require them to have a care, by moving the States-General in convenient time, that without further prolongation the principal may be discharged at the year's end, giving them plainly to understand that her Highness will not 'enlarge herself' further.

Draft in the hand of L. Tomson, and endd. by him: M. to Mr Gilpin, 26 Martii 1580. *Written on the back of a letter addressed to Walsingham apparently from Scotland.* 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 19.]

March 27. **238.** Cobham to Burghley.

Receiving your letter on Sunday, the 20th, I procured audience the next day; when finding the King in his chamber alone I delivered to him the effect of what you had given me in charge from the Queen, beginning with the bruits of the Catholic King's army, and lastly the bringing of it about from Italy and other parts, whereon I showed that her Majesty began to conceive within herself some imagination of those proceedings. And now since the death of the Cardinal King and the opinion given of the Duchess of Braganza's title, she had entered into a further thought, moved thereto by the claims of other great princes as well as of some within the realm of Portugal. It appeared to her that the disorder in that realm might the sooner bring to effect the designs of the Catholic King. After she had thus well weighed these causes within her own breast, she began to think it necessary to disburden her mind to him. Therefore her pleasure was that I should secretly 'discover' to him as to her brother and ally, and a prince whom she thinks to be the nearest to her and the most entirely joined in amity, in order to let him know what 'seems' to her of these great preparations and motions; considering first that whereas the King

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of Spain is by birth a King of a great entire nation, commanding further and more amply all those islands along the coast of France on the Levant side reaching to the coast of Italy, where he enjoys the Kingdom of Naples and the Duchy of Milan, so that he is esteemed a mighty prince, much redoubted and respected in all Italy, by means of which he has there not only multitudes of subjects at his command, but many factious and noble houses at his devotion, by whose credit he does and always may levy armies to secure any enterprise which he shall 'pretend,' and for the maintenance of any faction [*sic*, *qy.* action] he may take in hand, the uncoined treasure which is yearly brought from his Indies, with other merchandise, well enriches him, besides his revenues, taxes, and impositions, which are marvellously much; so that if to the greatness of his own estate and seat of Castile he should unite Portugal and become thoroughly and peaceably sovereign of the whole body of Spain, his strength will be such that it will be too late to consider and think thereon. To its advancement and strengthening the navy of Portugal will serve to command not only the Levant, but also the Ocean seas; as likewise the East and West Indies must become his with all their riches and commodities. Therefore since the cause is so weighty that it may not be thus passed. . . [*the fragment of Letter-book ends here.*]

Copy. [*France IV.* 40 (41).]

March 29. **239.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

This morning the Bishop of Ross has sent to me for a passport for the Abbot of Lindores, his kinsman, who takes with him a Spanish jinnet, and means to go from Dieppe to England, and so into Scotland. I answered that I understood there was so good intelligence between her Majesty and those of that country that it was not requisite to have a passport, knowing that if they should be driven on the coast of England they would be as well used as in their own country. However, I beg you to let me know if I may hereafter deliver passports upon such requests.

I am informed of one John Hamner, who has gone to England on the affairs of Lady Morley and others, and as I hear by your servant Fante has been stayed at Rye; which is well happened, for I am told he has been 7 years a reconciled papist and is known and trusted confidently by the chief papists in London and Hull, and other places of the realm, assuring some of his friends that at his return he will bring with him such enterprise as might be to the destruction of the heretics of England. I am given to understand that Lady Morley imparted to him the intended practices against England, lamenting with tears the state of her friends there. I am requested that if he be taken he may be kept from writing to his friends in France.

As I am informed that the Count de Retz on his arrival in Britanny will flatter and offer great courtesies to M. Rohan, so as to nourish the disagreement between him and M. de Laval, which would not only discourage them of the religion but also be prejudicial to her

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Majesty if there be any pretence from hence, or any means to harbour the Spanish fleet on that coast, her Majesty may, if you think good, be intreated to warn M. de Rohan.

They of the Religion lament somewhat that they do not hear tell of her Majesty's favour to them as accustomed.—Paris, 29 Mar. 1580.

P.S.—As I was making up this packet, I heard that Queen Mother has advertised that Monsieur was troubled with a swelling in his throat, through the pain of which he is fallen into an ague, whereon she is sending him one of her physicians, meaning to go and visit him herself, if he do not speedily recover. But I trust it is but a rumour; I will 'hearken' better to it, and send advertisement accordingly.

I send herewith a letter written to her Majesty by Jno. Alardo, who came to visit me; of whom this bearer . . . .

Endd. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 38.]

March. **240.** 'A declaration of the great army which the King of Spain and the Pope make, as follows.'

There are come to Spain, from Rome and Naples, 20,000 harquebusiers, from the Duchy of Florence, 12,000; 'more' 12,000 'tedescos,' and most of them are pikemen.

In Spain are made to the number of 85,000 men, for all sorts of weapons, but the greatest sort harquebusiers.

All these are in readiness and appointed to march towards Portugal the 25 of March, unless order come from the king to the contrary.

Also 135 galleys with men and munition are all in readiness at a day's warning. They look also for 20 galleys from the Venetians, 12 from Florence, 20 from Naples, and 30 from particular persons. These they make account of to be all in readiness, and it is reported that most of them are made with false 'pavisse' in the waist to 'defend' the seas, as also covered with 'Indias hides,' to 'defend' the seas and succour the men in the galleys. More there are in readiness 25 'aragoseas' [argosies], the least of them of 300 tons, and some of 800, all appointed as men-of-war, and replenished with provision for the wars; in which they have 700 pieces of brass of all sorts, for 'ligeres,' for bulwarks, field-pieces and battering pieces, with all kind of carriages and furniture in great quantity. They have likewise great provision for husbandry, as ploughs and all ironwork belonging to the same; and pots, kettles, pans, and great copper pots to carry water.

Also they have great store of monstrous chains of iron, which they say are for 'travesing' of rivers, with many kinds of instruments of ironwork to be laid in rivers to destroy shipping.

They have also in readiness 23 *sayettas*, some of them of 100 tons, laden with victuals and apparel ready made of all kinds of cloth, silks and velvets of all colours, and shoes and boots. Also they talk of 5,000 horsemen of arms, to be made ready with all speed to go with the rest.

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They have also 300 and odd draught 'moyles,' and they say they must have 400 and odd, to draw ordnance and munition by land where occasion shall serve, and for service of husbandry, for which all necessary things are provided; and when they are fully ready, they mean to take all kind of shipping to be found on all the coast of Spain for their purpose.

Also the Alcalde Tezada has taken up in the country of Old Castile the sum of 800,000 *hanegas* of corn for the provision of the army, which is 'reported' into many places to be ground into meal with all speed, and carriers 'staying upon' it, to be carried to the sea-coast. This I have seen in travelling the country.

There are in Biscay 15 sail of ships in readiness, three of 100 tons and upward. The rest are smaller ships, which are to take in victuals there being made ready, as biscuit and great store of flesh, which is to be ready by April 20.

Also I was told of a *sayeta* that 'should be' on the coast of Galicia, belonging to an Irish bishop, which had taken in to the 'sum' of 8,000 pikes, 3,000 calivers. It is commonly spoken of, but I saw it not.

The Pope complains, as it is reported at the Court, that the Queen's predecessors gave such a wound to the Church of Rome that they can find no salve to heal it; and that she has wounded the King of Spain with the like wound, that they cannot find any salve to help them. But they live in hope by this enterprise that they have now in hand to have remedy, that is to say if they obtain their 'pretended' purpose, which is to put or land in Ireland 50 or 60,000 armed men, which they doubt not but to do; thereby they think to obtain 'health' of their running wounds. The Pope makes a challenge, and says that the right of Ireland belongs to his inheritance, and the right he has he surrenders to the King of Spain; and they report in the Court of Spain that it is a country very necessary for the said king for many considerations, and stands near to Spain, which is for many purposes and provisions necessary for the king. Also the inhabitants of Ireland are able to live of themselves, and have great store of corn ground, and great store of flesh, and notable goodly fishing; many good ports and havens for harbouring his ships and to winter his galleys, and a country well stored with many goodly woods and timber to make ships for any service he shall need, whereby the Pope and the king shall be remedied of their great grief. Also they shall do a charitable deed in bringing in the Romish faith, which many years they have been desirous of, and by it they shall 'reduce' many Catholic Christian men, who have long forgone their living for conscience sake. More they say in Spain that since the Queen's reign the realm of Ireland is made the den of thieves, dishonouring her honourable Council, saying that by their appointment there are sent thither to govern the country such persons as remain there as 'rovers and robbers' of true men's goods, and are suffered to make sale of it for the interest that the Council of England have in it; and how the nobility of Ireland can bear no rule, but live as captives under them to the utter undoing of the country, and in these many years can get no redress

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for the establishing of the Catholic faith, and to remedy this have of long time been suitors to the Pope to help them; and he seeing the suit that they have so long made to him and to the King of Spain to stablish the Catholic faith, and considering that most of the nobility of that country are Catholics and that 'the two parts' of them are ready to receive such favour as shall be sent them, therefore the Pope has joined the King of Spain for this 'pretended' army; with more matters than I remember.

Captain Cabreras [*qy.* Cabretes] a man born in 'Marcelia' and in his youth trained up in the galleys, who is reported to be a man of great wisdom in warlike affairs and fortifications, and in Spain so taken that none is like him, was sent by the Pope and the King of Spain in 1576 to 'peruse' and see all ports and havens with their landing-places and their forces within the realm of England all along the coast, and has a plot drawn out of them how they lie. From hence he departed to Ireland, where he perused that country with the ports, havens, and forces. It is reported that he left no place nor force to be seen, nor landing-place in both realms. He is one to whom much credit is given by the king and all the magistrates of the country, and by his information he has encouraged the Pope and the king for the making of this army, which is to revenge the great injury which they say the Church of Rome and the King of Spain have received by England. This captain, as report goes, makes no doubt but to put the king in possession of these countries within a few months after his departure from the coast of Spain. And as to Ireland he makes no doubt of it, for he has laid his plot so that with the forces he carries with him he thinks that the land will not be able to withstand them; and that obtained, they shall be the better able to deal with England. They make account to do miracles with their galleys for landing their soldiers in any places they please, and afterwards to lay part of the galleys in such place as shall 'disappoint' any aid that may come from England; for they say they know all the shipping-places in England where any aid shall come from, to land: and that after they have landed such soldiers as they shall think needful for Ireland, the rest of their navy shall proceed towards the coast of England to keep England so occupied that they shall forget Ireland, though thereby they should lose 40,000 men. 'What more' they live in hope, and say that the king has many friends in England who are of the best sort, and when they see the force that he sends, they will not let but favour them, or to make insurrection in such parts of England as shall be a furtherance to their pretence.

This ingenious captain has also encouraged the Pope and the King of Spain to this industry, and fears no force that her Majesty can make to let their purpose. He says that he knows well what army she is able to make, and how they are provided by land and by sea, for he has seen all England, both cities and towns, especially all the shipping, which is her Majesty's sole force; and for everyone of her ships they will have another as good, if they should come abroad.

'What more' he is assured she will be at no such cost to set forth all her shipping, until they have obtained their purpose; for

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the ships are all together, and with the wind which shall serve them her Majesty's ships cannot come abroad to annoy them till they have gotten their landing-ports, and when they have got in, they will be as bulwarks against her shipping.

The king departed from 'Madrill' to 'Aranioyce,' which is 7 leagues off, on March 4, intending to stay there for the Duke of Alva, who is 'pretended' general for the army by sea and land; and there having met with him and many other noble captains, as the Duke of Brunswick, who is general of the 'Tudescos' and Don Pedro de Medicis, general of the Florentines, with 25 or 26 captains of the Romans, 'as' part of the names of them I give in particular, he intended to remain 20 days and thence go to Our Lady of Guadalupe, to remain there the Easter-week, and thence to march all his captains and soldiers for Portugal. And it is given out that Portugal is the cause of his wars; also his shipping and galleys shall come in to Portugal and the coast of Galicia.

I understood by credible men in the Court that this army goes for Portugal colourably for the service of the former pretence, and that in all the realm of Portugal are not made above 5,000 men, who are also colourably made to follow this pretence; for that the King of Spain and the churchmen of Portugal with the principal magistrates of Portugal are all agreed, except certain persons who are of small force, and small account to be made of them, so that all these men of war shall pass through Portugal, and be shipped from thence and from Galicia.

In the same hand as the translation (in Irish papers) of Captain Sydee's letter, No. 218. *Endd. as heading*; 'Duke of Florence aid' *added by L. Tomson.* 6 *pp.* [*Spain I.* 43.]

March. [perhaps 26th, on which day Walsingham sent a packet.]

241. [Walsingham] to [Cobham.]

Upon confirmation of your news of the King of Portugal's death and of the coronation of the Duchess of Braganza, conceiving thereby that the King of Spain shall be sufficiently occupied with the enterprise of that nation, without attempting anything elsewhere till that be achieved, we have altered our purpose for the setting out of our ships. Yet hearing that an Irish Bishop with the Pope's support and assistance is making preparations in Biscay to come to the aid of the rebels in Ireland, we have given order that five of her Majesty's ships shall repair to the western coast of the realm, to impeach the descent of the foreign assistance; being the rather moved thereto, that we have lately heard from thence that upon the arrival of two Spanish shallops with new supplies, the rebels are greatly comforted in hope of further assistance from Spain, while divers who before made good shew of obedience are now revolted to them. Nevertheless, the Lord Justice and the Earl of Ormond having already received from hence supplies of such things as they wanted for the prosecuting of the said rebels, are now acting against them, in hope to distress them before the arrival of any Spanish aid. They give out that they look for support from France, and that preparations are being made for the purpose in Britanny.

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Wherefore you may do well to send some meet man thither, who under colour of seeking some ship that has been distressed at sea, or weather-driven into those parts, may travel along the coast to discover whether any such preparations are being made there; a matter I was wont upon like occasions to put in practice when I served in your place.

Touching the proceedings as well in the Low Countries as in Scotland, you will see by the enclosed how things pass there.

For information of your warrant and your suit, Mr Secretary Wilson and I will when we conveniently may do our endeavour to procure that at her Majesty's hands that shall be to your contentment and surety.

Draft in hand of L. Tomson. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 39.]

March. **242.** 'The names of the nobility and principal personages which have the present managing of the affairs of Portugal, anno dom. 1580.'

The Duke of Braganza and Donna Catherina his wife, who make pretence to the Crown of Portugal.

The Duke of Barseilles [Barcellos] son to the Duchess of Braganza. Don Antonio, natural son of Don 'Luigi.'

The 5 Governors:

The Archbishop of Lisbon: Francisco de Saa, Lord Chamberlain to the last king Don 'Anriques'; Don Diego Lopes de Sousa, at present Governor of Lisbon; Don Joan Mascarenhas; Don Joan Tello, sometime ambassador at Rome.

Governors of provinces and commanders of places:

Don Diego de Sousa, Governor of 'Lentesio'; Don Duarte de Menesis of Algarve on the south east; Antonio Monisbaretto, who was governor of the Indies, and now governs the port of Setubal and the country of Ribatezo; Don Diego Menesis, appointed governor of the Indies, now stayed and assigned to be governor of all the frontier places on the west of Portugal, and of the port of Lisbon; Don 'Giorgio' de Menesis, general of the army by sea; Francisco Barreto, maggiordomo, who was sent by King Sebastian to govern between the rivers Douro and 'Minius' towards the north parts; Manuele de Melo, *montero maggiore*, who was sent with the Bishop of Coimbra in embassy to the Catholic king, and appointed to be governor of the country of Beira on the east side of Portugal; Don Duarte de Castel-Branco, proveditor and distributor of all munitions and victuals, and other such principal things.

Endd. 1 *p.* [*Portugal I.* 26.]

Feb. 9 to end of March 1580, and Jan.–Mar., 1581. **243.** *Forty pages apparently from Sir Henry Cobham's letter-book, containing copies of letters to various persons. They have been calendared under their respective dates.*

[*France IV.* 40.]

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244. A collection of documents relating to the Portuguese succession.

(1) 'The true copy of an article contained in the last will and testament of our sovereign lord King Henry of famous memory.'

He has referred the whole cause of his successor to be tried by the course of justice, and leaves the succession 'to him upon whom right will cast it;' charging all persons in the realm 'that as soon as any person shall be thereto nominated either by myself or by the judges thereunto appointed they do forthwith receive him as their sovereign lord.' He commends to such successor the defence of the Catholic Faith, and that he will maintain the Holy Inquisition as most necessary for its establishment and continuance. Also the religious orders, of St. Jerome, St. Francis and St. Dominic, with the order and fellowship of Jesus, and lastly the colleges and universities wherein so many persons are instructed.

Endd. by L. Tomson and in two other hands, the last: Bundle of matters touching D. Anto. his right to Portugal, 1579. ¾ *p.*

(2) Two pedigrees of the Portuguese royal family, in both of which Don Antonio is called 'unlawful' or 'bastard.' *Endd.* 3 *pp.*

(3) Another pedigree in Lord Burghley's hand. 1 *p.*

(4) 'The reasons whereby Katherine the Duchess of Brigance doth claim the Kingdom of Portugal.' 'The reasons whereby Raynutius Farnese, son to the Prince of Parma, doth claim the Kingdom of Portugal.' 'The reasons whereby the King of Spain etc.' 'The difficulties of the disputation, if the doctors of both sides do stand upon their points.' 'And much of the difficulties do consist whether *idem ius sit in Regno quod in feudo. Et utrum regnum deferatur iure sanguinis an iure hereditatis. Et utrum filius ex fœmina debeat præferri filiæ ex masculo in Regno quemadmodum in feudo.*' *Endd.* 3 *pp.*

(4*a*) Another copy of the same, in a later hand (Sir J. Williamson's clerk?). *Endd.* 3 *pp.*

(5) Account of a vision seen by Alfonso, King of Portugal, when about to fight with Ismael and four other Moorish Kings, and related by him to certain chief men of his realm, Oct. 30, 1152; together with his institution of the arms of Portugal. *Endd.* Principio de Reyes en Portugal y origen de sus armas. *Latin.* 2½ *pp.*

(5*a*) Another copy of the same. *Endd. as above.* 3½ *pp.*

[*There is no indication of the date of these two papers, but they probably belong to a time when Portuguese matters were of interest in England.*]

[*Portugal I.* 26.]

April 1. **245.** The French King to the Queen of England.

André Jesse, heir of Jehan Delpuech, deceased, Guillaume Brye, and Guillaume Bohier, merchants of Toulouse, inform us that four

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years ago and more they brought an action in London to recover the sum of £2,200 sterling guaranteed to them by sundry merchants of London on certain woads shipped from Bordeaux in April and July, 1575, of which sum about 2,000 crowns still remains owing, the guarantors refusing to pay it under the persuasion of one Acerbo Bullutelly [Vellutelli] of Lucca, resident in London, on the pretext of certain enmities which he has against the merchants of Toulouse aforesaid, and endeavouring not only to keep them out of the 2,000 crowns remaining, but to make them restore what they have already received (*touchés*) in virtue of a judicial decision in their favour; in such wise that these merchants our subjects have not since that time received any summary justice owing to the delay that has been used till now, for all their solicitation, which we are sure is against your wishes. We have therefore thought good to write this line to pray that you will have justice well and promptly administered to our merchants that they may recover their dues without wasting more of their time (? *sans les consommer davantage*) as befits the amity between our realm. We have charged our ambassador M. de Mauvissière to make this request more in detail. —Paris, 1 April, 1580. (*Signed*) Henry: (*Countersigned*) Brulart.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Fr. Broadsheet. [*France IV.* 41.]

April 2. **246.** Hoddesdon to Burghley.

In my last, written the 21st ult. I advertised you both of 'Grave' Edzard's desire touching a pension and of his estate, power and alliances; also of the commodious situation of this country for the service of England, and of the occasion why he and his younger brother are at some variance. Since then through some conference with him, in which he uses me not as a stranger and one of my calling, but rather like his familiar friend, I perceive that he desires the pension more in respect of honour than for any gain. He imparted to me further, that if her Majesty would make him one of the Order of the Garter, so that it might appear he was in some estimation with her as well as his brother, there would be no want of readiness in him to show all honour and duty to her, as well as such friendship to her subjects as lay in his power. I told him that I would make some of chief authority acquainted with his desire, which I thought would be accepted in very good part. If it may please you to further the matter, there is no doubt that with the honour 'employed' upon the elder brother and pension given to the younger, this country will be wholly at her Majesty's devotion and a firm friend to the state of England.

It is given out in these parts that her Majesty of late seeks much to the Hanse Towns, having it is said offered them their ancient privileges in England, so far as the Merchants Adventurers may be restored at Hamburg only. And that you may perceive I do not write this without some ground, I send the enclosed letter which I received three days ago from 'Grave' Edzard in his own hand, by which you may understand that the 'Hanzes' are still like themselves in using their accustomed manner of bragging. My hope is there is no such matter offered as their speeches import; especially

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seeing by experience we find this place so good that having the benefit of it we have no need of Hamburg or the 'Hanzes,' but may well be without them who are so desirous to exclude us. Yet 'some disordered' among us, who have no regard for the honour of our country nor your Lordships' decrees, will by no means abstain from trading to Hamburg; whose abuse, or rather contempt, I hope by your furtherance will be shortly redressed, so that the whole body of our Company who for the most part are content to 'traffic in order,' be no longer hindered as hitherto through the unruly affections of particular members.

Touching Groningen, it is so straitly besieged by 'Battalense' and his people that no man can pass out, but he must fall into 'their danger'; and if aid come not soon, it is thought they will deliver up their Governor to the States, and yield to some agreement.

They of West Friesland have lately expelled all the religious out of their cloisters and monasteries, and begin to set up preaching in divers places.—Embden, 2 April 1580.

On fly-leaf:

Translated out of High Dutch.

An extract out of a writing to us delivered.—Edzardus. 'The Queen of England has lately sent a letter to the towns of Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, and offers to the towns of the Hanse to confirm and continue their ancient privileges in England, so far as Englishmen may have their old accustomed residence and privileges at Hamburg, about which men are taking no small pains, that the English may come again to Hamburg.

'This was in effect the contents of the points which we to the Courtmaster for a new order could not conceal.

'Edzardus with mine own hand.'

The superscription is: To the worshipful Courtmaster, presently being in the town of Embden.

Add. Endd. by Burghley's secretary. 1½ and ¾ *pp.* [*Hanse Towns I.* 57.]

April 3. **247.** COBHAM to [?WALSINGHAM].

It is true that as by your last letter you seem to have been advertised, sundry rumours were spread about the Duke of Anjou, as that he had become a Malcontent. These suspicions appeared to be greatly increased by the conference lately 'passed' at Nancy where the Duke of Maine, as I was informed by letters from those parts, declared to Casimir in his brother the Duke of Guise's name that France was so evil-governed that unless some remedy were found in time it might run to ruin. Whereon, he said, his brother requested Duke Casimir to show his accustomed zeal towards France, remembering the bringing-up he had there and the assured friendship of the French nobility, of whom he had received sufficient

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proof; beseeching him that he would be 'contented toward' a good enterprise to help them with 8,000 reiters and 6,000 Swiss. Whereon the Duke of Maine 'delivered' that the Duke of Guise would keep those of the Religion in a state of peace. For sure performing of this he promised to deliver into his hands five towns, Langres, Troyes, Metz, Toul, Verdun, and if these were not sufficient he would deliver his children for a pledge.

To which Casimir answered that if the Duke of Guise would be the occasion for the restoration of the reformed Churches to that liberty of exercise of divine service according to the peace made when he was last in France, and also if the Churches will agree to his entering with those succours; and further if the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé and 'the Châtillons children' may be restored to their estates and recompensed for the injuries done by them of the House of Guise, he would agree to the Duke of Guise's request. So they made no resolution, but passed it over to a further conference after hearing from the Duke.

Since this M. Melleroy has returned to Casimir, being employed by the Duke of Guise in that negotiation. About which time there came also M. de la Huguerie from the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. This is all I have heard of this practice, which seems to be of the same quality as that pretence for the seizing of Strasburg and many others, which often spring up in this State. When I am further informed, I will not fail to advertise you.—Paris, 3 April 1580.

1 *p.* [*France IV.* 42.]

April 4. **248.** The Queen to the Governors of Portugal.

We have received your letters by Don Antonio Castillo, late ambassador to our brother your late king, Henry, and are glad to perceive what account you make of our friendship.

And where you require of us our favour for the conservation and defence of justice in your realm as in former lifetimes by our 'antecessors' those kings have had, we assure you of our good will therein. And for the demonstration of our good will, we cannot forbear to move you, to whom it appears the government of the State in this interregnum belongs, that all means be used to unite the whole Estates of the realm with you in one consent for the good government of the realm in peace until God shall establish one on the throne of that kingdom; and especially to stay all factions that may be stirred to disunite your strength. And to that end whatever 'domestical partialities' may arise about the title of that Crown should be speedily by your wisdom compounded, lest the union of your strength at home be dissolved, and ruin follow to that State, as by the wisdom of God has generally in such cases been pronounced, 'That every kingdom divided in itself shall be desolate.'

And so we have thought good in this sort to make some answer to your letter, and for the rest meet to be imparted, we refer to the report of the said Don Antonio de Castillo, to whom we mean to

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give credit as you require, and in whom we find great cause of liking; and therefore cannot forbear to recommend him to your favour, requesting that by his absence here for the service of his country, he be not as it were 'forgotten to be advanced to such calling as by his wisdom, learning and experience he seems very worthy.'—Westminster, 4 April.

Draft, with corrections and addition in Burghley's hand. Endd. by him with date, 5 April 1580. 2 *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 27.]

April 6. **249.** *Draft of the above in Spanish. Endd. by Burghley with date, 6 April* 1580. 2½ *pp.* [*Ibid. I.* 28.]

April 6. **250.** *Fair copy of the above. Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Sp. Broad-sheet.* [*Ibid. I.* 29.]

April 8. **251.** The Grievances of the Hanse Towns.

The Council of this Imperial free and Hanse city of Cologne understand that their citizens and others of the Hanse cities trafficking in England, by the instigation of a company of English merchants who call themselves Merchants Adventurers, are with all manner of tolls hindered in their usual traffic.

And since this is against the old privileges, and happens with the knowledge of the Crown of England and the magistrates of London, without consideration that English subjects are not troubled with the like molestation in the Hanse Cities, but besides the showing of all reverence and friendship all that in the agreements ought to be done has long been and still is kept, against which the Council is informed that their citizens and other Hanse merchants are charged to pay such tolls and customs as other strangers and are not permitted to lade or ship outward cloths or other English commodities;

And since the intention is 'dommageable,' chargeable, and to the prejudice of the Council and citizens; The Council determine and ordain that the English merchants now present should enter into sufficient caution and security here in Cologne immediately to solicit and help their matters in England, that to their citizens and others of the Hanse be granted the accustomed free shipping in and out without cavillation or trouble. And if of them any tolls or customs be taken, then their sureties ought to be bound to pay the same here 'free and frank.'

Copy. Endd.: The Decree of the Senate of Collen against the Merchants Adventurers upon information given by those of the Stilliard of the ill-usage which they pretend to receive here. [*Hanse Towns I.* 58.]

April 8. **252.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

Her Majesty may be advertised that the Protestants are very weak and torn in sunder: yet being oppressed by Marshals Montmorency and Biron, who are the two *boutefeux* in those parts, they are constrained to take arms.

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On the 6th inst. Fontainelles being sent hither from Biron brought news to the king that the Viscount de 'Torrayne' had taken the castle of Montignac le Conté in Périgord, and other castles on the Vesère; which he has done assisting Beaupré, who has a quarrel with Pompadour. Whereon the king sent a courier the same day to the Viscount commanding him to live in peace according to the edict of pacification; writing also to Strozzi, who is now at his bishopric near Toulouse, to do good offices for the satisfaction of all parties.

The king has also sent a message to Montmorency, shewing that he much mislikes his taking of towns.

M. Chemerault is sent to la Fère to give money to the Prince of Condé for the payment of his garrisons, with pleasing words assuring the Prince of the king's special favour.

Since the Queen Mother's departure—who set out on the 6th inst. towards her son at Angiers—the king has bestirred himself in seeking to appease the troubles that were arising in his realm. He entertains the 'opinion' of his journey towards the 'Baynes of Plumiers' [Plombières] in Lorraine, seeming to await the return of his physician, Dr Miron. The other day Colonel 'Chamberg' was dispatched by him to Germany under colour of visiting the frontiers there, and a place fit for the king's lodging; but in fact rather to understand Casimir's dealing with certain Norman gentlemen who are there.

M. Bellièvre is 'on his dispatch' towards 'Kezars Luther' to satisfy Duke Casimir in part with some payment and more with promises in consideration of the debt due to him and his captains. From thence he is to go to the Swiss to satisfy them likewise and to 'entertain' their favour with promises that the king is levying money to pay them. He held a Council about the beginning of this month, to deliberate by what means he might with the least discontent of his subjects levy 7,000,000 *livres tournoises*. After some debating it was agreed that the sum should be taxed only on the walled towns; and the particular means for the execution of this were referred to M. Bellièvre, superintendent of the finances. But I will 'somewhat enlarge' to you of two pretty speeches used by two of the Presidents. The first president, upon the first motion of it, making a cross said: '*Sancta Maria*, there is not so much money in all France'; whereat the king somewhat smiled. The President Séguier following said: '*Où est Ruchellai, où est Sardigni, où Diacetto* ?' who could serve the king with mountains of money without troubling any of his subjects. So the matter passing on further deliberation was concluded as aforesaid.

Captain Hakerstone, a Scot, came from the Prior of Provence with request to the king for commission to levy men, because they of the commonalty of Dauphiné seem to be joining them of the Religion in Provence.

Lavalette, the king's minion, is come from Saluces, having by money and other means compassed some appearance of quietness in that Marquisate. The ambassador of Savoy informed me that

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the Duke was the principal means therein, by sending to Lavalette 2,000 crowns and divers Piedmontese of his *Miliza* to besiege the castle of Saluces, the fort of Carmagnola, and 'Reveilla.'

The king of Navarre is selling a barony in Normandy, called Espernon, valued at 60,000 crowns, and a town in Anjou called la Flèche.

The late advertisements from Spain and Portugal are that certain of the nobility seem to mislike that the Spanish king having released the young Duke of 'Barseilles' from the Moors should detain him; whereon it is said that he has set him free, and is [*sic*] thought to be in Portugal 'yer' this time.

The Governors of Portugal propose to send a gentleman to Rome with letters and intreaty to the Pope by all means to dissuade King Philip 'to withdraw' his forces which are bent against their realm; which they would have done by means of some Cardinal sent into their country.

The Pope's nuncio resident here, being invited by the King to the ceremony of the 'funeralles' of the two Portugal kings last deceased, would not be present; which is taken in ill part by their ambassador here.

The Portugal ambassador is 'bestowing' 20,000 crowns in ammunition and artillery. He informs me that the Governors have requested her Majesty to make the like provision there; but it seems to me that except she may be assured by good hostages or way of marriage of the entire and sincere amity of Portugal, their provisions and the forces of their enemies, if they should agree, might prove most perilous. I hope her Majesty will give especial regard to this, and not let pass this occasion which God offers, lest by negligence we perish.

They are afflicted with the plague in Lisbon.

The general arrest was made at the request of the Portugal ambassador, and upon my motion to Queen Mother I am informed by Brulart that the English ships in general are released.

The papists write from Rome to their associates resident in these parts that they should be of good comfort, with the form of the following:

That God tries His people many ways, as appears by sundry calamities and misfortunes which have happened to the Church, and now last of all, through the death of the old King of Portugal, whereon now the Portugals continue in their resistance to the Catholic king; surely a thing suffered by God, to try us further, that we may see our own imperfection. For when this plot was first laid the young king was yet living; and after him succeeded a most godly man, enjoying the seat. Through the commodity of this, the way was the better made again. Likewise a league was procured with them of Barbary and an amity with the Turk, that there might be no impediment. Notwithstanding it is a miracle to see how the chance

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fell out through the death of the late Cardinal King, which is now the only let of so godly an enterprise. Certainly a thing not only for the trial of our patience in this mortal life, but also a show of great punishment towards the heretics. For let all good princes be well assured that the heretics of England will not be suffered to continue long in their mischievous proceedings, but a way shall be devised to cut them off 'yer' it be long, and execution made 'yer' they be aware; I mean the usurper of authority, the puddle of lasciviousness, the very Antichrist, and her wicked counsellors and minions, who always maintain the enemies of God and of His Church. Their heretical devices shall by God's might be withstanded, and then by political means cut off, as you shall hear more hereafter.

There is one Lassell a merchant in London, and Watson a lawyer in London, Crouder, Smith a lawyer of Guildhall, and one Whyte in London. These advertise much of the state of things about London.

Concerning Scottish affairs I have received the following advertisement, that Thomas Levistone, the 'Lard' of Glandbury, and the Abbot of Lindores went together from Paris on Maundy Thursday to associate themselves with d'Aubigny in his enterprise.

The Bishop of Scotland [*sic*] hearkens much how the 'Lard' Boyde carries himself, being esteemed one of the most politic in Scotland.

The papists and Scottish bishops praise the Earl of Shrewsbury very much for his well-using of the Scottish Queen, and that he is a high friend of hers. Howbeit I suppose they say it rather to breed some evil opinion of him, than of any good meaning towards him.

There is come hither one 'Nekcalf' [? Metcalf] who passed by Southampton and so from Guernsey, bringing with him letters from Sheffield, from the Queen of Scots and others to the Scottish bishops and Thomas Morgan and others here. Mr Davison, a licentiate in law, is come over, and passed to Orleans. He brought an order for certain sums of money, which he received of two or three merchants in Paris.

There is one Dr Knotte come out of Spain, who goes from hence to Namur, to certain Englishmen there.

I enclose the articles of them of the Low Countries and Monsieur's answer thereto.—Paris, 8 April 1580.

Enclosed in above:—

Demands of the States-General of the Low Countries and Monsieur's answer thereunto.

1. That the king should take in hand their cause together with Monsieur, or aid him with all his means, both with money to pay 8,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and also take away all commodities and stop the free passages between France and the enemy.
—His Highness is so assured of the king's goodwill, that on the States making choice of him to be their Lord with reasonable conditions, the king will favour his greatness and their preservation by

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all the means he may. As touching the forces with which they desire to be aided, he being required and entering in person to incur the danger with them will employ the 'best and worst' he can and pay the forces for three months.

2. That the freedoms, preeminences [*sic*] and liberties may be preserved.
—His Highness will maintain the freedoms, liberties and privileges which in former time they have enjoyed.

3. That the Religion which they term *fredde* [*sic*] may be freely permitted and universally maintained.
—He will maintain the same as it has been agreed by the States.

4. That there be no garrisons in the towns but of those of their nation; and they shall be where his Highness and his Council shall think meet.
—The garrisons with which the towns must be furnished shall be as his Highness may find it needful for the safety of the places.

5. The Council shall be composed only of those of their country, except two or three Frenchmen who shall be permitted according to the order held by the ancient Dukes of Burgundy; and the elections and nominations to the degrees and offices of the country be referred to the States, to name foreigners or their countrymen at their discretion.
—His Highness will establish his Council by the advice of the States, according to their knowledge of the worthiness of the person.

6. They will give to his Highness all the domains of their State for his maintenance, and 160,000 crowns a month for the war.
—He will consent that the 160,000 crowns a month which the States will furnish for the maintenance of the war shall be distributed by the advice of his Council and managed by the treasurers of the country. Concerning his own maintenance, he will be content with what shall be thought convenient according to the charges which he has to support.

7. His Highness will continue the alliances and confederations which he shall find necessary to maintain the wealth of the public state.
—He will by all means procure to join the Archduke in marriage with such a party as his quality requires.

6½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 43.]

April 8. **253.** D'Abadie to the Queen Mother.

The impetuosity and contrariety of the weather has rendered it impossible for me to make more haste in getting here. I arrived on March 28 at Casquays [Cascaes], when I landed in order to go and see Don Antonio de Castres, to learn from him the state of affairs; who informed me in detail of what was going on in this realm. *I gave him your letter and explained my mission as you had charged me. He said that he was always at your devotion, and all that depended on him; giving me nevertheless poor hope; accounting*

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that the King of Spain [?] *had gained over the chief men of the country, and that the rest would be easy to him, being of small discernment* (? pour être mal aperçus). *This makes me think that he is of the number; as I have since learnt.* Anyhow, I found the realm going on under its five governors or defenders, appointed under the will of the late King Henry to settle judicial matters. These are in part inclined to the Catholic King. But the Estates have seen to that, and they have been constrained to change their views. Inasmuch as the Estates are not sitting, I had to present your letter addressed to them, to the governors, with the declaration which I made to them and the protest I handed them; all which was very well received. At my second audience it was ordered by them, being at the Council at Almeyrin, that the protest should be submitted to the procedure made at the instance of the Bishop of Comminges, in order that the parties might communicate about it, and that the clerk in charge of the case (*greffier de la cause*) should give me an entry (*acte*) of it to use in due time and place.

As regards the Catholic King, he is at our Lady of Guadelupe, where Ambassadors from Portugal have been to represent to him the intention of the Estates and reply to a summons which he had sent them. The Portuguese do not seem much afraid of his forces, and are preparing to defend themselves to the best of their power. The greatest evil is the division among the princes of the country, who all aspire to be the same thing.

I have not been to Lisbon, because the danger is very great there and the town is almost depopulated. Those who are left die strangely of a contagious malady, which is generally disseminated through the country. I have talked with some of the aldermen of the town and they have shewn me that they have a private affection to the King of Spain. Nevertheless the distrust which the people have of them has caused them to have so little authority that they could in no way execute their designs. They hold themselves much bound for the great succours that they have from France of great quantity of corn for their extreme need. I have distributed your genealogy everywhere, and given it to all who would. It has not been badly received; the only objection is the length of time. I hope that with the help of God you will be satisfied one way or another.

I have had no news from M. de Saint-Gouard, nor means of sending him mine, because no one coming from Portugal is allowed to enter Spain by reason of the malady; besides that they are rummaged and searched so closely that no one goes or comes. I shall not however fail to advise him if opportunity offers, and I will often send news to your Majesty.

I called on the Duke of Braganza and the Duchess at Almerin, where they are with the governors, gave them your letters and explained to them verbally the commission that I had; whereat they were much pleased and make answer as you will see by their letters which I send. The duchess told me that in hers she gave you full explanation (résolution) *as to what passed between Don Rodrigues de Lancraste and* 54, *and that there was no need to write these things in several*

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letters, not that she distrusted me ; and said particularly that they were and always would be at your devotion. The duke has given me a book which he has had printed concerning the claimants' rights, which I am sending you. You will see by it how they account of yours, to which there is plenty to answer. They expect that the justice will be with them. I made the most of yours to them. I do not find the people much inclined to the duke's devotion. Forces he has none, unless it be his own vassals. I will keep on entertaining them, in order to perceive their intentions.

All the lords to whom you wrote have withdrawn to their houses ; when I see them I will present your letter, though there is a part of them who are of the P [qy. *King of Spain's*] *party.*

Touching Don Antonio, I called on him at Santarem whither he has retired. He is in pursuit of the revocation of the sentence which the the late King Henry gave against him, and to have a decision for his legitimation. The judges are the Pope's nuncio and the Archbishop of . He alleges that it will soon be finished. Meanwhile I gave him your letter, and specially informed him of your goodwill in his behalf, and found him no less well disposed towards you. Having communicated with him more in detail he told me his intention, which is to get justice done him and to spare nothing thereto ; always intending to put himself wholly in your hands to act as you may wish, desiring in nothing to displease you. I should have come to such an understanding with him if I had wished ; but finding him in this mind, it seemed to me necessary to refer the matter to your Majesty to take order therein ; inasmuch as he is dispatching the Consul of the French [*Pierre d'Or*], *in whom he trusts, with full memoranda, and power to contract with you. You will be able to do as you wish, according as the matter turns out.* The said Consul has always been present in these Courts, and continues with the Estates. He has employed himself as his duty was in all that concerned your service, as I am informed. You will hear from him what has passed here.

A gentlemen calling himself the Baron de Montagut has arrived in this town of Santarem dispatched from Monsieur the king's brother to *Don Antonio*; and has brought letters and made offers with which *Antonio* is much pleased. I hear that a great part *of the people is devoted to him* and a great part *of the nobility.*

The Estates, distrusting the governor and seeing also the preparations of the Catholic king, have decided to take steps to improve matters (*pourvoir à la millior*), and to that end have appointed four colonels in whom the people have confidence and have assigned them each to his province, where they are at present making arrangements and resolved to resist the forces of Spain if occasion offers. They have also made a superintendent of all fortresses to take such steps as he may see needful. They have nominated to the post Don Manuel of Portugal in whom the people put much trust. They have no foreign troops in this realm, and are pretty short of arms.

You will see how needful it may be to hold yourself ready when occasion offers, for things cannot long go on in this way. There is not much belief in the King of *Spain's* advance, since most of his

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forces are people ignorant of war. He wants to frighten the Portuguese, but they are not alarmed, and have long been hoping for an attack, to stir their hands.—Santarem, 8 April 1580.

Endd. in English. Parts in italic (not being in brackets) are cipher. Fr. 3½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 43.] (*Enclosure, with Nos.* 255 *and* 256 *in No.* 300.)

April 8. **254.** Decipher of ciphered portions of the above. *Endd. by L. Tomson:* Advertisements of the Court of Portugal. [*Portugal I. transferred to Cipher-book Elizabeth I.*]

April 8. **255.** D'Abadie to Villeroy.

I last wrote to you from Olonne on Mar. 13. I was at sea with much stormy weather all the time till the 28th, when I arrived at Cascaes, where I landed to get the news of the country from Don Antonio de Castres, who told me all that was passing here. Then I went to Almeyrim, where the Governors of the country were, to present the Queen's letter addressed to the Estates of that realm; inasmuch as they were not content with a copy of the declaration and protest and the verbal representation which I made to them being assembled in Council. It was all taken in very good part, inasmuch as they were hard pressed by the Catholic king, and wished to aid themselves with the said declaration and protest, in order to show the claimants that matters must be settled according to justice and the right maintained of him who possessed it. Whereupon the Governors having granted me a second audience ordered that I should place the original of the protest in the hands of the clerk in charge of the case, by whom an entry in due form would be delivered to me, which would be for use in due time and place. Of this I am sending a copy to her Majesty.

I have received no letters from M. de Saint-Gouard, and I hear that the Catholic king has made all the ambassadors stop at Madrid. They are allowing no one to pass from Portugal into Spain on account of the contagious malady which is prevalent in this country, and they are dying in numbers, so that the danger is very great. Further no one is allowed to go about without being examined, in such wise that no man comes or goes.

The Catholic king arrived some time ago at Our Lady of Guadelupe. Nothing is said as to his further advance for the present. Two ambassadors from this country went on Mar. 15 to meet him, to represent to him the intention of the Estates of the country, and reply to a summons that he had sent them.

I have found great divisions in this realm and many private interests which might in the end be the total ruin of it, great part of the nobility taking the part of the Catholic king. The princes of the kingdom are divided, all aiming to be the same thing (*aspirant tous a être une même chose*); while the people generally are resolved to be altogether ruined rather than accept subjection to the Spaniard of whom they have lost their fear, for the enmity that is

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between the nations. So nothing is resolved yet, and none knows to whom the lot will fall. Meanwhile things remain just as they were. The Ambassadors of the claimants are all here, each intriguing more than the other, and waiting for the Estates to pull themselves together and put an end to this business. I have visited the princes of this kingdom, whom I found well disposed to satisfy the Queen, as I am telling her in more detail in the letter I am writing her.

Don Antonio has had from the Pope a provision for the quashing of the decision given against him by the late King Henry.

I send a book which the Duke of Braganza has had printed upon the rights of the claimants. He has given it to me to send to her Majesty, who will see the reply that is made as to her right; which I think can easily be answered. It would be needful to send ambassadors on the King's part, with good counsel to support his right. I am doing all I can for it; and have translated her pedigree into Portuguese and got it printed [*other version*: by a friend of mine], so as to let everybody see it and become acquainted with it. They are very glad to see it, and the only difficulty they find in it is the length of time [*other version*: prescription]; so that I hope with God's help that in one way or another the Queen may be satisfied.

A great many ships have arrived laden with wheat and other goods, which have not been ill-timed, but a great help in their need. For people were dying of famine in this country, so that they had a two-fold malady. I tell them that his Majesty having heard of the country's need had empowered his subjects to ship this corn without paying any dues, for their succour; as he would do much else in their need. They all confess that they are greatly in his debt.

There has arrived in this town of Santarem a gentleman calling himself the Baron of Montagut sent by Monsieur to Don Antonio. I do not know his errand. He is returning by the first vessel that goes. I send a dispatch by him that you may get it shortly. I will lose no opportunity of writing to you, and often advising you of what happens. M. [*other version:* Mgr] de Comminges is much regretted here; he has left a good reputation. All the gentlemen to whom the Queen wrote have withdrawn from the Court. It is thought that they are among the King of Spain's supporters. I will not fail if I see them to salute them from the Queen, for in the end they will come back to their first state. They are isolated, and I believe their domestic servants would be against them. I assure you there are many who would desire to have an opportunity of stirring their hands. [*In other version:* that the Catholic king should attempt them, to cause some movement.]

I will write to you by the French Consul who is going home on business, who will tell you details.—Santarem, 8 April 1580.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Fr. 2¼ *pp.* [*France IV.* 44.]

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April 8. **256.** D'Abadie to Lansac.

Practically a duplicate of the last, but with a few variants, and, except signature, in a different hand. Add. Endd. by L. Tomson and another. Fr. 3 pp. [*Ibid. IV.* 45.]

April 9. **257.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

When I dispatched Mr. Jacomo the Prince of 'La Grand Valachia' had not thoroughly resolved what course he would take in his affairs, because he had not then spoken to M. Vertemont, a secretary of this king, who came to the Court about the 2nd inst. with letters from Constantinople sent by Germigny, the French Ambassador there resident. But now that the Prince has received letters from the Grand Signior's Court by which he is persuaded to return thither, being assured that at the Christian king's entreaty and for the justice of his cause, the Grand Signior will show him favour and restore him to his estate, he hopes that the Queen's letters, of which I showed him the copy that you sent me, will much profit him. Therefore he humbly beseeches her Majesty to send those letters hither, purposing to carry them himself, starting about the end of this month. He beseeches her further to write some gracious letter to the mother of the Great Turk, by whom he is much governed; also to his first Bassa, Ahmeto, and to the admiral of the sea, Lucialli [l'Occhiali], by whom all this prince's affairs must be managed: thus she will bind him to remain her devoted servant all the days of her life. I send herewith his letter to her Majesty, and he 'moved me' that he might receive her letters by the next, with the copies. I enclose the names and titles of the Grand Signior's mother, and the two Bassas.

It is advertised by letter which the secretary brought, that the Grand Turk is arming 200 galleys, which are appointed to be in readiness to depart about the end of this month. Also that last February the Spanish Ambassador coming to the first Bassa's house to have audience of him, was with fury put down the stairs, with 'many foul languages,' and threatened with cudgels; which happened since the quarrel between the French Ambassador and him. It is in like manner written from Venice that King Philip's Ambassador has been imprisoned at Constantinople, because he would have fled, not finding his entertainment so good as at first.

I am told that 'Lucialli' is off Calabria, and protests he is an enemy to the Catholic King, hating the Spaniards.

Secretary Villeroy is to-day returned from Monsieur. They say he went to make him an offer to be the King's lieutenant-general with these qualifications: first that he shall not meddle with the finances; that he may not have power to open the King's packets; that in all wars the Duke of Guise shall be lieutenant-general; also that the King would allow him 7,000 crowns a month. But whether this be accepted or 'stayed on' I cannot yet learn; so that doubts have risen. I cannot perceive, if Monsieur be thus secured to the King, but that the Protestants of France must needs think their ill days and extreme persecution draw near.

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'Strosso' is returned from the King of Navarre, whence he brought no hope that the king would be easily persuaded to disarm again but on good and more assured conditions; though as yet he has no great forces. The captain of Ariole [la Réole] M. de Sac [d'Ussac] has at the persuasion of Strozzi left the town and put himself among the Catholics in the castle who 'beat' the town, so that it is thought the town must surrender; which the King of Navarre takes in evil part.

The Viscount of Turenne is resolved to pass into Languedoc to fight his uncle Marshal Montmorency.

So every day brings forth new matter, more suspicions, daily alterations of men's minds; and these affairs proceed in a most staggering and doubtful sort.—Paris, 9 April 1580.

P.S.—The Portugal ambassador, named Don Francisco Baretto, casting anchor about the Groyne, driven by extremity of weather, enquired of certain fishermen what preparations were made for war, or what ships rigged. They said there were six or seven vessels preparing to go out, with 800 or 900 soldiers, '*bęsonyos*,' for Ireland, under the 'conductions' of a kinsman of Pedro 'Melandus' [*qy.* Menendez.]

1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 46.]

April 10. **258.** The King of Spain to the Officials of Guipuzcoa.

You know that by our letter of August 1577, we commanded that 'two years being past,' from that time there might not be laden nor unladen in the coasts of these realms, by Frenchmen, Englishmen, Irishmen nor 'Levantists' any kind of merchandise or victuals or anything to be carried in their ships to any place, salt only excepted, upon pain of losing the ships and merchandise; and that the justices should command it to be so executed; and not doing it, or being careless in the cause, or remitting it, then our servant Christopher de Barros, who has charge of the ship-building in those parts should require on our behalf that the same be fulfilled, and advise us of such as do not. And because we are informed that what is contained in that letter has been kept in that lordship of Biscay with great diligence, but is not fulfilled in the ports of Guipuzcoa, but that against the tenor of it they lade, and the justices consent that strangers lade merchandise and other things, which is against our service and to the hurt of our royal rents and customs and prejudicial to the said lordship; and if four towns on the coast of Biscay kept it inviolably the building of ships might be increased, and more merchandise would come to that lordship and our rents would increase, as also the trade of the said lordship, and the iron and steel that is wrought there, which is its principal trade, would have the better dispatch; which ceases because the strangers go to the ports of the province with their ships and because the said four towns consent to merchandise being laden 'forth of' them freely. We command all and everyone of you, in your towns and jurisdictions, that you 'look upon' the letter above-mentioned,

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and that you keep and fulfil it and cause it to be kept and fulfilled inviolably.—Guadalupe, 10 April 1580. By command of his Majesty, John Delgado.

Translation. Endd: Proclaimed in Biscay the 22 day of October, 1580. 2 *pp.* [*Spain I.* 44.]

April 12. **259.** "A true report of the fearful earthquake which happened generally throughout Rouen, the principal city of Normandy, the 6th of April, 1580; written by a gentleman to an especial friend of his."

As the follies of youth were the first cause of our acquaintance, so in the wane of our years I hope firmness of life shall settle us in our friendship; and as you have advantage of age, so the sweet report of your virtues gives me encouragement of well-doing. It is said you have altered your delight in plays to devotion in hearing sermons; persevere I beseech you, in your good purpose, wherein you shall find the advantage double. For as good wine not only refreshes the heart but seasons the bottle, so the regard of wholesome doctrine both presents our souls with divine contemplation and turns our frailties into honest actions. Let it not seem strange that I alter my wonted familiarity in writing with such an unwonted exordium: 'when as' separated by the sea, men nourish their natures with their friends' letters stuft full of news, more than with praises, or necessary advice.

But to be short; the news of which I shall give you intelligence was so fearful to the beholders that they were all glad to refresh their consciences with prayers for God's mercy; which I wish to be performed in such as shall hear of this fearful fore-threatening of God's vengeance, that they may be excluded from the plagues which this following true report presages.

On April 6, in the city of Rouen, between 5 and 6 p.m., there was such an universal earthquake that there was no house that did not open its joints, nor church that did not tremble; insomuch that people ran into the streets for fear that the fall of their houses should give them present death, where many more were hurt with the slates and tiles that fell from the firmest buildings. Further, the very streets trembled, so that people who passed to and fro were glad to take the succour of church walls and suchlike supports; of which some were entertained with such falls that they bewray the welcome of the hard stones in their battered faces. There fell a huge stone with such thundering noise from the top of Our Lady's church, that neither monk, canon, nor friar durst 'indure within the same' with their frivolous intercessions to make an atonement with God; so that the people were driven to use their devotion in the churchyard. To conclude the 'amaze' was such that timorous women 'burst out their tears' and the hardiest men quivered with silent fear. The clergy presently clapt on their copes [?] and in general procession cried to a thousand saints for aid, and the godly Protestants, secret in their houses, only upon Almighty God and Christ, so that there were few or none but were buried with fear, fruitless or fervent, and to this day there are no rumours among the people

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but prognostications of this earthquake. Some divine of Doomsday, some 'conster' the following effects to the scourge which the like earthquake many years past gave to Rouen, not long after which 30,000 died of the pestilence. Some 'hold opinion' that it presages calamities by civil dissension, some hearken after the judgement of astronomers, who, although they hold the cause to be natural, are of opinion that the effects will be lamentable, especially where the impression was greatest. So that although the terror be out of their eyes, the trembling remains in their hearts; faring like him who after sentence of death obtains a reprieve, without pardon.

This earthquake was not only universally throughout the city, but also in divers other port towns in Normandy, as in 'Deepe,' 'Feckham,' 'Coebeck,' etc. 'In advantage,' this is our most true and especial note, that in divers places where the trembling was most vehement some staggered to and fro where they stood, while other some stood firm without feeling alteration. Thus much is generally confirmed and published in print. Speeches of more affright pass through the mouths of many; but as their strangeness may bring suspicion on the rest which is faithfully reported, I bury them in my ear, holding truth the only beauty of a man's tongue, and falsehood the unrecoverable disgrace of a writer since his fault comes to daily rehearsal.

But to my purpose. This report, naked of other garnishing than truth, suffices to light the hearer into his conscience, when the sight of sin shall give his soul as great a terror as the feeling of this earthquake has done to the Normans. Therefore the burden is alike that should make one as well as the other cry out with just Job, *Factus sum mihi met ipsi gravis*, and to seek ease with prayer and amendment of life, a sacrifice which wrought remission to the Ninevites when their abominable vices had 'set an edge of' God's vengeance. Artemidorus' dreams nor Niphius' auguries are no warrant for the hearers of this fore-threatening to hold themselves free from the vengeance; for although these hold that the soul of man is replete with such divine knowledge that it forsees mischiefs ere they fall, and gives intelligence thereof, either by dreams or by unlooked-for accidents, yet either give authorities that such fore-warnings take their effect as well in our neighbours, friends and enemies as in ourselves; although for the most part where they be discovered they have most force. Then in such apparent threatening from God, and sin generally abounding, what is he that dare appoint a scourge to another, that deserves death in himself? Presumption through sufferance is as damnable as despair of mercy; and therefore unhappy is he that lives in such conceit of security as to imagine that danger cannot fasten on him. The wicked 'Hamon' broke his neck on the gallows he prepared for the Jews. The like was the reward of the false judges that endeavoured the death of chaste Susanna. Many other like contraries of determinate . . . es I could report, which I hold to be needless, for I know your . . ble judgement is confirmed with easy instructions. Yet as I forethink that you will 'depart' these news among your friends, some of whom will perhaps pass them over with light regard, and others

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give their opinion upon the subject without amendment in themselves, I give this one example as a general advertisement; which is that as lightning bewrayeth thunder, but not where the bolt will light, so this earthquake, so diversly dispersed, presages bitter calamities. But God knows where or on whom they shall fall, and it is therefore necessary that the hearers hereof who sorrow for their secret sins add this suffrage to their litany: From the execution of thy forthcoming wrath, good Lord deliver us.—Rouen, 12 April 1580.

Add. to my very friend Mr. Myles Jennyngs, at the Bible, in Paul's Churchyard. (*The writer's name in the salutation at the head of the letter has been carefully blacked out, only A . . . . . ger being legible.*) $2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.* [*France IV.* 47.]

April 13. **260.** The King of Navarre to Burghley.

You have understood by my former letters the perplexity that we were in, trying on the one hand to overcome our enemies by patience, and on the other, seeing fresh occasions every day for losing it by reason of the enterprises, surprises, and plots that were brewing against us. In these difficulties we ask for the Queen's wise counsel, as that of one who has always had a singular care for the afflicted Churches of these countries, and has done me in particular the honour of showing me many testimonies of her good will. But our ill-luck will have us take counsel rather of necessity than of our friends, inasmuch as our enemies, not content with frauds and bad faith, are making war upon us openly, having put armies and artillery in the field against us—so far indeed with little enough result, considering their designs and their ill-will. M. du Plessis my councillor and chamberlain-in-ordinary, whom I am sending to the Queen, will tell you all more fully; credit him as myself. I beseech you make her Majesty thoroughly understand the importance of this matter, which is surely only a beginning compared with what will hereafter follow, if those who have an interest in it do not remedy it betimes. Your prudence and wisdom are known of all men; your zeal for the oppressed Churches is testified by the effects that have appeared in our case heretofore; and if it be possible to add anything thereto, I beseech you with all my heart employ it at this moment when it appears that all the enemies of the true religion are leaving their own particular designs in order to destroy us.

If in return for all the good offices with which you do not cease to bind us to you I can ever do anything that may be agreeable to you, believe that it will be with all my heart.—Lectoure, 13 April 1580. (*Signed*) Henry.

Add: à mon cousin le Baron de Burghley. *Endd. by Burghley. Fr.* 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 48.]

April 13. **261.** Cobham to Burghley and Sussex.

I have sought for the book of which you wrote to me, and will do my best to 'understand' the author and keep it from printing as much as may lie in me. I heard tell of such matters 'pretended'

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to be translated into sundry languages, extracted out of divers books by the Bishop of Ross and others; and now since the receipt of your letter Dr. Sylvio has shown me some leaves of it, but cannot detect the author.

I send you the copy of a book which is printed, (but I could not obtain it in print) entituled: *De titulo et jure serenissimæ Principis Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ, quo Regni Angliæ successionem juste vendicat* [*sic*] *Libellus.*

Also I have in my hands an English book lent me, of which the title is: *A Treatise of Treasons against Queen Elizabeth divided into two parts*, printed A.D. 1572; a most perilous book as ever I saw, for the particular touching of the course of her Majesty's state since her reign; but it has been so long printed I abstain from sending it till I receive your commands therein. Meantime I will have it copied.

There are other books privily framing which I will send as they come to my hands; wishing I could do you service agreeable to your honourable dealings with me, beseeching you to put me out of these cares of want by your favourable means to her Majesty, that I may continue in her service and receive comfort for so many years of travails past. I desire that what her Majesty may grant me may pass in 'some other bodies'' names, whereby it might be employed to the payment of my debts; otherwise, being in this place I cannot as I understand make any lawful conveyance of it to the answering of my creditors and such like uses.—Paris, 13 April 1580.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 49.]

April 13. **262.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

After I received on Saturday last yours dated the 2nd inst. I perceived that the Queen was pleased that speeches might be 'motioned' for the renewing and further advancing of the amity here. Therefore finding that the King was gone to St. Germain's, and the Queen Mother far advanced on her journey to Angiers, and M. de la Mothe-Fènelon being in Languedoc employed in appeasing the apprehensions which the King of Navarre had conceived against Montmorency and Biron, 'and thereon ready to take arms.' Also he has secret charge from their Majesties to stir up the King of Navarre to employ himself and his friends in the cause of Portugal by such means as they devise.

I took occasion to speak to M. Chiverny upon the request of certain merchants, finding him the only person left here of 'entireness' with the king for the like affairs, and a man known rather to favour foreign attempts than civil wars. After some words in the merchants' causes, having their grants delivered me from him under the Great Seal, I told him how I thought that considering the place and dignity he held in the government of the State and the special private favour he stands in with the king, it could not be but he was privy to what I had first 'motioned' from my sovereign, as also to what MM. Bellièvre and Brulart 'conferred'

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with me from their Majesties, which tended to have a league containing matter for an amity offensive as well as defensive, in order that the Catholic army and those alliances that are written of from Italy might the better be resisted; whereon they said they would consider and advertise me further.

Upon my pause, M. Chiverny entered into a large discourse, wherein I specially noted these points. First, he touched two parties in France; one under the colour of being Catholics, the other under profession of religion, sought to advance their ambition; notwithstanding they were always the king's subjects, and the easier to be dealt with. But the enterprise of Portugal was of greater consequence, and therefore at once to be 'redressed,' so that hereon a way might be found to have it 'framed' a general cause, in respect that in some or most contracts of amity between the realms Portugal was ever included as he thought; which point her Majesty might cause to be considered. If it were found so, he esteemed that the Crowns of both France and England were bound to defend that of Portugal, and wished me to further the cause as occasion should afford, which I promised to do.

Then he asked me if I had not to speak to the King from my Sovereign on the information of the answer which Brulart delivered me. I said, somewhat, yet not of so great consequence but that I could stay the King's leisure; the rather since I expected to hear further from MM. Bellièvre and Brulart as they promised. And today I heard from him that the King is removing from one house to another, so that it may be these five days ere he return hither.

It is now 'informed' that M. de la Noue has taken Count Egmont and his brother prisoners.—Paris, 13 April 1580.

1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 50.]

April 15. **263.** Cobham to the Queen.

On the 14th inst. Secretary Villeroy 'resorted' to me, giving me to understand that he had been yesterday with the king at St. Germain's; when his Majesty had willed him to shew me that he made account to entertain your Majesty's amity by all the offices he could, holding your friendship dearer than any other. Therefore being advertised by letters of March 25 from the ambassador in Spain that a messenger had come out of Ireland with a request from the rebels for aid, directed to the Pope's nuncio, who forthwith intreated the Spanish king to have some soldiers sent thither at the Pope's charge, upon which the king had given order that 700 soldiers should be embarked from Galicia with good munitions and other provisions towards Ireland, this king thought good to advertise you.

I answered Villeroy that you would be sorry to understand the indisposition (*sic*) of King Philip to be so bent against you that at the request of any of his confederates he will send forces to strengthen your rebels; but seeing he had so far discovered his intentions you would be right glad of these advertisements, especially as you would receive them from so good and great a

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friend as the Christian king. As one way for the redress of it, it was necessary you should be informed; so it were not well I kept this frank and princely dealing many hours from your knowledge.

The Secretary then entered into a large discourse of present affairs, concluding how convenient it was to withstand the violence now being offered to the realm of Portugal, as also to prevent the like outrage which might elsewhere be executed. To which I answered that I had 'these other days' let the king know not only your Majesty's conception of these affairs, but also that you wished to be advertised of his opinions for proceeding to action.

Lastly he asked me what I understood of Monsieur's cause and of the proceeding therein; for M. Mauvissière wrote lately that you had by Captain Bowes dispatched a matter to be imparted to the king his master, which the king hearkens after.

I said I had as yet no notice of it. And thus after some other conference and discourse we parted.

I have employed towards Spain two of your own subjects, whose faith and truth I have received in pledge for the assurance of their dealings in seeking out matter that may in any way touch you. Their names I have certified in cipher to Mr Secretary Walsingham, for their lives would run in great danger if they were discovered in those parts. I have one come to me who was lately in Rome in company of some priests which are here, and are ready to resort into your dominions. His name I likewise signify to Mr Secretary.

This king begins to feel and take knowledge of the proceedings of the Spanish king, the Duke of Tuscany, the Pope, and the Duke of Savoy against him. The courage that you shall give him will I hope the better hearten him to make more manifest show of his mislike of their practices; 'which' how far it may profit your Majesty to put from you those foreign confederacies, you may determine. And since it is now manifest that these great kings can think it best and needful for them to draw other princes into strait amity before they make any enterprise, I trust you will thereupon judge it convenient in these perilous and evil days, both for the repose of your government and the safety of your good people whom God has committed to your protection: that in like sort you will no otherwise deem, notwithstanding the clearness of your own conscience and the assured faith that you have in God, than that all such reasonable means are to be accepted, friendships to be embraced, and good occasions not to be let slip, which may put from you the peril which is 'meant and bent,' and that undoubtedly with all such expedition as they may use, against your person, your nobles, and people.—Paris, 15 April, 1580.

Add. Endd. 2½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 51.]

April 15. **264.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

I think it good her Majesty should be advertised how the Christian king daily makes many apparent shows in favour of the State of Portugal. 'At first,' he graciously continues to the

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ambassador his grant of access at all times, having received willingly and answered speedily the letter of the Duchess of Braganza, and in like manner at the request of the Governors made a general arrest along the sea-coast, and suffers to be made and transported hence underhand, shot, powder, and weapons for their defence; which is carried in chests conveyed to Rouen by the means of Francisco Anriques and Girolamo Copes, Portugal merchants. He has besides written very earnestly in their behalf to the Pope and King Philip, and now writes to the Governors there assuring them of his favour and countenance in the maintenance of their justice.

The ambassador of Portugal yesterday lamented to us that whereas the Duchess of Braganza turned to the queen as other Kings of Portugal had done to the Kings of England for succour in defence of the freedom of their country, notwithstanding her dutiful dealing, he does not understand that her Majesty has answered the letter, nor shown the like favour which the king here has done; which grieves him much, for he had assured the Duchess and States of Portugal that they would find her Majesty more prompt to aid them that any other prince in Christendom. Of this I think he has written to her Majesty and others of the Lords; because he broke to me his mind therein somewhat 'appassionately.'

It is certified that the Bishop of Coimbra and Senhor Manuele de Melo sent in embassy to the Catholic king had not as yet obtained audience of him, neither is it known if he would accept them as ambassadors; because he would not prejudice his own pretence. Howbeit it is judged he will use them with courtesy.

Meantime the Portuguese have put a strong guard of 70 ships in the haven of Lisbon, well provided with money, men, and munitions. They have also fortified another port 20 miles from Lisbon called Setubal; being resolved to obey none other than such as the judges shall declare by sentence. They have lately received into Lisbon powder and other provisions from Antwerp and the Low Countries.

The Bishop of Ross and Thomas Morgan received the other day letters from Sir Francis Englefield, dated at Madrid the 12th ult., wherein he shows himself a passionate Castillian and very desirous to advance the King of Spain's practices, enlarging much on the hope of the army of Spain. He writes that a ship was sent from Spain with 140 men in it, well-appointed, and purposed to have landed in Ireland; but through extremity of contrary winds and lack of victuals after a time they were driven to return. He signified further that the ambassadors of all the princes were left at Madrid waiting on the Cardinal, wherewith they were aggrieved; which cardinal manages all the affairs. By the same packet came letters from him to the Queen of Scots and one Throckmorton, and a great packet to Dacres, called Lord Dacres, now at Rheims, as I am informed.

Signor Astorgo 'Balione' who passed into Italy last March, has now gathered 2,000 men from Tuscany; for whose government the Grand Duke has named five captains, all of whom will be under the government of Don Pietro his brother. In the territory of Perugia are 'made' 2,000 more.

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The Governor of Milan and the Viceroy of Naples have commission for the like number. The Spaniards who were dismissed from the Low Countries are passing towards Spain. Some few of them are come to this town on the way to Nantes, to embark for Biscay.

One Dr. Knott, lately come from Spain, of whom I wrote in my former letter, stays here for answer to letters which he has sent to England.

King Philip caused the Prince of Parma to dismiss all the 'Pensionaries,' with this 'device' that they should thereby be driven to go into Spain to serve there or where the king shall appoint: whereon most of the Englishmen, the Earl of Westmorland, Copley and others are looked for in this town within a few days, whence they purpose to go to Spain, hoping to be employed to recover their country.

There are come hither two of the Hamiltons, John and James, pensioners to King Philip, with intent to resort to him. They report that they hope the matter of Portugal will soon be ended, and then they may be employed against England. They carry letters of recommendation from the two Scottish bishops to Cardinal Granvelle and the Duke of Alva, and Vargas the Spanish agent writes in their favour.

Morgan reports that the servant of Lord Talbot who was here is put in prison, doubting he shall be ill handled; but Tempest is greatly in fear, because he kept him most company.

The Scottish bishops and Morgan received letters from Scotland on the 11th inst. mostly written in cipher.

D'Aubigny's lackey, 'directed' to M. d'Antragues, brought letters dated Mar. 16, 'declaring of' the gift of the Earldom of Lennox, and captainship of Dumbarton. He came hither on the 8th, having landed at Dieppe.

The Bishop of Ross has made sundry books, and short notes of other books in printing, all tending to the justifying of the Queen of Scots' dealings and the justifying of her pretended title; which I 'seek to recover.'

Books are sent into England, Scotland, and Ireland, very prejudicial to her Majesty's government, and those who have principal places about her. There is an Irishman named Pedgrave, who is sending sundry of these books, wherein are many slanderous reports of the nobles and principal personages of England.

I am informed that Peter Broune, the ordinary post, who departed hence three days ago, carried with him letters of some 'indisposed' persons, whether of his own knowledge or no I cannot tell.

The Pope directed certain letters about the end of December last, of which the Bishop of Ross had a copy. He did it on being informed by such priests and papist visitors as he sends to and fro into the realm of England, that there were divers principal persons inclined to the alteration of religion and government of the state;

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but that they feared the taking away of their Abbey land and their further subjection by conquest. Whereon the Pope has written favourably, in general terms, giving assurance on these points to satisfy them.

The Consistory of Rome give order to their 'espials' that understanding what enemy any nobleman has, they should practise with him and win him; whereby to divide the hearts of the subjects one against another, and her Majesty, to the subversion of the State.

There are certain priests come from Rome and now going over who are sworn not to discover any of their company. They carry nothing with them, but will receive books and other like trash when they have landed in the realm. I send herewith the advertisement of Rowland Russell, written with his own hand. He is upon his return to England to render further testimony of his good meaning.

I also send a note extracted from a letter sent from Britanny to M. Montigny, a minister here, concerning the affairs of Spain.

Colonel 'Chamberg' is sent into 'Almany,' and as I hear passes further, to Duke Augustus of Saxony.

The Princess of Parma is so forward on her journey, accompanied by 100 horse and nine coaches, that it is thought she will be on the frontier of Flanders by the end of this month.

Eleven priests are come from England, some of whom are gone towards Flanders, some to Rheims, and some hither. One of those here is named Belks; he crossed at Dover. They have brought their certificates what progress they have made in England, saying that if the realm were divided in five parts three of them would remain Catholic and favour the Queen of Scots.

There is an old Scot named Patrick, 'of the age of fifty years old and upward,' whom I understand to be a wily fellow. Being come hither to ask a passport of me, I delivered him one to pass over at the port of Dover and no other place. If you cause him to be talked with, it will appear, as I am informed, that he is a busy fellow and a carrier of bad stuff. I send herewith a passport which he had before. I have written within it the description of his person.

This king is informed that the Grand Duke of Tuscany with his wife 'pretends' to go to Venice, with cloak to visit his wife's kindred. But the Duke of Ferrara, understanding of it, sent hither seven days ago Count Giulio da Monte Cucculo to visit this king, with thanks for the precedence he had granted him over the Grand Duke, and therewith signified to him how the Catholic King had procured the Duke of Tuscany to make that journey to Venice for some negociation or inducing the Signoria of Venice into a new league and confederacy with King Philip.

The captain of Lyons, named Mandelot, with some other forces joined to him, has broken sundry companies of the league; whereon they, finding themselves too weak for the king's forces, have betaken themselves to the protection of those of the Religion, as Villeroy

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told me; and, as I am otherwise informed, they have distressed Mandelot and put to flight divers of his companies, in which conflict some gentlemen of name are slain.

The King of Navarre having appointed a hunting by Nérac was invited to dine at a gentleman's house with some of his train; but having other occasions he went not forth that day. But his gentlemen went to the dinner, whereon some of them died that night and others are still in danger, which is suspected to come by poison. On occasion of my last speech with Villeroy of certain griefs of which the Protestants lament, I rehearsed this to him. He excused it, saying if it should be so it was by means of some papist *pastissier*.

It is written from Germany that Casimir has arrested all the Flemish merchants for the money due to his colonels and captains for their service to the States.—Paris, 15 April 1580.

4 *pp.* [*France IV.* 52.]

April 15. **265.** Cobham to [? Wilson].

As I was making this present dispatch, Secretary Villeroy came to me with a message from the king that he meant to show himself a faithful friend and assured ally to her Majesty on all occasions, acknowledging that her well-doing appertains to him. Therefore whereas his ambassador in the Spanish Court had lately advertised him by letters of March 25 from Madrid that there was come thither from Ireland a messenger with a dispatch from the rebels to the Pope's nuncio for aid; whereon the nuncio forthwith 'made means' to the Catholic king to obtain their request for 700 soldiers, which the king has granted, and given order for them to be embarked 'at' Galizia with expedition and sundry provisions; of which proceeding the king desires her Majesty may be advertised.

I rendered M. Villeroy humble thanks that it had pleased his Majesty to make me the messenger of so 'friendly shows of his entire zeal to her Highness and her realms'; but she would be sorry to find King Philip so bent against her as to send forces to strengthen the rebels in her dominions. But seeing he had so far discovered his intentions, she would be glad of these advertisements, especially from so good a friend as the Christian king.

The secretary fell into discourse of present affairs, concluding how convenient it were to withstand the violence now offering by King Philip to the realm of Portugal; saying that it seemed to him that the cause of Portugal was embraced in England 'but in some cold and retired sort.'

I answered that her Majesty could do no more than shew her first feeling of the inconveniences, and refer the proceeding to the remedy to his Majesty's further advice; whereon she clearly demonstrated that she reposed exceeding trust, and greatly respected him.

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He then told me that to confess the truth they have proceeded no further on two grounds; one, because the Portuguese demanded no further aid, and also made no offer of any matter to the king's liking. He therefore stayed lest he should seem to enter 'on the *gayeté* of his heart' to make war with the King of Spain; and meantime the Portuguese might fall to agreement with him.

The second cause is, that seeing the protestants have taken arms in sundry places and also received into their protection others, called of the league, who have likewise taken arms against the king, knowing their own small ability to maintain the war, the king doubted lest her Majesty and some princes of Germany had encouraged them; which he said would be very prejudicial, considering the time was come when all unity would rather be required. But otherwise, he was fully bent that the matter of Portugal should proceed according to justice, and desirous to join the Queen therein.

I said I had not heard any such doubt made heretofore of any dealing of the Queen that way with the king's subjects: so I could assure him she had no such meaning; and that this being known to her I supposed she would by good means clear his suspicions.

Whereon he entered into a large discourse of things past, and in the end spoke very frankly to me; whereby I found that if things pass according to his speech, the king will give order to lay down arms on both sides, and if there fall out any just foundation, will declare his mind and shew a ready disposition against King Philip.

Villeroy said that he himself had been taken to be Spanish, since his service was bent that way; but for his own part he saw the King of Spain and others presume very much on his Majesty's gracious dealings, not doubting but the king would find means to make them understand it if the Queen Mother will be his constant friend, as he accounts.

He showed me both his letter in cipher and the other which came from the king's ambassador in Spain, in which was shown this point of the rebels' request in Ireland, and the ambassadors' general discontent 'for staying at Madrid with Cardinal Granvelle from the king's person'; also that the Portuguese were united for the defence of their country, as I have written in former letters. Also an advertisement of a great ship come from the Indies, which the Spanish king had been informed the Frenchmen had taken, but was safely come to Seville; also that the Duke of 'Barseilles' had been set at liberty.

I enclose a little note, written partly in cipher; also two or three little letters, whereby you may see the names of such as trade with the papists. By the next I will send the names of such English gentlemen as remain hereabout.—Paris, 25 April 1580.

2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 53.]

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April 15. **266.** Cobham to [? Wilson].

I had forgotten to notify in my other letter the bruits lately given out that the Queen Mother was gone to the Duke of Anjou with three purposes: first, to tempt him with the marriage of his own niece, the Duke of Lorraine's daughter; secondly, if that may not take place, to renew the treaty for marriage with the Princess of Navarre; which offers I never heard that he liked, and least that of Lorraine. The third occasion of her going is construed to be that she may dissuade him from the enterprise of the Low Countries, and 'make offer' to him for the defence of Portugal. It is appointed that the Bishop of Commynes [Cominges] shall meet her at the abbey of 'Bourgouilles' beside Angiers, before his passing in embassy to Portugal.

I think Rowland Russell takes his journey today towards England, where he looks to meet some 'landleapers,' by the ways I have written of.—Paris, 15 April 1580.

P.S.—I leave it to Mr Floude to report of the earthquake felt in some parts of Paris, as the bruit credibly goes. News is now come that M. la Noue has taken Mechlin; and that the king's Almaynes in Flanders have mutinied; whereon the Spaniards stay from passing further.

Please let me know if you or Mr Secretary Walsingham have seen a book called the Treaty of Treasons against her Majesty in English, printed about 8 years past. If not, I will send a copy, for I cannot get the printed book.

1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 54.]

April 15. **267.** [? Walsingham] to Cobham.

This gentleman, servant to Mr Hatton, having occasion for private affairs of his own to repair into that realm, desired my letters to you; whereto I did the 'more willinglier' yield, for that I know you desire to hear often from hence, and in deed it will be hard for you to direct your course well there unless you are thoroughly made acquainted with our proceedings here. Your last dispatch by your servant Mr Best was very agreeable to her Majesty, as the rest of your doings since you entered into that charge.

It is 'received' here that the king there is not so effectually bent to give the required aid to the Governors of Portugal as the necessity of his State requires; seeing the late attempts against those of the Religion by the two Marshals, which would never have been by them attempted unless they stood assured of the good allowance of the same. Therefore men of judgement begin to doubt that there is too inward a friendship between the King of Spain and the King of France, whatever is outwardly pretended, and that the jealousy which heretofore one has had of the other, especially that France ought to have of Spain, is laid aside; both being overmuch inclined to concur in the overthrow of those of the Religion. Besides, it is conceived that if the king earnestly affected his brother's match with her Majesty it is an extraordinary course to prosecute

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those of the Religion. You will therefore do well, in my opinion, when you have occasion to meet such of the Council of State as affect either the marriage or good amity between the two Crowns, to lay before them how greatly this hard course held against those of the Religion, is like to impeach both the marriage and the amity; and that while they 'intend' their inward dissention, nourished by faction, upon private quarrels, the realm will go to ruin, and their competitor Spain will wax strong. There may fall out some apt occasion for you to deliver the like speech to the king, or to the Queen Mother, which by my own experience when I 'supplied' that place you now hold, I have found has been very acceptably taken. And however it were taken, if it might tend to the furtherance of her Majesty's service, I never weighed the 'acceptation' of it; and yet had a due regard to deliver my speech in such sort that there might follow no just cause of offence.

It cannot be but that Monsieur must be highly offended with Marshal Montmorency's and Biron's proceedings, considering how much they may hinder his designs for the Low Countries, which now go very fast forward, as you may perceive by the enclosed; but if the prosecution of the war against those of the Religion continue it will breed an utter alienation in those of the Low Countries against Monsieur, whose neutrality in matters of religion has been the principal cause of the furtherance of the sovereignty which he desires in those countries. Since M. de la Noue's arrival there, their case, before very desperate, is greatly relieved in respect of the success he has had at Ninove. Besides the great 'valure' of the gentleman, his embracing of their cause tending to no other end than the advancing of God's glory, being free from ambition and desire of gain, no doubt God blesses his attempts with an extraordinary success. It will be no hindrance to his credit to tell you that the recovery of Mechlin has been performed by our nation under the conduct of my cousin Norris, wherein they showed both great 'valewe' and judgement, as M. de la Noue himself witnesses to me in his letter.

The state of Scotland stands upon very loose and broken terms, as you may perceive by the enclosed occurrents from thence. If that gap were shut I should the less fear foreign malice.

This gentleman will tell you how greatly we were terrified with an earthquake, lately happened on the 6th inst. I pray God that we may take profit thereof, and become more zealous in the advancement of His glory than we have hitherto been; but I fear that we shall neglect his merciful admonition, and thereby draw on us a more sharp measure of judgement.

Draft. Heading (with date) in hand of L. Cave. 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 55.]

April 15. **268.** Advertisements from the Low Countries.

The enemy's footmen in Friesland lie within a mile of Groningen, where two regiments of the State's men 'make' against them, but as yet there is nothing doing on either side; only small skirmishes pass, of no great effect. Their horsemen lie all at Oldensael, and

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make incursions even to the gates of Deventer, the like being 'used' also by the States against them. Staveren castle is thought to be yielded by this. It has held out longer than was thought, being at first judged to be unprovided with victuals; but the contrary has since appeared.

The Prince is at Leeuwarden in Friesland, where he is said to be devising some means of treaty with those of Groningen, who will receive none of the enemy's soldiers.

The Malcontents of 'Henow' are with all their forces about Cambray, and have, by report, sent the cannon thither, the Prince of Parma lying at Valenciennes to be nearer.

The Scots in Vilvorde are 'quieted,' and payed certain months by the pole [?]; wherewith the colonel, captain, and chief officers are aggrieved and will not take such contentment, considering their long service and slender payment; but demand their pay after the old roll, until the former accounts are cleared, and a new mustering.

Great treachery was discovered in Brussels by the intercepting of a letter which the Prince of Parma wrote to the Scots; and at a banquet to be made by M. d'Auxy, who by his wife's procurement was made a chief instrument in the practice, the Governor, Captains, and all the chief officers were to have been slain and the town fired in divers places. D'Auxi with his wife and family are taken, and confess to have practised with the Prince of Parma, having written and received sundry letters. They crave for mercy, and his wife, as author and 'intissor' of her husband requests pardon for him, submitting herself to any punishment.

The enemy's horsemen, who a few days since were near this town and took some prisoners, were on their retiring charged by some of the States' garrison, who released the prisoners, recovered the spoil, and put them to flight with the loss of all their own 'carriage.'

The three Members of Flanders are framing a new camp, to consist only of 3,000 or 4,000 foot and 1,000 horse; the chief of it, M. Villiers, who was governor of Bouchain.

1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 20.]

April 16. **269.** The Prince of Orange to the Queen.

The Estates of Holland and Zealand have informed me of the suit which the merchants of Ipswich are pressing against them for payment of the second term of an obligation into which they have entered. They tell me that the instalment is no doubt long overdue, and that they would have used every endeavour to content the merchants; but looking to the stress of affairs which has for some time prevailed in these parts, they have been compelled to employ on the costs of the war whatever money they could raise, to avoid the certainty of utter ruin, inasmuch as the enemy, thinking to carry us at a single blow, has been attacking us in various places. This was the sole reason why, to their great regret, they could not discharge their debt at the appointed time. And as for this reason

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they find themselves at present without ready cash, and consequently unable to pay the second term. They have prayed me to represent this to your Majesty, in order that you may be certain it is not from lack of good will that they have failed to pay hitherto. Now I am fully assured of your Majesty's clemency, and beg that you will take into consideration the expenses which those of Holland and Zealand have for some years had, and still have, on their hands in the defence of their country; and will be pleased to excuse the delay that has taken place, and not permit any stay of their merchants' goods and vessels to be made on that account. Also that you will be pleased to grant them the further favour to give order to the merchants of Ipswich, your subjects, that they may be content to postpone the payment of the term in question until October next, on condition that those of Holland and Zealand then pay in addition to the principal, interest at the rate of 10 per cent. The Estates and I feel sure that the merchants will not fail to meet your Majesty's wishes.—Middelburg, 16 April 1580. (*Signed*) Guille de Nassau.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Fr. 1½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 12.]

April 18. **270.** 'The examination of the mariners of the Spanish bark stayed at "Winsellse" since Friday the 8th of April, made there the 18th of the same month.'

Rodorigo Kassapino Sinuatso [*sic*], about 23 years of age, of Laredo, says that they took their lemons and oranges in at Collindo, a channel within a mile of Laredo; and that the ship has three owners, Jehan de Loes ce tien [*sic*], Torrinio di Cotsio [*sic*], and Pedro da Lencres, who is master for the present voyage. She is laden in all with 323,000 oranges and lemons, which belong partly to the owners and partly to the mariners. He says that at their departure from Laredo they needed no letter from any officer, for that kind of merchandise pays no custom, and they have none but such as they have heretofore at their arrival delivered to the mayor here. Charter party or other bills of lading they have none, for the commodity belongs to the owners and the company. At Laredo he says there is a *corregidor* for the king, who governs four places, to wit, Laredo, Santander, Castro and St. Vincent, and in each of these places he has his lieutenant. His name is Don Hernando da Badez; he appoints officers to search ships when required. At their departure they were minded to come for London or Zealand, where they might hear of best 'uttrance' for their oranges.

He likewise declares that the day before they entered the channel of Winchelsea, the wind was at N.E., and blew so much that they could not go ahead, and so put in here. Otherwise they meant to have gone along to Dover Road, there to know where they might best go for the sale of their commodity; and according as they learnt that the best 'untrance' [*sic*] was at London or Zealand, they proposed to go. They departed alone from Laredo, and there was an English bark of 30 or 40 tons which meant to lade oranges as he thought for England. Likewise a fly-boat of Zealand was at Laredo to lade oranges, also another Spanish bark of 30 or 40 tons,

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which should lade oranges and lemons and come in company of the fly-boat for Zealand or Flanders, and would not be ready to depart till the 17th or 18th of this month. He does not know the names of any of the masters.

He knows of no bark that departed or meant to depart from Laredo or any other port thereabouts for Ireland or England other than those above-mentioned.

He says also that they 'are' all born in Laredo save the boy who 'is' born at La Nocha, two leagues thence; and none of them can speak any language but Spanish. They brought with them two passengers, an Englishman and a Fleming, who is still here; the Englishman they landed the day of their arrival, Friday, April 8. He knows not his name, but as he told him and the rest, 'a' was married in the islands of 'Cannare.' This Englishman at his leaving told them that if anybody asked to whom the oranges belonged they should say to an alderman of London, to avoid the danger of pirates, if they had met with any; whereupon in their first examination, and upon the Englishman's saying, some of the mariners 'differ to' their first declaration.

He says, moreover, that the mariners being poor men and amazed, coming before a justice in a strange country, it is no marvel though they do alter somewhat in their examination. And for him, he is a poor gentleman of Biscay, and his father was during his life part owner of divers ships, and used to go as master of them himself; and leaving him poor, is [*sic*] constrained to follow this trade as a mariner. He married within these 12 months the daughter of one Pedro de Bayona of Laredo. He was in England when Duke Casimir was in London, with a ship of Laredo laden with oranges, and went then as 'a' does now for a mariner. Sometimes he lades 30 or 40 thousand oranges for his own account, but in this lading he has no part, but goes only for meat and drink and wages, he says, 8 or 9 ducats for the voyage.

He says he never was in Ireland, and they of Laredo do not use to trade that way, nor any of the parts thereabouts.

Thomas Deos, mariner of Laredo, aged 20 or thereabouts, examined, agrees with Rodorigo Cassapino both as to the port of lading and the name of the *corregidor*; and that they have no charter party nor bill of lading, for the goods belong to the owners. He confirms the owners' names. He affirms also that the wind was at N.E. when they came, and that they would have gone to Dover if the weather had served, there to have known where they might make the best sale of their goods.

He knows that no ship came out of the Laredo with them, and that no bark from that place or any port thereabout went either for England or Ireland, but a fly-boat was lading for Flanders, and another bark with oranges and lemons meant to come with it, departing on the 17th or 18th, as above. He affirms that they are all born at Laredo, except the boy, as above; and none can speak any language but Spanish. Otherwise confirms the first deponent.

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Adrian Goodeaar, born at 'Bridges' in Flanders, aged 21 years, passenger, says that they departed from Laredo the Thursday before Easter, and their meaning was to go to Zealand or London according as they might learn at Dover where they could find best sale for their oranges. He says that the Englishman whom they landed at Rye desired to land anywhere in England, it was indifferent to him where, meaning to return to Ghent about a suit he had there, when he had dispatched his business in England. He supposed the Englishman and the Spaniards misliked the one the other, for they differed in argument about the good subjèction of the Prince of Orange. And being asked whether they touched in the Isle of Wight, he says no, nor in any part of England till they came to Winchelsey. He says further that he is sure no bark came in their company, nor did they land anybody till they came to Rye.

Divers Spaniards say about Laredo that the navy which the King of Spain has ready there is to go into England, but he cannot tell. In Spain they blame the Queen of England for maintaining the Prince of Orange with money and men, and he heard that the 'comen' is there that it is either for Flanders or England. Alleging that the Portugals were determined to receive the King of Spain, and he would have no cause therefore to employ his army for those parts.

He does not know that there is anything in the ship but oranges, if there be, it is under the oranges and lemons. He knows of no shipping gone from 'Alleredo' for England or Ireland, and he says that at Bilbao he saw five or six small barks laden with victuals and munition going to the great navy which lies eight miles from Seville, 'at Andolezia.' He said 'they sounded not with their lead but for the security of their bark' when they came in here. He thinks they came in at Winchelsey against their will.

Martin de Serniago, aged 52 years, says that he is pilot of the ship. The goods being theirs and their master's, they have no bill of lading nor charter party. There is a governor at Laredo, who is governor of 4 towns, his name he knows not.

If they had gone to Flanders they would have gone for Zealand. He confirms that the wind was N.E. when they came in here. They were not minded to touch in England unless they had stayed in Dover Road to know where the price was best for their oranges. No ship came in their company from Laredo nor does he know of any bound for Ireland or England. There are none but Spaniards in their company, save only one English passenger and a Fleming. The former landed at Rye, the Fleming is here still. He says they meant to land none but the English passenger. He cannot tell the causes of their different examination, for he was not examined before. As for 'Kachapina,' he is a poor gentleman, and his father was, as he says, master of a ship during his life.

Jehan de Rodo of Laredo, aged 28 years, says they took in their lading as the others 'confess.' He knows nothing of bills of lading nor other such writings, nor that the officers are to give briefs or bills of lading. He says that they meant to go into Zealand, to

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Flushing or Middelburg, or to London. The wind blowing at N.E. was the cause of their coming in. They came alone out of Spain and no ship in their company. But there were an Englishman and a Spaniard lading oranges for England or Flanders about a fortnight after they came out. He says there were not but Spaniards in their company, save the passengers above mentioned. They meant to set no one ashore till they came to London or Flanders, where they meant to sell their merchandise.

He can say nothing touching the difference in the examinations, because he was not examined before for want of an interpreter. He 'justifies' those to be owners whom the others have named, and says of 'Kachupina' as the others said.

Martin Laurence of Laredo, aged 40 years, says that they laded as the others affirm. They have no charter party because the goods belong to the masters and company; and to the 3rd, 4th, and 5th articles he says as the others. For the rest he confirms the others.

Pedro de Faca, St. Jago Nates, say as the others. 'More,' there is a boy who can say little or nothing. The master went from Winchelsea on Sunday last, the 17th, and said nothing. They suppose he is gone to London.

Endd. by L. Tomson. 8¼ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 46.]

April 18. **271.** COBHAM to WALSINGHAM.

I think it good to send you some further points as to the speeches passed between M. Villeroy and me. First, he let me understand the king's disposition to be so determined that he would by no means have any civil wars, but has rather chosen to suffer them of the Religion to keep the towns which by the treaty of pacification should have been surrendered two years ago or thereabouts; also that they have detained his *droits* and revenues from these towns, the customs and profits of the 'salts,' besides divers slaughters committed, which the king has patiently passed over.

As for what was objected by them of the Religion to Montmorency for taking certain towns, he says they were such as they had taken from the Catholics since the edict of pacification, which he has by the like means recovered; notwithstanding they have again taken arms and received into their protection those of the league, who are the commonalty that rise against the king, the nobility and the officials. In the end, having uttered these griefs and declaration of the king's toleration thereof, he asked me if I thought good that he should continue this patience, and what advice I would give the king therein. I answered that as for advice, I should shew much presumption if I should open my mouth to utter words for that purpose; but seeing he had spoken his mind thus frankly to me, and asked me what I thought of it, I would shew him what I had heard since the time of my being here and 'conceit' of their affairs; which was that it clearly appeared the king to be [*sic*] of good disposition, and to have 'framed' himself a nourisher of the repose of his subjects,

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whereof he must in time reap great contentment. And notwithstanding he still found a continuance of troubles, that was left to him by his brothers, while the private ambition of a few was still the occasion and instigation of the practices which for many years had been wrought underhand in the realm, cloaked by more plausible shows. For it was apparent, entering into consideration of the persons of them of the Religion, that first the King of Navarre, whom I had not seen nor was acquainted with, yet I was informed he was a wise and considerate prince, and well understanding his own state, much misliking to enter into troubles, seeing that his living did not satisfy his expenses he was then driven to enter into, and to accept and favour such 'facts' as are odious to him, partly to be accompanied for his own defence, and partly to 'accomplish' with other men's friendships, which otherwise he would lose, so that he was as I heard much in debt and at present constrained to sell 'of' his territories, much to his grief. This Villeroy affirmed, taking it to be much as I had said.

Then as to the Prince of Condé, I said he was a nobleman whom everybody accounted to be of great value and good vivacity of spirit, prompt and ready in all his affairs, but poor in ability to maintain the state he was born to, and to shew himself of the lineage whom [*sic*] he descended; whereon he was driven, upon necessity and being in many ways hardly dealt with, perhaps without the King's consent, to shift as well as he could for his defence, and to maintain himself in some reasonable estate. And for his disposition, I understand he loves the King for the remembrance of some kindness that passed between them in King Francis's time, when they were both together in their young years at Court; and that the Prince hearing of the indignity done the King by the Duke of Savoy in the Marquisate of Saluces, and of King Philip's double dealing with him, said in very private discourse in his cabinet to some of his friends, that rather than King Philip should offer those injuries to the Christian king, he would give himself into the king's hands at Paris to be sacrificed in his behalf, which shewed his zealous affection to the king.

He said he took the Prince to be an honourable person and one that carries himself well towards the king. Then I said, 'Sir, if these persons are thus inclined, it were well to be considered how God and nature have joined them; therefore it were an unjust part to separate them, especially their minds being no otherwise bent than has been said.' It were good now awhile, after so many experiences made otherwise, that the occasions of these provocations, which have caused so many disorders within our body, be looked to, considering that the principal members were so naturally affected one to another, so that it might easily be discovered that they of the Religion neither for their religion, safety, or profit, nor any other cause, had or have the will to take arms but upon mere constraint for the safeguard of their lives, pursued through as many snares and subtle practices as daily appears. Therefore it rather seems that this body of France being thus infected with so sharp an humour cannot be better remedied than 'to have' those ambitious heads employed in some

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other country, where it may be for his Majesty's honour and the repose and advancement of this realm. And I cannot tell how it was in France, but in other countries it was plainly seen that the Consistory of Rome by their counsel poisoned all other estates by sending ill-disposed persons to stir up subjects against their princes, 'assuring some of authority and provoking others with their subtle intents and coloured means.'

He said it was great truth, and they of France felt it, and it was the accustomed manner of Rome to deal thus with princes in time past; and he thought verily that seeing the troubles of France would not be remedied by all the means that have been used, it were good to move the minds of the subjects to enterprise some foreign war. To this he found the king well disposed upon any just occasion offered; which he thought would fall out through the matter of Portugal.

Lastly, I told him that the king was to think that the diffidence among the protestants and elsewhere would remain till he had 'made overture' that there is not that intelligence between him and the Scottish queen which the world yet mistrusts. Then he said I should shortly hear further, and so we parted.

Since which time I am credibly informed by some of the Religion, who have received it by good means, that Villeroy has given out that he hopes the king will shortly talk with some of the chief of the Huguenots in such sort that they should render him account of their doings; not doubting that it would pass well unless it were by very ill hap shortly discovered; as indeed it has fallen out. For first the King of Navarre was in danger of poisoning, and now the rendezvous appointed at Pierrepont, whereby the Prince of Condé had been entrapped about la Fère. Whereon he is gone into Germany to join with Casimir and such other company as he can find there.

On the other side, in Dauphiné, Mandelot captain of Lyons has massacred all that either would yield or he could conquer. So that through these suspicions every man's mind is bent to defend the cause, themselves and their allies, and very small hope left of any longer continuance of peace.

Some of the Court, to kindle the matter the more, give it out that the king means to go in person to suppress by force such as withstand his authority.

Thus I have told you what I have received in speeches, and what passes in action; so that though the time alters, yet it appears the manner of double dealing continues.—Paris, 18 April 1580.

Add. 3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 56.]

April 21. **272.** Cobham to the Queen.

The king coming yesterday to Paris sent Secretary Brulart to me to inform me that the Prince of Condè had suddenly left la Fère, accompanied by sundry troops of horsemen and other forces, of which he wished me to advertise your Majesty, hoping that you will assist him with your counsel and all other good means.

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Thus much by the king's command I have thought it my duty to certify. It seemed from Brulast that the king neither could nor would seem to know which way the Prince has gone. But I am informed he went by Sedan, a town of the Duchess of Bouillon, and thence into Germany.—Paris, 21 April 1580.

½ *p.* [*France IV.* 57.]

April 21. **273.** Cobham to Burghley.

Since my letter sent by Mr Floude, the Prince of Condé has started suddenly from la Fère. The king is much troubled and sent Secretary Brulart to me so to signify to the Queen. It seems they are very 'doubtful to have' much trouble this year, since they have taken arms in Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Provence; while in some places those of the league have joined them of the Religion. There is therefore small hope of the king making any enterprise elsewhere.

I enclose notes of certain edicts which the king intends to have confirmed by the Court of Parliament, that he may levy great sums of money. Likewise I send the proffers which the Catholic king has sent to them of Portugal, and the names of all the principal persons at present managing that realm.—Paris, 21 April 1580.

Add. Endd. On the back is pasted a fragment of a paper addressed to Dr Wilson, referring to 'Edmund Roberts.' ½ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 58.]

April 21. **274.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

I have sought to get the names of the Englishmen. After I have obtained them I will send them 'by the next.'

I suppose you know one John Frost who has lately gone into Scotland, and will be with Sir Lewis Balandine, the Justice-Clerk, ready to give intelligence to any that serves her Majesty.

I perceive that Mr David Chambers purposes to repair into England, to require that he may have access to the Scottish Queen.

As yet I have not visited the Bishop of Glasgow, for I know not her Majesty's pleasure.

It is thought that these troubles in France have proceeded, not for any cause of religion, whereby the edict of pacification shall be broken by them, but for the discontent and ill-government of the State.

I am waiting to hear from you of the matters which I certified by Mr Phillips and Mr Floude.—Paris 21 April 1580.

P.S.—I am informed that the Scots have this day had advertisement from a Scottish merchant dwelling at Newhaven, that d'Aubigny has got the keeping of Stirling Castle, and the body of the king. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 59.]

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April 21. **275.** The Estates of Holland to the Queen.

Whereas the manifold and urgent burdens of the war have been the reason that we have been unable to pay the second instalment due to the merchants of Ipswich, and we understand that application has been made to your Majesty for letters of arrest, tending to the great hurt of persons dwelling in these lands, and of the common cause; we have thought good hereby to beseech you graciously to regard the great burden of these lands, and charge the merchants your subjects to suspend the proceedings in execution, and postpone the stay till next October, by which time we hope to make such provision for payment that no further complaints will reach you.—The Hague, 21 April 1580. (*Signed*) de Rechtere, *and another*.

Add. (*Seal.*) *Endd. in later hand. Dutch.* 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 22.]

April 22. **276.** Augustino Sutarini to Cobham.

Owing to important business, I have been compelled to start for Milan without saying a word to anyone; wherefore you will excuse me. And whereas I am of the same mind as before, namely to serve your Queen, I write to say that if she accepts my offer as it is made, and it seems good to you that I execute it, you should advise me in Milan by a letter in duplicate, addressed thus: 'To the very reverend Gio. Battista Buttinone, Canon of St. Stephen's in Milan.' I shall stay in his house. Send the other copy as a mercantile letter, whereby it will have a safe delivery, and time will not be lost. When you get this I think you will have heard from your Queen, yes or no. If you wish me to come you will find the money for my expenses, since I do not want to spend my own. Answer me as soon as possible, and I remind you that the more secretly this business is handled, the better; since you have now made an anatomy of my affairs, in a manner of speaking. And I will not fail in my promise to you for your own private affairs.—Lyons, 22 April 1580.

Add. Endd.: Augustino Sutarini to Sir H. Cobham. His going out of France and abode at Milan. *Ital.* 1 *p.* [*France.*]

April 26. **277.** Cobham to Burghley.

M. de Vray is come hither and has informed the king that Monsieur had dispatched him to England to the Queen, 'pretending' to bring those affairs effectually to some conclusion. On the 23rd I was visited by him, when he told me that Monsieur wished him to let me know of his going. It seems he hopes to 'procure' her Majesty to send for the Commissioners, as also that she will be pleased to advise Monsieur how he shall deal in the matter of the Low Countries, for he is staying his enterprise only until he may be resolved of the Queen's liking therein. I think he meant to have gone to-day but he 'feeled' a 'grudging' of an ague, whereon he was let blood this morning; otherwise he would have dined with me.

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M. de 'Marchamont' is come hither this afternoon, sent 'on message in post' from Monsieur. He had had public conference with the king, in which he has assured his Majesty that his brother is ready to do him service in appeasing these troubles, beseeching him that the devisors of evil treacherous acts may be punished.

Thus there is again conceived a little hope of repose, but surely the foundation is but slippery.

As to what the king wished me to write as to the Prince of Condé's departure from la Fère, it is now certainly known that he is still there.—Paris, 26 April 1580.

P.S.—Please let the Queen know that the Prince of Condé did not leave la Fère, and that the king was wrongly informed.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 61.]

April 26. **278.** Cobham to Walsingham.

Whereas it was certified to the king, and I also was informed by some of the Religion of credit, that the Prince of Condé had left la Fère, as I wrote by Bluemantle, it is now held for truth that he is still there, of which please advertise the Queen. It seems there were suspicions of some secret designs on both sides, and upon the sight of a few troops who passed to and from la Fère, there arose an opinion of his departing, which was advertised by M. Crèvecœur, who has a jealous eye on him.

The King of Navarre went from Nérac on the 15th inst. to Montauban on the Tarn, and has since taken four or five places thereabouts. The gentlemen of the Religion have taken arms in sundry parts by the Loire, and seized a few towns and castles in Poitou.

M. de Liancourt was sent on Saturday the 23rd to la Fère, to speak with the prince; and Beauvois la Nocle was sent by the king on the 22nd to Sedan in the belief that the prince was there. Monsieur seems to take upon him the appeasing of these beginnings and has dispatched de Vray to the Queen: who is come here, and purposes to start for England in two days, if his health serve him.

I have moved the Ambassador of Portugal for the money he owes you. He promises payment on receipt of money which he expects daily. The Queen Mother is not expected till the end of this month.—Paris, 26 April 1580.

P.S.—Lord Sandes came to Paris to-day, minding to stay here some time.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 62.]

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April 27. **279.** '27 April 1580. The names of sundry Englishmen, Papists, presently abiding in Paris.'

GENTLEMEN OF YORKSHIRE AND THE NORTH.

Three of the Fairfaxes
3 Manneryes
3 Wentworths
2 Stapletons
2 Daubys
2 Blunckstons
2 Musgraves
2 Swynbornes
Tankard
Goodriche
Caverley
Kendall
Pilkington
Rockworth
Vavasor
Womwell
Norton
Worthington
Meeres
Burghe
Blackston
Notton
Middleton
Wharton
Woodrooffe
Hungat
Bradford
Fitzwilliams
Rossington
Osborne
2 Gascoynes.

LANCASHIRE.

Orrell
Hawghton
Trafford
Ashton

Thorneborowe

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Cuney
Aston
2 Warners
2 Basfords
Fitzherbert
Greysley
Swynerton
Erswicke

WARWICKSHIRE.

Meredey
Payne
2 Conways
Gryffin
Yoily

WORCESTERSHIRE.

Folliatt
Sheldon
Russell
2 of the Liggins
Hynckes

DERBYSHIRE.

Darcy
Babington
Foulgham
Frechwell
Fartlett
Deacon

NORTHAMPTON.

Farley
Cresswell
Vawse
Varneham
Saunders

CHESHIRE.

Hollmbery
Savadge
Turbridge
Hurlston
Chambley
Dutton
Brewerton
Mannering
Roche

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Barckley
2 Whittingtons
Tracy
Bray
Hanckesman
Aylworth

WILTSHIRE, DEVON.

2 Davers
2 Hungerfords
Copston
Carewe (Devon)

HAMPSHIRE.

Lawrence
3 Shelleys
2 Writhesleyes

NORFOLK.

Windam
Hudleston
Kittson
Catlin
Benington

OXFORDSHIRE.

Barker
Harte

WELSH COUNTIES.

Parry
2 Owens
2 Scudamores
2 Vaughans (Heref.)
2 Hanmers
Salisbury

OF SUNDRY COUNTIES.

2 Doyleys
Allen
Lodge
2 Redmans
Gobbins

Kniveton

Eannes
Fortescue
Budley
Baker
Buckle
Elthrop
Biscott
Kempton
Baston
Buckett
Farrington
Branington
Jenings } (Leicester)
Shroughborowe }
Wroughton
Hassock
Walner
Banes
2 Bassedges (Nottingh.)
Omer
Travers
Royston
3 Wards
Pudds
Baymont
Holland (Lincoln)
Hardwigge
Colombye
Restall (Buckingh.)
Brighton
Gossadge
Cosley
Cowlson
Redborne (Heref.)
Kempson
2 Brownes
Wolstrop
Sheffield
Lutcott
Turvyle
Banister (Salop)
Cooper
Brackett
Mountjoy, kinsman to Lord Mountjoy, sometime appertaining to the Duke of Norfolk and now steward to M. Pibrac

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These for the most part are gentlemen of good account here, and no students. Such gentlemen and others as are accounted for students and placed in Colleges or appertaining thereto :—

3 Smythes, one a kinsman of the late Earl of Arundel
2 Bridemans, gent.
Ereway
Ployden, the lawyer's son
Dawbson
Flood, brother-in-law to Lord Lumley
Bayly, Dr. B's. son
Banckley
3 Nevells, gent.
Knight, gent.
Cornwallis, gent.
Powell, gent.
Mundey
Biggs
Offley, gent.
Richardson
Front
Allyott
2 Wilbromes, gent
Lovell, g.
Daniell, g.
3 Skeynes, sons to Sir Tho.
Brompton
Speaks, g.
Jackson
Bearnmore
Brackley
3 Barkers
Robinson
3 Clarks
Goodgin
Goodwin
Burnell
Bostock
Hartley
Bushell
Brinckott
Beckett
Wood
Thorley
Ludwell
Broughton
Herson
Hockett
Harrison
Hamlett
Usher
Smitheson
Tilsley
Warner
Hudson
Bosley
Snowe
Snagge
Luddington
Playne
Vaghan
Lancaster
2 Webbs
Pilsbury
2 Sharlocks, g.
Boyer
Lovett
Planckney
Poydell
2 Bracyes, g.
Ollyett, g.
Barnes
Chudley
Barnett
Nightingall
Ethrop
Ruckby
Manley
Godfrey
Atkinson
Christman
Brasbridge, g.
Throgmorton, g.
Sutherton, g.
Edleston
Rogers, g.
Turton
Greenfield, g.
Litchfield, g.
Hethicke
Otwell
2 Johnsons
Allen
Watson
2 Gyffords, g. } of Staffordshire,
Woosley, g. } gone to Reims
2 Crosses (? erased) greatly suspected to be Papists

English Doctors.

Dr. Allen
Dr. Darbishyre
Dr. Peashey
Dr. Robinson
Dr. Bayly
Dr. Richard
Dr. Tomkinson, a Jesuit
Dr. Farnham
Dr. Nicholson
Dr. Smithe
Dr. Robards
Dr. Smithike
Dr. Wilkinson
Dr. Barnet
Dr. Bristowe
Dr. Knott, lately gone to the Prince of Parma

Licenciates in Civil Law.

Edwards, a Londoner
Percy of Yorkshire
Davison, Northampt.
Harding
Covert
Crompton
Weston
Appelton
Tempest
Francke

Great Practisers.

Tho. Morgan
Warbutton
Clitherowe
King
Hiliard
Watson, son to the Attorney in London
Brackford, a pensioner of the Scots Queen
Thomas Evans, a companion of David Chambers, a Scot
Orton
Sudgrave, an Irishman

Irishmen.

Lawrence, Edmunds, Whyte } Priests

Gentlemen.

Fitzpatrick
Dowby
Tirloughe
Cooly
Mr. Hughes
2 Sudgraves

English Friars.

Fitzherbert
Boulser
Chambers
Fertley
Medcalfe
Branch
Cocks
Purston
Beckworth.

Gentlemen remaining at Rouen.

Sir John Barckley
Mr. John Wootton
Anderton (Lancaster)
Sheldon, a practiser

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Letherborowe
Marshall
Skevington
Whetston
Stillington (York)
Gates
Warden
Phillipps

There are besides them many gentlemen and others at Reims, Orleans, and other places in France, who are not particularly known. Lady Morley has these in her house:

Mr. Parker, her son
Merideth
Mr. Hall
Peyton
Hanmer

Lady Copley has only one, Mr. Brooke. The whole number of Papists are 307. It is thought there are about 100 Papists or rather more in this town, English and Irish, besides the forenamed; who, living secretly and disguised as they do, cannot so readily be known.

The English Protestants in Paris.

Mr. Bacon
2 Hoptons
Mansfield
Varneham
Gawdy
Doyell

Smythe
Willoughby
Corbett
Buggins
Porter
Hidgcock
Windebancke
Champernowne
Cary, gone to Germany
Nichols
Barrington } suspected
Machett }
besides those which appertain to my Lord the ambassador.
Protestants, 20
Sir Jerome Bowes has three more.
Lord Sandes remains here with 10 servants
Mr. Crofts, Mr. Comptroller's son.

Endd.: *Mary I., the names of Englishmen residing in France, being Papists.* 3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 63.]

April 30. **280.** The French King to Henry Howard.

I have heard from my ambassador, M. de Mauvissière, how on every opportunity that can serve to confirm the friendship between the Queen of England and myself, and especially in regard to her marriage according to my desire with my brother the Duke of Anjou, you employ your good offices, and forget nothing which your good natural disposition, desiring of seeing our amity established, can effect. From which I wish to assure you I have received great pleasure and satisfaction, and am most grateful to you, as you deserve, and as I shall always on occasion be glad to show.—Paris, the last of April 1580. (*Signed*) Henry. (*Countersigned*) Brulart.

Add.: Monsieur Henry de Hauuard mon cousin. *Endd.:* French king, *and in Latin. Fr.* ½ *p.* [*France IV.* 64.]

April 30. **281.** A. Gosson to Davison.

I received yours of the 23rd before that which you had previously sent by the Flemish post. I have seen no sign of its reaching me. Since your departure I have written to you twice, on 13 June and 22 August, 1579. I handed both to your secretary, who told me he had forwarded them to you.

I cannot fitly thank you for your kind remembrance and for the honour you do me in your last. I have been all along at Antwerp without budging since the day when I returned; though I mean to budge as soon as I have effected what my mother and other relations are urging me to do without further excuses, wherein I am sufficiently disposed to obey them. The fact is that for the

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re-establishment of our house they want me to marry, and several very honourable matches have been proposed to me here. But when I come to the point of concluding, the matter is always difficult, especially as many good matches offer, each having different qualities to recommend it; and I fear that if I take one and leave the other it will be worse for me rather than better. I regret very much that you are not present, that I might have the advantage of your aid and counsel. But as this cannot be I will dare to be so enterprising as to ask you privately your advice by letter on all the persons (*ceux et celles*) upon whom I have cast my thoughts. I shall keep this to myself, as I am sure you will do. In this way you will increase my obligation to you.

As for the news, I am glad that your country remains in sure peace and quietness, that it may serve as a port and a retreat as heretofore for so many poor people afflicted by the storm which agitates all the rest of Christendom.

Touching the reception here of M. d'Anjou, it is true that every province has separately voted for it, under such conditions as shall be approved for the security of the country. But so far there has been no general resolution, because the deputies for the provinces have been returning since the arrival of his Excellency. I hear that they will be able to begin next week, and that they will proceed to the election of a State Council and Chamber of Finances, according to the representation and instruction laid before them by his Excellency shortly before his journey into Holland. From this it is hoped that matters will be better ordered and regulated in future.

As for the report that is current here, and is not easily believed with you, you may adhere to your judgement as correct; nevertheless it is useful to both you and us that the contrary opinion should be in vogue.

M. de la Noue is using all his acts and endeavours as a soldier. He has lately shown himself in the neighbourhood of Haulterive, and has enabled those of Tournay to pass their goods and stock themselves with what they needed. This done he has returned to Ninove, where Colonel Norris and his troops, who have been employing every device suitable to the conquest of Mechlin, are to go and join him. We are also led to hope for the reduction of Groningen, in token of which they write from Holland that they are holding parley with those of the Union of Utrecht as to the conditions.

Elsewhere, the Prince of Parma is at Mons in Hainault, and does not sleep. God order all for the best.—Antwerp, 30 April 1580.

Add. Fr. 2½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 23.]

April 30. **282.** Villiers to Davison.

There is no need to excuse yourself for not writing to me, for I know you have no great matter just now. I thank you for your good will. If I could see you once a month I should have part of my wish; for there are many things which the pen cannot and

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must not convey, and I much prefer that men should sometimes err in judgement than that they should make a mistake by writing too much.

M. de la Noue has made as though he would (*a fait contenance de*) besiege Haulterive; meanwhile he has re-victualled Tournai, which was his object. The enemy has re-crossed the river with all his forces. He (la Noue) having only 400 horse and 2,000 foot, has gone to a place of security awaiting reinforcements, and trying to carry out what you wot of, if it comes to pass. He is at present between Ghent and Oudenarde on the river, the enemy towards Ath. Meanwhile the people of Cambray and Bouchain have every chance of taking the forts which harassed them; which they are doing, and have burnt three. The French regiment which was at Ninove is coming to-day to the camp. The English ensigns which are at Mechlin will leave it on Monday, and I think others will follow. Twelve ensigns of Scots are still at Menin, and will not be taken away unless it is very much to the purpose. The enemy want to assemble forces again towards Carpen for the succour of Groningen; meanwhile Count 'Hoenlo' has recovered all the fortresses of the country, till only Groningen remains. Still they do not speak of surrender, and the town cannot be taken by force. These losses of towns make the enemy so furious that M. de Capres killed a poor man who brought him a letter about the capture either of his brother-in-law or of Mechlin.

I write nothing about the war in France, for I think you are sufficiently informed about it; nor of the report current of Monsieur's illness. You will soon know it as certainly as we, if it is true.—Antwerp, the last of April 1580.

P.S.—Kindly give Mr and Mrs Killigrew my humble respects, with those of their poor gossip, who is still lying in.

Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 24.]

April [?] **283.** 'Report which came from Crate to the most reverend Archbishop of Sant° [*py.* Santiago] of the preparations for war made in the ports of Spain.'

In the port of Cadiz are the Marquis of Santa Cruz, general of the galleys of Spain, with 36 galleys and 20 ships; general of them Don Alonso de Bazan, his brother, with two *tercios* of 6,000 Spaniards; *maestre de campo*, Don Luis Enriquez. Antonio Moreno brings four companies of Don Pedro de Sotomayor's *tercio*, *maestre de campo* of Lombardy.

At Gibraltar is Marcello Doria with 20 galleys of Prince Andrea Doria and private persons, with one *tercio* of 3,000 Spaniards; *maestre de campo*, Don Antonio Zapata.

In the same port has arrived Fabrizio Colonna, son of Marcantonio, with 10 galleys from Sicily and some people; and four companies of Don Diego Enriquez, *maestre de campo*.

The Prior of Hungary and Carlos Pinelo with 13 ships, and two *coroneles* of 6,000 Italians from the kingdom of Naples.

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Prospero Colonna with 7 ships and one *coronelia* of 3,000 Tuscans and Florentines.

From the district of Genoa and Lombards one *coronelia* of 4,000 *gastadores* (pioneers). Don Pedro de Medicis, brother of the Duke of Florence, is general of all the Italian infantry. In this port are expected 11 other ships with 6,000 Germans under the Count of Lodron, who started from the port of La Espeque [Speke *in the translation, qy.* Spezzia] on Jan. 23 last.

In the Alfagayas of Tortosa are 20 galleys from Naples which came at the first, brought by Don Juan de Cardosa, with a *tercio* from that kingdom of 3,000 Spanish infantry. As *maestre del campo* comes Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, son of the Marquis of Mondejar.

The total is 86 galleys and 49 ships; 13,000 Spaniards, 9,000 Italians, 6,000 Germans, 4,000 *gastadores*; besides the sloops and pinnaces (*zambras*) from the west coast, with the people, lances, and mariners whom Don Juan Denys, Real of Biscay, brings, who are many.

Also many ships have come from Italy and Naples, with cargoes of all sorts of supplies, arms, munitions and appurtenances of war, with many people, the number of whom is not known.

There embark also Sancho de Avila, captain-general of the coast of Granada with 300 horse. Besides there are being raised by the Estates of Old Castile 6,000 infantry, besides the *maestros de campo* Don Gabriel Nyno, —— de Aya. In Estremadura much supplies are being got together, and about Badajos they are fortifying some places on the frontier of Portugal, in addition to the preparations which the Alcalde Tejada is making in Tierra de Campos.

The officers of the army in addition to the captains-general, are Luis de Barrientos, Castellan of Gayenta, quartermaster, Andres de Avila, caterer that used to be to the galleys of Spain; accountant, Alonso de Alameda, who used to be so to the army of Flanders; paymaster, Juan de Portilla.

Sp. 1½ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 45.]

May 3. **284.** Cobham to Burghley.

In my former letter I told you of the Italian who had proffered to me a device whereby her Majesty might make money without 'exacting on' her subjects. You may perceive whither the party is now gone, by his letter which I enclose.

Since Queen Mother's return from Monsieur there appears no alteration. But a quarrel has burst out between the Duke of Montpensier and the Duke of Nevers, occasioned thus. Whereas Montpensier when last with his Highness at Angiers declared that when the Duke of Nevers last departed from the king he showed small respect in offering the king to follow his Highness, and take upon him to bring him alive or dead; this being spoken in

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Monsieur's cabinet was reported to the Duke of Nevers, and further words have passed therein. So that Montpensier and his son the Prince Dauphin seem as if they would frame a quarrel thereon, and have drawn some of their followers to them.

The king however has sent Secretary Villeroy to Monsieur to appease this matter, and the displeasure which the King of Navarre has conceived, through which he has taken occasion to strengthen himself to the number of 4,000 shot and 300 or 400 horse, etc. Now the 'gentlemen Protestants' of Languedoc and Poitou have taken some places for their safeguard and stand upon their defence, having been advertised that some sudden enterprise was preparing against them.

On April 30 came hither Don Francisco Barretto, sent by the Governors of Portugal. I have visited him, and learn from him that Don Bernaldo Monis is appointed to repair 'on message' to her Majesty.

This ambassador two days after his coming despatched a messenger into Flanders, for favour of the States to transport, by means of Stephano Nunez, a Portuguese, armour and other warlike preparations.

On May 1, Vargas, the Spanish agent here, dispatched a post to Bordeaux to signify this Portuguese ambassador's coming.

I enclose a copy of the King of Navarre's letter to his Queen after his departure from her; also a copy of advertisements received from sundry places.—Paris, 3 May 1580.

P.S.—Since writing my last I am told that the King has agreed with Augustino Susarini [*sic*] for the sum of 25,000 crowns to be assured him at Venice, as an entire sum, without any yearly pension, so far as I can learn.

Add. Seal. Endd. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 65.]

284. *Enclosures in the above:—*

(1) An offer to make known a method by which 'a great many thousand crowns' can be raised without any additional taxation of any kind, or any monopoly; on condition that five per cent. of all money so raised be guaranteed to the writer.

Cobham adds: I have sent a copy hereof to her Majesty, certifying that I have only informed your lordship thereof, as the chief person that deals for her revenues and advancement of profits; beseeching that I may understand whether the party may repair into England and to whom he may be addressed, if this offer be so to her Majesty's liking that she will hear more of it.

Add. Seal. Ital. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 65*a*.]

(2) *Another copy.* ¾ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 65*a*. (2).]

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(3) *Translation of the King of Navarre's letter to his wife, given in* Lettres Missives de Henri IV. *under April* 10.

Endd. ¾ *p.* [*Ibid.* 65*b*.]

May 3. **285.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

The Bishop of Glasgow came to me on Wednesday the 27th [April] and informed me that he was advertised that M. Mauvissière had moved the Queen to deal in the favour of the Scottish Queen, in respect she has had a great part of her dowry taken from her; whereof he lamented much to me, and declared the manner of it with sundry circumstances. And since he did 'dilate' this very much, I desired him to frame some brief note of the matter in writing; which he has done, and I here inclose it, that you may show it to her Majesty. He then desired me to let him know when I received any commands for that purpose, so that he might at the same time take occasion to become a suitor to their Majesties here. But as I know well how the Scottish Queen gives pensions to sundry ill-disposed subjects of the Queen, I suppose that her Highness may rather think her dowry too much, except it were better employed; considering how it is known that sundry of these Scottish pensioners are solicitors at Rome to move the Pope and the Consistory to bend their counsels and aids against her Majesty's states, and perform as it seems the like office in Spain. The consideration of this I leave to her Highness, beseeching you that, though I have in my former letters touched this point, she may now again hear of it. I have been moved to 'remember' thus much again, because it seems they could use her goodness to her own harm, as a means whereby the Scottish Queen should be the better able to furnish those English which depend on her. Some Scots have lately repined that her dowry is too little to bestow on the Queen's subjects; but I hope they speak rather of malice than that there is just cause for it.

Since the Bishop of Ross's return from Dieppe, where he has 'set forward' the Abbot of Lindores and other his loving countrymen to serve for sinews of d'Aubigny's faction, he says his mistress has written to him to deal stilly and warily in all causes concerning the Queen my sovereign, since she is now in good grace with some hope of favour.

The said Bishop hears that Queen Mother moved Monsieur at this last interview to have the vacancy of the next bishopric or good abbey; to which he answered that he had granted the next vacancy to 'Vervagues'; but will see the Bishop satisfied. He has had 'sundry of his books' intituled *De successionis jure Regnorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ* printed in Latin at Rheims, whereof as he has opportunity he conveys numbers across the sea.

The Earl of Crayford, surnamed Leslie, left Paris on April 28 for Orleans, purposing as I hear to pass into Italy.

The king and the chief lords have been for three days past somewhat troubled with a quarrel between the Dukes of Montpensier and Nevers, which happened thus. The Duke of Montpensier when last

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at Angiers, in conference with Monsieur 'uttered' that he esteemed the Duke of Nevers not to be his good servant, for that at his last going from the king at Paris he voluntarily offered the king to follow him and bring him; and also that he thought the same disposition towards his Highness continued still. Whereon la Fin being at that instant in Monsieur's cabinet, and not long after sent hither to the king, is said to have reported this speech of Montpensier in such a way that it came to the Duke of Nevers' hearing. Whereon, being greatly moved, he sent his lieutenant to Monsieur to justify his fidelity towards him, showing he honoured none but two, the king and his Highness, and that he would 'justify' that which was delivered of him to be false, and proved he lied, whosoever so reported of him, n[ot] 'taking knowledge' that it was the Duke of Montpensier. After the Duke of Nevers' gentleman had done this message to his Highness, he stayed some days in Angiers and delivered the like speeches among Monsieur's gentlemen; which was by Fervaques, as they say, reported to the Duke of Montpensier. The Duke is much offended, and has taken to him some companies of gentlemen; and the Prince Dauphin is in like sort repaired to his father with more than ordinary troops. It is reported here that they have entered Tours. The Duchess of Montpensier, sister to the Duke of Guise, is repaired to the Court, lamenting to the king in sharp words against the Duke of Nevers. The king seems disposed that the Duke of Montpensier should be favoured in this cause, and will have the Duke of Nevers slack his sails for this time.

The Duke of Guise was asked by a gentleman of his how he would carry himself in the matter, being brother-in-law to both. He answered something merrily, and said he would muffle himself in his cloak and stand at a window and see them give the blow.

The King has appointed Villeroy to put himself in readiness to go to Monsieur about these causes; the rather that Monsieur is gone to Bourges to have conference with the King of Navarre, which interview is not desired here. And thereon Villeroy, as I am informed, has enquired of someone in this Court who is in c . . . . with Monsieur what were the things he most desired. It was answered that he chiefly wished the advancement of the amity with the Queen of England, the surcease of the civil wars, and that the Spanish King's greatness might be assuaged with some blows bestowed that way. Of these things I think I have been somewhat particularly and credibly informed. But whether there is understood by these shows an agreement in the dislike of civil wars, a good meaning to the House of Bourbon whereby to induce a marriage with the Princess of Navarre if that with her Majesty do not take place, or that these intelligences portend a reformation in the government of the State to the better satisfaction of all the principal natural French personages and so to ease the grievances of the commonalty, which as yet appears no further than as I have declared. But it is thought that before Midsummer these meetings and conferences will 'make show.'

M. de Rohan is with the King of Navarre, but with small company of his own. The King of Navarre has 4,000 foot and 3 or 400 horse.

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I have been advertised by an Englishman, a friend of mine, from Angiers that Monsieur was honourably accompanied by many nobility of both religions, having altered the officers of his house, and made M. de Revery his Chancellor, a politic person and learned in the civil law, sometime president of the Parliament of Dijon, indifferently disposed in the causes of religion, but as I hear to be accounted somewhat affectionate to the House of Guise. Of Monsieur's Council and superintendent of his finances, is chosen M. Perrot, a man of great good fame and well affected to religion.

Monsieur declares by letters and messages to all places that he will be a conservator of peace, and makes show to be against those who violently procure civil wars.

Marshal de Retz arrived at Nantes in Easter week, where he has caused five galleys to be brought into the river. These have been rigged with much diligence, well furnished with artillery and put in readiness; but to what purpose as yet appears not, though there are sundry conjectures. Captain Augustin the engineer remains with the Count de Retz, who has been at Belleisle, and is having it fortified, having brought thither two or three companies of soldiers.

'Upon that' the Protestants were by many means advertised and warned of certain secret practices against them, they immediately thought of their defence: whereon for their present succour, as it might be conveniently compassed 'in that sudden' they surprised sundry towns and castles. In Brittany they entered the town and castle of Montagu, with the castle of Toufu [*qy.* Thouaré *or* Carquefou ?], two leagues from Nantes, and the town of Fontenay; whereon the captain of Nantes has taken occasion to stand on his guard, being suspicious of these neighbours.

In the same country there are many meetings of the gentlemen of the Religion at their houses, which prognosticates some further event; showing that there is no solid quietness hoped for until by apparent action the suspicion can be made known.

Don Francisco di Barretto, who was chamberlain to Don Sebastian, 'the last young King of Portugal,' came here on April 30, having been 15 days at sea, driven with contrary winds. At length he landed at Nantes, where he met the Count de Retz, from whom he came hither by the post, and has audience this afternoon. I 'was to visit' him the day after he came and was informed by him that the Governors intend to send Don Bernaldo Monis to the Queen; but at his departure he had not been dispatched. Since his coming he has sent a courier into the Low Countries, with letters from the Governors to treat with the States for munitions and shot from thence. The day after his arrival the Spanish Agent sent a post to Bordeaux with letters certifying his arrival; at which time Villeroy requested he might send the king's packet, but he made a false excuse, saying he would stay till the 'ordinary' came from Spain, but he sent notwithstanding.

This Francisco Barretto was taken prisoner at the battle in Barbary when King Sebastian was slain, and returned but three months past in the company of the young Duke of 'Barseilles'; of

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whom he gives out great commendation. I have in conference with Don Francisco Giraldi pointed out that the best confederation seems to be to join with the States of the Low Countries; for their enemy is common to them both, and their two navies might reasonably well encounter the Castilian forces by sea, as also the Flemings might easily convey to them munitions and all other wants. If some marriage with the young Duke of Barseilles do not 'frame their assurance' here it is 'likest' that their most assured confederate will be the Fleming: for it must needs fall out profitable to them both, since they may then constrain the Catholic King to divide his forces. I have delivered but this taste hereof, for without her Majesty's command it is not fit for me to deal therein.

I have visited the Prince of Wallachia, according to her command received in your last, accomplishing with speeches so much concerning her offer of writing to the Grand Seignior in his behalf, showing him clearly the sundry causes by which her Highness has been constrained to bestow her treasure; and likewise signified how she must be upon the imminent danger compelled to procure of her subjects supplies of great sums to sustain her extraordinary charges of the Realm. To-day the prince visited me and informed me that a secretary has come from Germigny, this king's ambassador resident at Constantinople, by whom he hopes to receive letters; having seen which, he will return to me and shew me his further desires.

By letters from Italy it is stated that the Governor of Milan is deceased, and that the Duke of Terranova is there; which may be an occasion for the government to be assigned to him.

A messenger is come to-day from Dauphiné with news that M. de 'Governat' has taken Château Double in Dauphiné.

The Duke of Florence furnishes 150,000 crowns to the Spanish King towards payment of the Spanish and Italian companies lately in Flanders, and another 150,000 is assigned to be levied on the merchandise within the State of Milan towards the setting forth of the 4,000 Italians now to be sent into Spain.—Paris, 3 May 1580.

4 *pp.* [*France IV.* 66.]

May 5. **286.** The Prince of Orange to the Queen.

I pray your Majesty to excuse me for having so long delayed to answer your letter of 19 Feb. in favour of Mr Ratcliff. Since receiving it I have been so far away from Zealand, and so much taken up with the affairs of Friesland, where some agitation had supervened, that it was impossible for me to communicate with the judges of the Admiralty, who I was told were acquainted with the facts. But on my arriving at Middelburg and enquiring of them how the matter stood, they answered that they had proceeded in the way of justice. He observed all the usual formalities, showing me a report of the proceedings. Please let your Council see the enclosed copy of it. If matters were still at their initial stage I would not have failed to satisfy your wish, and as it is I have given and will

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give orders if there is any further case for justice, and Mr Ratcliff wishes to prosecute his claim, that all reasonable favours shall be shown him, principally for love of your Majesty, who has been pleased to write to me, desiring to do you all the service I can, and in favour of the Earl of Sussex.—Antwerp, 5 May 1580.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson: answer to the letter written in behalf of Sir Henry Ratcliff. *Fr.* 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 25.]

May 8. **287.** A summary of the number of men-of-war in the service of the General States, 'being placed abroad in those Low Countries or Provinces.'

Under the government of Mynheer Ryhove, 15 companies or ensigns, each 150 strong, as follows: 13 officers, 12 muskets, 50 corselets and 75 harquebusers or calivers. The 'entertainment' of the colonel is 700 guilders a month. Amounts altogether: 15 ensigns, 2,250 persons; their wages monthly - - 26,200 gldrs.

The following companies will be augmented:

The government of Mynheer Montaigne [Mortagne], 10 ensigns; their wages monthly - - - - - - - 17,700 gldrs.

The government of Ypres, Mynheer van Uttenhove, 5 ensigns, the Colonel 400 guilders per month; their wages - 8,900 gldrs.

Under the government of Colonel Sonhay, 5 ensigns; their wages - - - - - - - - - - - 8,900 gldrs.

Under the government of 'Terlown' [Treslong], admiral, 5 ensigns as before; their wages - - - - 8,900 gldrs.

Under the Colonel of Antwerp, 10 companies - 17,700 gldrs.

Under the government of 3 companies, 'to say' the governor of Lyre, Herentals and Westerlo, each 150 persons, armed as before; the Colonels each 100 gilders a month - - - 5,400 gldrs.

Under Mynheer de Mérode, and one under Varnatts [?] together 4 ensigns; 400 gilders for him that shall be colonel - 7,200 gldrs.

Other names are: 'The Grave or Earl of Renenburch' in Friesland, 14 ensigns; 'Mr Derick Snow' [? Dirck Sonoy] in North Holland, 10 companies; 'the Earl William van Nassau, son and heir to the Grave John,' 10 companies; Colonel Art van Duvenwoorde, 10 companies, each 113 men, and his own 200 persons; a 'company' of Hollanders of 8 ensigns without colonel, 'under' which are contained 4 ensigns at Amsterdam; the 'watch' of his Excellency, with his halberdiers, 150 persons (*pay not stated*); Baron of 'Hoochschapen,' 10 companies; Admiral Haultin, 5 ensigns; 'Hageman,' 4 ensigns; the young 'Earl' of Bergen, 4 ensigns; Colonel Temple,' 10 ensigns; Captain Mitchell, 6 companies; Yselsteyn, 10 companies.

Frenchmen: Under two governments, 22 ensigns; 'to say,' under Colonel de la Garde, 10 ensigns, 113 strong; and under 'Villeneue' [? Neuville] 12 ensigns, 150 strong.

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One ensign under 'the Earl of Hollock *alias* Hornlo, under the guiding of Captain Synesqui' [*Renon de France gives* Seduiche; *qy.* Zedwitz], 200 strong.

Englishmen: Under Colonel Norris, 150 strong; the colonel's wages 1,200 gilders a month.

Scots: Under Colonel 'Bafford' 18 ensigns and under Colonel Steward 10 ensigns. Colonel 'Bafford' has 1,200 gilders. Colonel Steward 900.

The whole number of foot is 225 ensigns, 32,612 persons.

'Here followeth the horsemen.'

The company of the Prince of Orange is 100 demilances, 100 'pistoletts,' 30 long pieces; the 'guide' of M. Voysin, 100 horse; the cornet or guidon of Captain Mornow, 100 demilances, 50 long pieces. The company of Setton, 100 horse; Captain Bolde, 70 demilances, 30 long pieces; Captain Grolle, 100 demilances, 200 pistoletts; Rittmeister Picque, 200 horse; Captain Mitchell, 100 horse; Captain 'Sketter,' 70 horse; Captain 'Trilo,' 100 horse; Captain Brave, 100 horse; Captain Alonzo, 100 horse; Captain Swytz, 100 horse; Captain Riswoude, 150 horse; Captain Nettyn, 100 horse; Captain Dod [Dode van Laere, *R. de F.*], 150 horse; Asiga Entens [Aysmaentes, *R. de F.*], 100 horse; 'Eloo consta,' 150 horse; Battenberg, 50 horse; Colban, 100 horse; Lyon, 150 horse; Colonel Norris, 100 demilances, 100 pistoletts, 200 horse—their wages 4,080 g.; la Noue, 100 demilances, 100 pistoletts, 200 horse—their wages 5,440 g.; Captain Temple, 100 horse; the company which attends the Prince of Orange, 50 horse; Grave John of Nassau, 100 horse—their wages 4,310 g.; the Grave of Hollock, 1,200 High Dutches horsemen. Total horse, 4,750.

"And forasmuch as these monthly pays must be brought up 'under' the confederate provinces for pay of the same, so each of the said provinces brings up as hereafter follows":

Brabant	66,666	gilders
Gelderland	41,256	,,
Flanders	187,500	,,
Holland	106,666	,,
Zealand	26,700	,,
Utrecht	16,000	,,
Friesland	32,000	,,
Overyssel	20,000	,,
'Groeningland' and Groningen	21,334	,,
'Drentland'	6,000	,,
Total	524,122	

"So all the soldiers be paid and 14,876 gilders over for the Company."

Below is a note in Italian, in the same hand as the memo. No. 304, *calculating the annual amount in pounds sterling.*

Endd. with date. On the back are some brief notes in the hand of [?] *Walsingham, relating apparently to Scottish matters.* 5 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 26.]

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May 10. **288.** Lord Percy to Cobham.

Although I ought, considering the position you hold, to have written to you oftener than I have done, yet deeming that you will excuse my small experience, my youth, my 'imbecility' and want of training in the French language, wherein I have as yet laid only the first foundations, I will take assurance in the wonted kindness of your nature that you will accept all in good part. I hope you received my last, sent by my cousin Slingsby, together with those from the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Sussex and my father, all addressed to you wherein you bind me not only to present gratitude, but to a sense of your kindness and a remembrance ever to do you service.

And seeing, my Lord, that the times are difficult and dangerous, and that it is hard to know where one is, kindly signify to me if need be how I can do my bounden duty to my Sovereign, in order that I may conduct myself in such sort as to do her agreeable service and comply with your wishes, employing myself after my small power in all that concerns the maintenance of her estate.—Orleans, 10 May 1580. (*Signed*) H. Percy.

Add. Endd. Fr. ½ *p.* [*France IV.* 67.]

May 11. **289.** Hoddesdon to Walsingham.

I hope that by my former letter you understand the decree lately made by the Lubeckers; who, as they began boldly, so they proceed arrogantly in executing it against her Majesty's subjects, having stayed two ships of Newcastle, which came laden with lead and coals, suffering them first to make sales and then arresting both money and ships.

They presume the more because they have no ships in the 'ocean seas,' for by reason of a difference with the King of Denmark about tolls none of their ships have passed the Sound this year.

The town of Lubeck has protested against Hamburg for not 'following their order'; whether in earnest or no, time will try. Some think that the Hamburgers having many ships abroad will not deal as yet; and it is judged that none of the towns that lie on the west seas dare meddle at all.

Divers others of the Hanse Towns which have had no dealing with England like very well that the rest as well as they should buy their cloths at second-hand, which makes the towns of Dantsic and Lubeck almost at their wits' end.

The noblemen of Germany who appointed to meet the King of Denmark in the land of 'Holst' came not according to promise, and the Elector of Saxony being on his way to Denmark suddenly returned, the occasion not known. But it is imagined the late setting at liberty of the Duke of 'Wymarne,' son to 'Hertigh' Frederick, sometime Elector, who is now by the Emperor restored to the possession of his lands, may be some cause. It is also thought that the King of Denmark 'has not his full purpose' of the lands of 'Holst,' as it was said he should.

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The town of Groningen remains as it did, compassed round with the States' forces, but so well provided of victual that it is thought they will hold out long. The governor has lately taken an oath of all the inhabitants for their true 'obeissance' to the king. 'Grave' John of Nassau's son came thither a few days ago to the aid of 'Battelense,' with 10 companies of foot. Since his arrival there is a bruit that Groningen has offered to compound with the States, which offer is not yet accepted.

In Munster they cannot agree about the election of a new Bishop. The greater number will have the Bishop of 'Breeme;' to which certain Popish canons oppose themselves, seeking rather to choose the Duke of Bavaria's son, who should have been Bishop of Cologne; but it is thought they will not in any manner of way prevail.

The report goes that peace is concluded between the Emperor of Russia and the King of 'Pole' with his consorts.—Embden, 11 May 1580.

Add. Endd. by Walsingham: from Mr. Hudson; *and by L. Cave.* 1 *p.* [*Hanse Towns I.* 59.]

May 12. [**290.** *Transferred to* 1581.]

[May] 15. **291.** Villiers to Davison.

You will have heard through another channel how God has visited us, balancing our victories by the capture of M. de la Noue. Save for him the loss was small, for we lost less than 200 men, though they had a good many stand of colours, which had been left at the camp. I hope that all will soon be in order; in any case it does not appear that any great effort on the enemy's part will come about for this year.

I am sending you letters from which you will learn the truce between the Turk and the King of Spain. You know the consequence. If we in the north do not take heed to our affairs, the King of Spain will indeed be the Catholic King, giving orders to the whole of Christendom. I have always said that the house [which] we were afraid to attack (? *d'attacher*) would do us more . . . than the other. Happen what may, we will try, by the grace of God, and I [believe we] shall do it.

You will be told of a fresh earthquake at Dantzig; it is not true. The Germans did not feel it. As for your recent one in Kent, it did not come here; certainly I did not feel it, nor M. de Sainte-Aldegonde—we were together in his garden—nor those who were out of doors. All the Islands of Zealand shook. God have pity on us.

Letters from Germany show that we can expect nothing from that quarter.—Antwerp, 15 , 1580.

P.S.—'Madame will find here, if you please,' the humble duty of myself, my wife, and Marie; Mr and Mrs Killigrew also.

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Slightly damaged. Add. Endd. in later hand. On the back Davison has written:—The deputies of the States, and with them M. de Languet, are dispatched towards Monsieur with the articles conceived for his reception. The truce between the T. and the Sp. is by letters from Venice said to be certainly concluded till January next. The Turk doth arm by sea, whereof the Venetians are suspicious. *Fr.* 1 *p.*. [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 27.]

May 15. **292.** Thomas Stokes to Walsingham.

My last was on the 12th inst., wherein I wrote as the time gave occasion.

M. de la Noue is sent from 'Corttricke' to Lille with a guard of 1,200 horse and 500 foot. From thence, it is said, he will be sent to Mons. in 'Henogo,' where God preserve him from the Italian 'fyge,' which all men here much fear.

All M. de la Noue's gentlemen that were taken prisoners are released on ransom, among them his secretary; by whom he has sent by word of mouth to the lords of this town to look well to their towns, for the enemy is preparing 'battery-pieces,' scaling-ladders and pioneers.

The Malcontents have sent to all the villages within a league and a half of this town not to fear them nor to fly from their dwelling-places, for none of their side shall do them any harm or take anything from them on pain of death.

To write you of the great lamentation that the country makes for M. de la Noue is too long to trouble you with; for surely he is much lamented, for it is much feared his taking will be the overthrow of all on the States' side. As I understand their matters at this instant stand in very weak estate, and without some speedy foreign aid 'the' cannot continue long, for it seems the enemy will not now lose the great advantage that 'the' have.

The four Members of Flanders wrote to the Prince to come to Ghent, or to this town, that some good order might be taken for the defence of the country and towns, and he has written them an answer as though he would come; but for all that it seems by the delays he makes that he is not willing to come, for which cause many evil speeches 'goes of him' here amongst the common people, for they say it is he that brought them into this misery and trouble to the loss of their lives and goods, a case most lamentable.

The gentleman with the rest that this province of Flanders sent to Duke d'Alençon six days ago took passage at Dunkirk for Boulogne. Since their departure, upon this mishap to M. de la Noue, the Prince and States have sent a post after them to procure a speedy answer of the duke, and also to send one or two of name hither.

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A show is made here of gathering their 'solgers' together, and so making a camp again in the field; but it goes so faintly forward that it is thought it will be nothing, and all for want of a good general.

The governor of Tournay has written to the four Members of Flanders a letter of great courage and good comfort, 'willing them not to dismay themselves of the evil fortune happened to M. de la Noue.' His writing comforts their hearts here, 'hoping thereby he will continue good.'—Bruges, 15 May 1580.

P.S.—Since the finishing of this, I have got the copy of the governor of Tournay's letter; also the copy of a letter which the Viscount of Ghent has sent to the lords of this town, being in answer to a letter that they sent to him on behalf of M. de la Noue; both which I enclose.

Add. Endd. 2 *pp.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 28.]

May 15. **293.** Rossel to Walsingham.

I told you of a journey which I had to make into France, to negotiate, not with any French, but with certain Malcontents who are malcontent afresh. I made the journey, and am starting on it again to-day.

You will have heard of M. de la Noue's disastrous day. He is at Courtray, a prisoner in the hands of the Viscount of Ghent, who performed this feat with his cavalry, driving in our men as usual. I will mention no other details, save that the gentleman in question is well treated, being indeed free of the town of Courtray on his parole.

You know that two deputies from Flanders started last Tuesday to see M. d'Alençon, who they say is at Paris, to commence negotiations on the articles conceived by his Excellency. The Estates have met on this matter, but those of Guelders and Utrecht are not yet come, and I fancy have cooled in their desire for it, especially those of Utrecht because they say they are neutral, and not among the king's patrimonial provinces. If they begin, I fear the only consequence will be that the Queen will leave them alone. The Emperor has just written to the States bidding them deliberate maturely on such a step. If they change their prince they will make an enemy of his house and all Germany. He has sent to the king to make him condescend to peace, and expects an answer shortly.

They are trying to set their forces on foot again, and collect others in greater number. There is some debate as to the chief. Argenlieu was put forward, but the Ghent people suspect him, and want to send for M. de Mouy as being M. de la Noue's son-in-law. Others propose Famars, as belonging to the country.

I am setting out for an important negotiation, which if by the grace of God it succeeds, the enemy will find himself much annoyed, and cast down from his design. Time will accomplish all with the aid of God.—Antwerp, 15 May 1580.

Add. Endd. Fr. 1¼ *pp.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 29.]

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May 19. **294.** Mauvissière to Walsingham.

Not having at the end of my audience the other day, had the advantage of speaking to you to give you the letters which the King my master has written to the Queen on behalf of some French merchants for the recovery of certain securities due to them from English and Italian merchants, I thought good to send you this word (having heard that the Lords of the Council will not take cognizance of the matter) to beg you to get the Lords to write to the Judge of the Admiralty that he may hear the arguments on both sides, and give his decision.—London, 19 May 1580.

Add. Endd. Fr. 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 69.]

May 19. **295.** Cobham to Walsingham.

Upon the directions in yours of the 2nd inst. I informed the king how thankfully the Queen had received his advertisements concerning the preparations intended against Ireland; to which he said that the obligation he had 'with' the Queen persuaded him to have the care he had shewn, and he would continue it.

And whereas the King of Navarre and the Prince had informed her Majesty by Bouchart of their 'condoleances' (of which I delivered his Majesty a copy 'drawn out' of that which you sent) he said they had not only taken arms but surprised his town, committing many other insolences 'which do follow the wars.' Notwithstanding, since he finds the King of Navarre somewhat conformable, he has resolved to continue the repose of his country; having caused the Edict of Pacification to be published anew, with further order, for the satisfying of those of the Religion. But if he would bend his ear to those that are of his opinion in religion, they would exhibit twenty complaints for one. Yet since he saw the Queen governed quietly, he would also according to her counsels incline to maintain the pacification which in his heart he desired, as by effects he shows. He thanked her that, as he was advertised by M. Mauvissière, she had not 'allowed of' their disorderly proceedings in troubling his State at this time, which should not be, considering the preparation and intentions of King Philip. I replied that the Queen had reproved the present taking of arms by those princes of the Religion, for the affection she bears to him; yet she would take it well if he would deal with those of the Religion as his oppressed and afflicted subjects, being men whose welfare depended only on his will. They had reposed their safety on his pleasure, knowing that the intentions of some others, whose authority is great, put them incessantly in extreme peril and 'diffidence' of their lives; which is done by the devices of those who would be glad to do some service against those of the Religion, whereby they may frame steps to advance their ambitions, though at his Majesty's cost and charges.

He answered, it was not unknown to him that there were those who desired 'renuvement' of his estate, but that being a king he would rule them as a father in all his further proceedings; beseeching her Majesty to hold that hand towards him which it pleases her

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now to do, which he would deserve by all means. And if such occasion should fall out in his affairs he would address himself to her for her counsel and favour.

After this I repaired to the Queen Mother, to whom I declared as before, receiving from her words in effect much like the king's, saving that she added how the King of Navarre had done better to repent wisely than to proceed in his beginnings; not being content to commit disorders and break the Edict, to the prejudice of those of the Religion, but also to repair to the Queen with their complaints. However she knew the Queen was well acquainted with their humours, as she perceived by Mauvissière.

Finding her thus moved I requested her to call to mind, first that the King of Navarre was of the blood royal, and as it were a son of France, a prince of a high lineage, of a good wit and ripe judgement, rendered unfortunate only for his profession in religion, exiled thereby from the King and Court, being 'presumed on' by sundry under pretence of the King's service, and often put in great doubt of his safety; constrained by the provocations of others to do as he does, and to exceed in his actions for the safety of his life. I besought her to think not only of this, but of the declarations that they have set down to the Queen, reporting matter of much importance with exceeding appearance of truth.

She said that he was not bound by his religion to take arms against the King, and he might come to Court. I replied that things had passed heretofore through the counsels of such as were thought not to be far from the King's presence and not to carry the least part of reputation in his favour, who seem to break out at times with privy practices, by which the King of Navarre and all of the religion were made to despair of their safety and to take arms as it were to make a way to fly from peril, adventuring their lives to get some little place of refuge.

She returned that those times and humours were past, and if I hearkened to them I should be 'abused'; wishing me to continue my good offices, and that she would consider their complaints, for whose sake she had made many an evil journey.

I ended with this, that as the Queen had sent to the Christian King and her the negotiations which the Princes and others of the Religion had made her privy to, which now were revealed to them as a clear show of sincere affection and private intelligence from the Queen, I hoped that she and the king would have care so far that they of the Religion should receive favour and comfort from them in respect of the Queen my sovereign having given their causes and complaints into their Majesties' hands; having left them comfortless only to the intent they might depend on their Majesties and so receive defence. And thus with a little promise in a few words that she would respect those of the Religion, I retired from this audience.

At the end of these conferences with their Majesties, I informed them how the Queen's governor in Ireland had obtained some victory against the rebels and the Spaniards who were sent to assist

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them and give them courage; in such sort that the Queen's army had scattered the rebels, driving the small remnants into the woods and marshes, having taken their fortresses, and the castle where the Spaniards had 'renforced' themselves, who were put to execution; as also that her Highness has now appointed such part of her navy to guard the coast of Ireland that she hoped no further attempt could be procured that way, by the King of Spain or otherwise. Their Majesties said they were right joyous to hear those news, wishing the continuance thereof.

On delivering the Queen's letter to the Portugal ambassador, I told him that she had waited to answer the Duchess of Braganza's letter, because she was daily expecting to receive further information concerning her title and the state of the country, in what sort they were united and disposed; which in good policy ought to have been done long since, considering the Cardinal King was not likely to live, and the state of their country falling into present imminent danger, especially when 'so nigh a mighty prince' as the Catholic King pretended a right of succession to their realm with forces in readiness to make good his claim. And yet, since the death of their last king, they have not employed persons of quality, with good knowledge of their affairs, to inform and explain to the Queen and other princes the dangers supposed to be growing in their estate; nor had they signified what forces they were able to make by sea or land for their defence, or their needs which might have been relieved in convenient time.

To which the ambassador resident, and the other, Don Francisco Baretto, answered first that the last king for a time inclined somewhat to the Castilian King, persuaded thereto by the instigation of the Pope. During his life they could pass no further than to procure that by order of Judges the titles and claims might be indifferently heard, examined, and adjudged. Since then they would not make any alteration, but quietly and 'by time' put themselves in some order to withstand the invasion of King Philip, if he shall seem to trouble and force their justice. But both affirmed that they were all united in this, that they thought it just the State should be governed by a king of their own nation. Meantime the Governors had sent to the Christian King, and to the Queen, to 'enlarge' thus much by their letters, and had also appointed a gentleman to be sent to England to signify their meaning, and understand her Majesty's towards them, and obtain further favours as occasion should present; meaning not to make any show of hostility until the King of Castile should first press on them, when they might justly shew their resistance. Thereby they hoped to move all other princes to take compassion on them and assist them. Meantime they had fortified their principal posts and taken note of the number of their fighting men, preparing weapons and armour for them. Thus far they enlarged to me of their meaning and proceedings.

And so I took my leave of Don Francisco Baretto. He had finished his negotiations with this king, and was preparing for his journey to Rome, whither he is gone to treat with the Pope about the causes of Portugal, intending to return this way.—Paris, 19 May 1580.

3¼ *pp.* [*France IV.* 70.]

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May 20. **296.** The Count of East Friesland to the Queen.

We thank you for your letter of last November, and for that of Mar. 4 in reply to ours. The sum of your request agrees so well with our wishes that we long to fulfil it. We were much displeased in former years by the sudden departure of your subjects, especially as they were bound by their privileges to fix their trade permanently at Embden. Now, however, that your letters have satisfied us on this point, we have granted to the Governor of the Society of Adventurers all that he sought in their name. His industrious way of doing business deserves all praise from us, for since his arrival we have heard no complaints of your subjects, except that a few neglecting the old way of trade have been throwing themselves too eagerly into the German commerce, whereby not only our subjects incur great expense and loss, but all the German provinces have of late taken great offence. We have discussed this with the Governor, that it may be put a stop to at once. But as this has not come about, we thought it well to seek a remedy from your Majesty. If this is applied, and all cause of offence removed, there is no doubt but that your merchants' business will become every day more flourishing and more profitable to us.—Embden, 20 May 1580. (*Signed*) Edzardus manu ~~pp.~~

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson: pray cutters [*qy.* cutting] off of forestallers. *Lat.* 1½ *pp.* [*Hanse Towns I.* 60.]

May 21. **297.** Gosson to Davison.

I have received your letter, which I did not expect so soon, and nevertheless had sent off [*lâchée*] another. I am glad and thankful to you for confirming me in my purpose to the extent of your power. Choice I have none, otherwise than to present myself on the chance to one of those whom I named to you, who in all other things show me favour and friendship. The business is difficult for me in many respects. Still I will try the experiment.—Antwerp, 21 May 1580.

Add. Fr. ½ *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 30.]

May 23. **298.** Cobham to Burghley.

According to the command in your last letter I have written to the Italian who is at Milan, to whom I have given order for his coming hither, and so to pass into England, if he likes. I wish he may accomplish some of the great deal he pretends; which is rather to be doubted than much hoped. Notwithstanding I would not 'leave to' advertise his offer made to me, with that profession of her Highness' service, which is to be dealt in according to her pleasure and your lordship's opinion.

Best is returned hither a most sorrowful man, having been led to that mishap (as it seems by him) through the reports of someone that went between him and the other who is slain.

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Du Vray is now come and has spoken with Queen Mother to-day, but not with the King. He gives out that the Queen proposes within a few days to send one to Monsieur who shall satisfy him for the continuance of good mutual intelligence, but for no other matter.

To-day three commissioners from the Low Countries have passed towards Monsieur. He continues a mediator for the public peace, and for the time there is a surcease of arms.

The unkindness between the Dukes of Montpensier and Nevers continues, and Montpensier sent lately to the King of Navarre, to know if he would take part with him, which that King has promised with great earnestness.

The King has lately caused the Edict of Pacification to be published and proclaimed in sundry places. He does not yet proceed with his edicts devised and propounded in the Great Council for the 'recovery' of great sums, but has borrowed divers sums of private persons by way of loan, and caused it to be 'required' in the Parliament that he may sell 12,000 francs a year of his domain: which was somewhat 'opponed against' at first. At that time M. de Lansac being sent thither to 'motion' this to the Presidents, persuaded them with a long speech, concluding that they must accommodate themselves to the King's need.

Please let me know if you received a note of the names of the Englishmen in these parts. I sent it by Jacomo Manucci, late servant to Mr Secretary Walsingham. Also that you would shew me the favour 'as' to send me the schedule which you found in one of my letters; for to confess the truth I can find no copy of it, nor do I well remember the meaning.

I do not yet hear tell that the Scottish gentlemen repaired to you, who went from this Court with my letters for you.—Paris, 23 May 1580.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 71.]

May 23. **299.** Cobham to Walsingham.

I beseech you, let me be 'comforted' to know if God has some way blessed me, so that my 'selly' services are any way agreeable to her Majesty, and that my care and intelligences given of the greatest causes, which I take to be first the preservation of the mutual amity with their Majesties here, or any carriage in the matter of Monsieur's cause has been according to what she commanded, and without offence or prejudice to any of my lords; and that I have not [*sic*] with expedition and circumspection advertised of the proceedings of Portugal, as also that I was not the last who discovered the enterprises of d'Aubigny. For it seems from the message which Best brought that my lord of Leicester, to my great grief and discouragement, understands otherwise of my service; since he has sent me word I have very evil intelligence, and that the Queen was informed I carried much furniture for myself and my servants.

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As for the first, concerning advertisements, I beseech you make such answer to my lords as may truly be done, and let me understand from you if my service be so slender; that I may seek amendment, and clearly know how I may do, and whereof I may send more agreeable dispatches. For the bringing over with me of furniture or provision, I may truly call God to witness that I did not bring over with me anything of silk or cloth unmade, nor my wife, as she swears, any piece of linen for her own use; not so much as sufficient for our daily use, so that it is openly known I have bought it since I came hither. I wish those whisperers might not be admitted to the ears of principal persons. But my lord might deal honourably to cause such either to be punished who abuse his gentleness; or if it turn out to be true, I yield myself to be punished as the meanest person in England.

Thus I receive no comfort or recompense for my 21 years' service past, being come to the years of 43, receiving no answer to my suit begun two years ago at Windsor; and am made subject to the speeches of the worst. What God will.—Paris, 23 May 1580.

[*On a separate leaf, but apparently part of the same letter.*] I have enquired of Best upon what occasion his pitiful cause was brought to the action of the extreme adventure of his life and the loss of another man's life. He has told me how first the speech of this slander commenced by words spoken by John Furryer, which were with deep oaths (I cannot tell with what truth) answered by him, and so put over to Lilly; who, being thereon challenged by Best, would have passed it with some fair words. But as the report was too much spread Best could not be satisfied except Lilly brought forth his author; where at length it seemed this poor unfortunate young man was 'heartened' on, to take the quarrel, as he thinks. Thus through the impunity used to tale-carriers and whisperers, these evil events fall.

For my own part I might justly take occasion to 'lament' of John Furryer, for his evil tongue toward me and mine, and other his demeanors; but so as I may have the hap to be no further 'travailed' with his dealings, I shall the willinglier pass what is past. 'Your honour do by me herein as it may be done conveniently, and some good to you.'

Add. Endd. (*with date*) *in Walsingham's hand, and* (*with reference to the 'furniture' matter*) *in one of the* 18*th century.* 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 72.]

May 23. **300.** Cobham to Walsingham.

There is a friend of mine, whom I moved to pass into Spain; but coming to Nantes on Feb 22, he embarked there, and through some occasion landed on Mar. 4 at Lisbon, in the company of Gratiane, my neighbour's servant, where he has seen the order of the affairs in that country. They are particularly set down in the enclosed letters which he brought with him and delivered to me; as I think it impertinent to write the same in my letter.

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This person assures me that he was in the Duke of Alba's camp at Badajos, which is within half a league of the river dividing the Catholic King's territories from Portugal; where he thinks the Duke has not above 5,000 soldiers and those all Spaniards and most of them '*besonyos*.' He could not pass to see the 'army by sea,' for passages are kept straitly that way. He understands that the Catholic King has about 200 vessels and galleys 'attending on this enterprise,' but their people exceedingly decayed with sickness.

The King of Spain was looked for to approach Portugal, and secure means to land his army about the foot of Cascaes.

I wrote in February how Queen Mother had sent d'Abadia, by whom her cause and pretence is negotiated. I beseech your honour it may be concealed that *I did send* these *inclosed* or that I 'should be' in any way *privy* to it. [*Walsingham's mark in margin.*]

If it be your pleasure that the said person should be employed in Spain, I will send him into the camp by sea. [*Marginal note:* the man fit to be employed.]

I have (as I wrote to you before) procured one Cornwallis, but I cannot altogether assure myself of his 'confidency.' I have sought other means, which you shall shortly learn by an assured messenger, if it takes place.

The *agent* of *Spain's* secretary has had some beginning of conference with *Best* and has appointed him to come to-morrow night to the *agent*. As he assures me you are privy to it, I have also consented. Please send some instruction in writing, how he is to proceed for her Majesty's service. [*Marg. note:* Privy to the matter.]

And I would know if you think it good he might take occasion to be a *malcontent* upon this mishap lately done, showing his little desire to return into *England;* and to offer his service for *Ireland* or *England* [*marg. note:* it may serve to good purpose], with desire to serve in that army, and further as you may appoint. But this shall not be done till I know your commands; only he shall go to the agent in the mean time and find his disposition. If therefore you 'have liking hereof' let me receive the speedier answer.

I am advertised that *Cardinal Riario* passes through *the King of France's* country, if the *Duke of Savoy* do not lend him his *galley;* so that he was minded to come to *Lyons* by land and not far from thence to pass down the river *Loire* to embark at *Nantes;* the certainty of which I shall hear by the next 'ordinary' from *Italy*.

I have thought with myself that this *Pope's legate* will be fully instructed in the affairs, not only for the negotiations of *Portugal and Spain*, but of the *Pope's* counsels touching the enterprises of *Ireland*, *England*, and *Scotland;* so that I have conceived that if such a person might be brought into the hands of some friends of the *Queen of England* it would save great sums in her purse, procure quietness to her heart, be a means to discover treasons, and save

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many godly religious men's lives. [*Marg. note:* hard to be effectuated.] There are *ships* of the *Prince of Orange*, of *Scotland*, and *Flanders*, and others which have occasion to pass along the coast by *Nantes*. The rest you understand and can order. If I may hear from her Majesty that this dealing likes her, when I know her pleasure, I will follow it with all my spirits. [*Marg. note:* They of Rochelle most . . . for such an enterprise.] I have only delivered my thought to you, beseeching you to deal therein accordingly. If you will have it forward, upon one word of notice I will send Mr Waad to receive instructions thereof, or otherwise handle it as you best please.

Alexander Hayford, servant to Ralph Liggons, sometime attending on the Duke of Norfolk, was sent hence on the 18th inst. to Liggons's elder brother in Worcestershire.

Captain del Bene thinks to be dispatched within two or three days to Flanders for the relief of Count Egmont, and hopes to 'introduce' a treaty for the delivery of M. de la Noue. He is 'advanced' to this privacy by the means of Strozzi; he is directed to the Prince of Orange and the States and means to go by way of Calais.

By letters of May 13 brought by a courier from Spain to-day it is announced that the Catholic King was near Portugal with his forces, having 25,000 foot, 2,000 horse and 1,500 men-at-arms on the frontiers of Portugal, that he hoped to obtain possession of that kingdom without force of arms; meaning afterwards to turn his forces toward Algier; but this is certified from Madrid by those affected towards him.

I have stayed this message this half day to receive my lord Hamilton's answer in writing, but since it comes not, I will send it by the next. [*Marg. note:* the Lo. Clawde's . . . .].—Paris, 23 May 1580.

Add. Endd. by Walsingham: 'decyphered,' *and in another hand:* letters intercepted of D'Abadie (*see Nos.* 253-6). *Notes by Walsingham.* 2 *pp.* [*France, IV.* 73.]

May 23. **301.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

According to her Majesty's instructions in yours received on Friday, the 20th, sent by Bluemantle, immediately on his arrival I sent to demand audience of the King and Queen Mother; but as the King was on Saturday occupied in some great affairs, and about the solemnizing of his feast of St. Esprit, I could not have audience of him that day, nor yesterday, which was 'the feast of the descending of the Holy Spirit,' nor yet to-day. Howbeit, the Queen Mother admitted me to her presence, to whom I signified the Queen's gratitude for her constant continuance in the suit of her son, which infinitely bound the Queen to acknowledge this particular affection. And since she and the King were pleased to concur in this suit with Monsieur's good disposition, the Queen was moved so far to conceive of their gracious dealing as to wish us to assure her that she would with all zeal run the course of their fortune as a friend to their friends, which she meant to testify to the world on any honourable occasion.

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And whereas she had been upon sundry weighty considerations moved to stay the sending the Commissioners, she has informed du Vray of the reasons for this, and also for the prorogation of Parliament; which she was sure he would communicate to them.

Further, I was to show her how the Duke of Alençon had most earnestly followed his cause, using all princely means for its accomplishment; which demonstrations of amity the Queen would requite to him and them by all good friendship with entire intelligence.

To which she answered that she had shown herself importune in her son's cause, being the thing she most desired, alike for the worthiness of the Queen's person, and for her own contentation; desiring above all things in her old age to see her son have issue, for which she could no longer 'attend.' But seeing marriages were ordained in heaven, and but concluded 'in' earth, she left the sequel of their desires to God; being glad to learn by me my sovereign's disposition for embracing entire amity with them. She would inform the King of it, knowing he would take it to be the best news that could come to his hearing. Herewith she asked of du Vray. I told her I thought he would shortly be dispatched, and I judged she might by him be more fully advertised of the Queen's will and the causes which urged her to defer the Parliament in England and the sending Commissioners.

She said it is reasonable her Highness should dispose of her affairs to her own liking, notwithstanding their desires. And with that she excused the King's not giving me audience for the solemnity of that day; to which afterwards she also repaired, to the Augustines, where, as also on Whitsunday, the ceremony was held.

Monsieur remains as yet at Tours, where he has lately ordained a Council of twelve chosen persons, among whom M. de la Fin and the Vicomte de la Garche were appointed. But as he sometimes called into his cabinet more privately part of his council only these two not being admitted have departed from him as malcontents.

To-day are gone towards Monsieur's Court, Hubertus Langetus, M. Provyn, M. Caron, Commissioners from the Prince of Orange and the States of Flanders [*sic*] to receive his resolution touching the articles and propositions which the States had already sent him. They are accompanied by a servant of M. Pruneau, agent for Monsieur in the Low Countries.

The opinion is that Monsieur hopes to obtain the Duchy of Orleans, or some better 'partage,' and that his sister, the Queen of Navarre, will have an increase of her estate in Berry; whereon he promises the King of Navarre and the Prince to stand their assured friend, which will be well for him if the effect agree with this supposed promise. It seems that of late the Protestants have entered into some confidence that way, whereof God send them more good than everybody hopes for.

Meantime, they of the Catholic league in Picardy are united and ready to take arms against the Prince of Condé, whereon M. de 'Susanna' was sent hither on Friday last from the Prince, and sent

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back again by the Queen Mother. His return is looked for to-night. But as yet there is no very great appearance whether this motion in Picardy will grow to war, or be smothered by order from their Majesties.

It is reported that their *rendez-vous* was to be to-day Breteuil, a town of the Prince's own inheritance, as I understand.

I saw a letter sent from the parts of Picardy toward the sea, how thereabouts they had taken weapons from those of the Religion.

It is thought that M. Rambouillet will in a few days be sent with letters patent from the King authorising him to treat for peace and 'accord' all matters happened in Languedoc and Guienne and accommodate the affairs of the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé; but the delay herein breeds doubts of further danger to them of the Religion.

Monsieur has sent to Casimir to stay the levies of reiters which, the opinion was, had been intended.

They of the Religion have taken Pierrepertuis near Perpignan. M. Montmorency has surprised Saint-Paul, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Bassompierre has sent the King word that he has 6,000 reiters ready at his command.

Some quantity of powder has been sent to Portugal, but it is doubted lest it should be employed in Picardy, being sent down the river towards Rouen.

Last Monday an edict was propounded in the Court of Parliament for the alienation of 12,000 *livres* of 'rent of domain'; to which the first President added the condition that the money shall be employed 'to the action' of war. The King also seeks to procure an *emprunt* or loan of 400,000 crowns from certain persons, and will gather a good piece of money by the contributions to the new bridge beside the Louvre. The tax for the fortifications is also doubled.

I send you a letter written from Venice to the King of Spain's agent here, concerning the affairs of Constantinople.

I am advertised by letters from Bordeaux of the 11th inst. that there are no preparations of ships for war being made along that coast.

M. Biron has lately demanded at Bordeaux in the King's name to have a new imposition put on divers merchandise; 20 *sous* on every bag of woad, 15 on every tun of wine, 20 on the pipe of salt.

The Chamber erected by the King at Agen to execute justice on both sides, alike on Catholics and on Protestants, is dissolved, and the lawyers returned home.

I received letters from Nantes of May 10, at which time there were no other preparations than I mentioned in my last. The Count of Retz is at Court.

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By letters of May 2 it is advertised from Spain that as many soldiers as were 'taxed' were paid for six months by the commonalty and provided with victuals and weapons to be sent to the Catholic camp. And that all the noblemen and principal persons were commanded by his Catholic Majesty to be ready with their munition, horse, and weapons; though the opinion was that the matter of Portugal would be determined without war. Also that the Catholic King would give his second daughter in marriage to the Duke of 'Barseilles,' with the greater Commandery of the Order of the Religion of Christ, and that he should govern the kingdom of Portugal during his life. And to Don Antonio he promised the Priorate of Castile.

I send herewith the Pope's indulgence for the passing of the affairs of Portugal. Having dealt with their Majesties on behalf of Fabrizio Pallavicino, imprisoned at Rome, the King has written very favourable letters, one to the Pope, the other to his ambassador at Rome, as appears by the copies herewith.

I understand from Secretary Pinart that Alphonso Parabosco is released out of prison and 'confined' into Bologna, with command not to return to England; and the Secretary wished her Majesty would let him remain there.

'At the making up' of this letter came to me a servant of Lord Copley with a message from his master to know if he might visit me, as I was her Majesty's ambassador. But I answered that since he remained out of the realm without licence, and in a sort her Majesty might mislike, I could not entertain him till I knew her pleasure.—Paris, 23 May 1580.

3¼ *pp.* *Marginal notes.* [*France IV.* 75.]

May 31. **302.** R. Lloyd to [Walsingham].

The letters which I received at Court on May 27 I delivered safely to the ambassador on Monday following, the 30th, at 8 a.m.

In Picardy, as I passed, it was said of all men and held for truth, that all the soldiers who had been in that country, who were many, had assembled by the King's special command to besiege la Fère; but now being known for certain that the Prince of Condé is elsewhere, they have, as I understand, changed their purpose, esteeming it too late to shut the stable door when the horse is stolen. Whereupon the speech runs that the troops of soldiers who impoverished and oppressed the country are dispersed and gone away as secretly as their coming was.

'Them' of the Religion that are in arms in Dauphiné daily increase in force, notwithstanding M. 'Livero,' one of the King's minions, who was sent thither a month ago, with 12 companies. The King was lately advertised that if aid did not come from him presently he would lose the whole country. Now there is some secret talk that the Duke of Mayn will be employed there with great forces. Others think rather that the Duke will go into Picardy and besiege la Fère, notwithstanding the prince's absence.

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In Poitou they are up in many places, and 'by name' one M. de Boulay is in arms, to whom men daily repair. The town of Montaigu in the same country was not long since taken, and is now held by them of the Religion; M. 'of' Saint-Estienne is governor of it, a gentleman reported to be wise, virtuous and valiant. It will, as I understand, be besieged very shortly, for the speedier accomplishment of which great preparation is made by M. de la Roche-Barritot, governor of Fontenay for the King. It is further reported that 12 field-pieces are being brought thither from Nantes. Nevertheless M. de Saint-Estienne makes full account to withstand it. The town and castle are thought to be very strong, and well furnished with men, victuals and other requisite provisions.

In Guienne, Britanny, Normandy, Picardy, Champagne, and other places they stand in very 'tickle' state; every hour ready to take arms, and no less expected by all men.

The King was lately desirous that the Prince Dauphin should have gone to Dauphiné with some forces to aid those that serve the King there; but not only did he refuse to go there himself, he is unwilling that the King should send any other.

The quarrel between the Dukes of Montpensier and Nevers rather increases than 'takes any good end'; and surely the hot words daily given out on both sides will come at last to blows, if it be not a matter feigned between them.

Not long since, the King seeing his affairs fall out contrary to his will and expectation, being therewith greatly moved, and in choler, spoke these words to one of his minions in the hearing of many other people: That he had always desired peace and quietness, and done what lay in his power to procure it; but seeing his travail took no better effect, and they did not leave to molest him still, he now was fully determined either to enjoy his crown quietly and govern as a King, or else make it their prey and gain, who so long had envied his reign, troubled his state, and affected his crown.

It is said that Picardy offered to serve him with 2,000 horse and 6,000 foot in good equipage, at their proper charge. Nevertheless as I passed through that country they were still continuing their preaching in the accustomed places, as they had done when greater danger menaced them. And it is most certain that the first company of soldiers that enter these countries, be they for the King or any other, the people are resolved to take arms and follow the course 'done' in Dauphiné.

Toulouse also promises to serve the King with 6,000 men at their own pay, for the space of three months; and indeed it 'stands them in hand' to do no less, so imminent is their danger, if the King do not aid them.

This brings the Parisian [*sic*] in very great fear, that they also shall be constrained to furnish the King with 18 or 20 thousand men at least, at their proper expense, seeing other places offer so largely.

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The Prince of Condé is reported to be at Sedan on the confines of Germany, and M. de la Roche-Guyon of Normandy is said to have retired to him. Great companies of soldiers will, I hear, arrive there with speed.

It is given out for certain that M. Laval is 'gone post' into Germany with money to make a new levy of men.

Mme la Noue is at Paris soliciting for her husband's enlargement; and M. de 'Strosse' also, who once was delivered for M. la Noue, both being taken prisoners in one encounter, is a very earnest suitor for him, but hitherto they have prevailed little.

Englishmen from all parts resort daily to Paris from Rome and other places. Amongst them is one called Mr Copley, a Norfolk man, made, as I hear, lord by the French king, and his son (who died lately at Rheims) knighted. One Liggins, Darbeshire, and the Earl of Westmorland, with one called here Lord Dacres, are looked for. Their coming in this sort cannot be without great cause and secret intent. I pray God that these things, which prognosticate small good for England, may be soundly looked into and thoroughly deciphered before our enemies have, under show of amity, wrought things to their purpose.

It is a common speech in France, and especially among those that serve God, love His word and them that defend it, that the Pope, the French king, the King of Spain, the Duke of Florence and the Venetian have from the beginning of their preparation for the war had no other intent than the hurt of England; the Pope in hope to recover his Peterpence, the French king because he esteems his civil dissension to take beginning and continuance from England; and the King of Spain for the continual war made against him in the Low Countries, and only maintained, as the bruit is here, by the Queen and her subjects. Therefore the Pope to purchase safety to his own seat has by his travail and promises of pardon joined these princes together in amity, persuading them that their quietness and the good of all Christendom depends thereon.

And as for the Pope, he has already begun to play his part by a massacre committed by his command, in this manner. There was a gentleman of good calling, some say he was a bishop, in the town of Avignon, governor of the country thereabouts, and *Major domo* or steward of the household to the Cardinal of that place, under whom he had great authority and good credit; all men loved him. And by the Pope suspected to be of the Religion; for which cause his Holiness addressed letters to him, very friendly praying him to repair to Rome for some special service that could not be 'participated' to any other than himself, and that with all speed possible. Suspecting the matter, he disobeyed the letters; of which the Pope being advertised wrote to the Cardinal, willing him without fail to send his *Major domo* at once to him. But the Cardinal making greater estimation of the man than of the Pope's command, being assured that if he went to Rome he would never return, answered the Pope that he had talked with such an one according to the tenor of his letter, and found him not willing to come to Rome; and, for his own part, he would not send him against his liking. The Pope not

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altogether contented that his command was no more regarded 'with' the Cardinal and his officer, writes secretly to the Mayor of Avignon, commanding him in any case to find some means to put him to death, the cause of which he would impart to him hereafter; as yet it could not be manifested to any. Upon view of this letter, the Mayor sought by all means possible to accomplish their contents; and having intelligence that this gentleman was sent for into the country to christen his friend's child, found means also to write to a Captain that had charge thereabouts to put the matter into execution. To encourage him the more he sent all the Pope's letters. The Captain to gain the favour of his Holiness made his secret and speedy arrival, accompanied by three or four score horse, near the house where the *Major domo* was 'as then' ready to go to dinner, and sent in great haste to desire him to come and speak with him upon a cause of importance there hard by. The other sent that he was going to dinner, where, if he would come, he should be 'very well welcome.' The Captain, not content with this answer, sent back his man to excuse his not coming, and to declare that the matter was of great weight and required no less haste. Whereupon, nothing doubting the villany and treason of the other, he went forth accompanied only by five or six of his people; where the Captain, having given many occasions of quarrel (and the other, wise, taken none), in the end desired to speak with him apart. And so being from his company, the captain drew out his dagger secretly and stabbed the other in the body in two or three places, whereof he presently died. The news of it being brought to the Aldermen and others of the town, they rose and took arms, some against the Mayor, some with him, so that the slaughter is reported to be great among them, and whether they are appeased or no, I cannot yet learn.

In the Seignory of Venice, which was the freest part of Italy and where a stranger had greatest friendship and liberty, there is of late a general restraint; that is, that none can remain there but such as will 'reform' themselves to the Roman religion, which is duly and surely executed towards all men.

On Monday last three gentlemen passed this way towards Monsieur, who lies at the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, with commission from the Prince of Orange and the States to deal with him very earnestly for his coming into the Low Countries.

The King, Queen Mother, the French queen, and the Duke of Guise are at the Louvre. The Queen Mother they say will once again undertake to make peace if it be possible.—Paris, last of May 1580.

4 *pp.* [*France IV.* 76.]

May 31. **303.** Botolph Holder to [Wilson ?].

By reason of the great plague in Lisbon, all the inhabitants in a manner are 'sparsyd' abroad, at least such as are able to suffer the charges, and even so I myself, out of the city; by which means for lack of access to such as might instruct me I cannot learn the

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true report how things pass here, especially since through the plague in divers places men are 'sparsyd' abroad, and no place certain of therein abiding, but rather moving from day to day from place to place as occasions cause them. Thus I cannot advertise you as I would wish; yet you shall understand what I know by such report as I do hear. King Philip with his queen and nobility left Madrid long since, and has gone from place to place approaching near the borders of this country. Before Whitsuntide he was at Merida and the Duke of Alva at Illerena preparing and giving order to the captains about the enterprise of this country. The Governors sent their ambassador to King Philip long since to 'intreat with him' that he will abide the sentence to be orderly given by such as shall be appointed for the 'discourse' of all things as by King Henry was ordained long before his death; alleging as some say that if he deny to stand to that order and to the sentence to be given, but will rather use force, in that respect he loses his title. But as it is said, he answers that he has caused this case to be disputed and determined not only by learned men both divines and 'sevillians' in his realms, but also in France and other places; and has likewise given them here space from time to time to conclude and give sentence, which they do not. He will therefore use such remedies as he thinks good. He 'leaves' not to use all means possible both by letters and messengers to the principal cities and places to persuade them to his purpose; with large promises and large allegations of his right, and how he is a natural 'Portingall,' and what great benefits they shall receive by him, and how their countries shall be 'innoblyshyd,' and in fine every one in particular to receive great benefit; and if they will not, then to consider what destruction shall fall upon them, and how for his part he desires all things to be done quietly to their content and profit, and has been already at great charges and can delay no longer. Yet if they will receive him, he will employ his army in such wise as will be to the great benefit of all Christendom with ways he means, as God knows. Yet all this notwithstanding, and although he has divers friends here, they do not relent to him; but order is of late given to all the preachers to 'amoneste' the people to use the fear of God and put their hope in him, and everyone to shake off particular interest and be true to their country; alleging how few in rightful quarrel have overcome great numbers, and what victory they themselves have divers times had against the Spaniards, few against many, and how their case is just and their enemies' unjust, and that the rigour and tyranny he begins to use in usurping force, shall be his destruction, if they put their hope in God and 'do their diligence of true and faithful natural.'

This I have heard myself, and 'more larger' is preached in divers places of late. Also of late one of the Governors 'come' to 'belya' [*qy.* Belem] to assist them, and upon the 'cachoppes' [Chachopos] is made a new fort of wood, and others on the sands; and divers preparations throughout the realm, in fortifying their towns, and soldiers in every place, though I must needs confess that they are not strong, both through the overthrow in Africa, where all their treasure was consumed and munitions and force

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lost, and now the plague in divers places. Even at Almerin, where the Governors are, they die of the plague. And the people not well united together; for a great number to be in quiet would have King Philip, also divers others for their private profit. What I most doubt is the difference between Don Antonio and the Duke and Duchess of Braganza, Doña Catarina, who has most right in this case, as learned men say, 'when as' Don Antonio do not prove himself legitimate, upon whose case they now stand. It is said that of late the Governors required the Duke and Duchess as well as Don Antonio to depart from the Court fifteen leagues, each of them a different way, until the *ymbargos* of Don Antonio should be published, upon which the judge appointed one daily sitting, but in fine neither of them would obey, much to the 'disliking' of the Governors. It is feared that the difference between these personages will be hurtful to this State and a means whereby King Philip may the easier enter. God remedy all.

Last Easter a gentleman was sent in secret to France about the state of this country, and another departed of late to England, as a gentleman, a friend of mine, told me. They have need of great help, and with much speed, as I suppose. God let all things be done to His glory.

They begin now to stay some hulks here, and put their own shipping in order, though very slowly, considering their enemy so nigh at hand, and so mighty as it is said he is both by land and sea. Yet if they agree together, no doubt but it will cost him dear before he obtain his purpose. They look 'owerly' for the breach; what will be the end, God knows.

Of late 'in manner jointly together' I have received five letters from your honour, of the 7th and 9th January, 6th February, 22nd and 27th March, by which I perceive you received certain of mine. I like them well, and I would my knowledge and power were according to my heart; then you would be well served in all respects.

'As touching to advertise you' what 'Pirs Harbroun' spent in all, as I have before told you how he would by no means remain at my house, wherefore I could not learn his particular proceedings, and therefore know not what he spent more than the 100 'duchkets' which I delivered to him, and what he received of Don Antonio, which he told me was 100 ds., and to others he said it was 200. Wm. Olbro is far from me, so I cannot learn what he had of him.

It is no small comfort to me that you write me that her Majesty 'deleyteth' with my letters. I would it lay in my power to give her content, but that small talent which God has lent me I shall always be ready to employ in her service to the utmost of my power till the 'owre' of death.

As for conserves and such like the time serves not now; but God willing I will provide such things at the coming home of the ships. You never wrote me whether her Majesty liked the last gloves better than the others before, so that I might have prepared such as should have contented her.

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I am glad that Antonio de Castilleo behaves himself so that she may like him, for so he will do his country good. He was with me divers times before his departure and conferred with me of divers things, and perhaps my instructions and advices to him were not hurtful. He is a good Spaniard, much inclined that way and likewise somewhat allied that way.

If 'Harbrown' come hither he shall have his deserts; but he is wise enough for that matter. I have advised Don Antonio's folks to beware of him. As for the chest of writings, there is no such thing here; all was carried away to the party 'yemediatly' in his departing. The week before Easter came hither in a French bark from those parts two young men that were his servants here, and as they said were bound for Spain, where they should have 'great remedy'; and gave out that all things prospered much on their side.—'Vall fremoso' [*qy.* Valle Fermosa] beside Lisbon, 31 May 1580.

3 *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 30.]

May. **304.** Memorandum as to the Bonds.

As there is at present some discussion how to find some way by which those of London may pay Spinola and Pallavicino the already accrued interest, and give a certain assignment for that to come, and the States of the Low Countries may do as much by that city, the more prompt and final method that occurs to us is the following:—

That the States give a mortgage on the taxes that they call *moyens generaux* to the company of Merchants Adventurers of the City of London for the amount of the future annual interest on the obligations, which will be 27,312 florins of that money of *brossi* [?]; on which it is calculated that the merchants will discount 20,000 florins every year upon their proper merchandise which is affected by those bonds. The rest they will recover on those of other nations, and it will no doubt be a most secure assignment, and the best that the States can give in these times. If the City of London were to require fuller caution for cases that might arise, her Majesty might give her particular obligation, to assure them that she will have them repaid by the States.

For the interest accrued up to to-day, which already amounts to nearly £3,000 sterling, those of London may either get reimbursed from the silver bullion which is here, or get an assignment from the States on the above-mentioned general taxes.

Endd. by L. Cave: May, 1500. A device for the satisfying of such interest as is and shall be due to So^r. Spinola and Horatio Pallavicino for the money lent by them to the use of the States of the Low Countries. *It.* ⅔ *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 31.]

Below is written, in a hand 40 *years later:* I am to give your Ma^ty. most humble thanks for your Gracious Royal promise to me of the next place of M^r. of requests signified by my lo. Villiers. I desire that your Ma^ty did know that my meaning was not to beg the place whereby to be any charge to your Ma^ty by sea

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or otherwise until another place fall; but only to be sworn into the place as *in locum vacativum* [?] to prevent the importunity of others, that in the mean time I may have occasion thereby to do your Ma^ty^ better service than yet you can take knowledge of. *9ll.* (*Probably by Lionel Cranfield, afterwards Earl of Middlesex, sworn Master of Requests in Nov.* 1616.)

June. **305.** 'A Latin rendering of the privileges or letters of the most potent Mussulman Emperor Sultan Mured Khan at the request of Elizabeth, etc. confirming peace and alliance.'

Leave to English subjects to trade; English slaves to be set free; Englishmen settled in Turkey not to be liable to taxation; freedom of appointing consuls in Alexandria, Damascus, Samos, Caesarea, Tunis, Tripoli, and elsewhere; if pirates or other '*liberi gubernatores navium*' take Englishmen, and sell them, examination to be made, and if the Englishman be found, and have turned Mussulman, he is to be let go free, but if he has remained a Christian, he is to be handed over to the English, and the buyers must recover their money from the sellers; English ships not to be plundered.—Constantinople, year of the Prophet, 988, the beginning of June. A.D. 1580.

Copy. General endt. to the whole correspondence. Latin. 6 *pp.* [*Turkey*, I. 1*a*.]

June 1. **306.** Roger Bodenham to Dr. Wilson.

I would have written you at my first coming into this country but that I found I was 'straitly looked unto'; the cause of which is wrought by certain men in England, yet much made of. If I may not now name them, I may say they are Spaniards, and one is an Englishman. Hereafter I shall have a better time for them.

Divers men have written that the great preparations here were made to go for 'that parts,' and so it was and is given out after divers sorts. To know the truth of it, I have laboured somewhat more than others have done; and as I am acquainted with matters of the sea, I find there is no reason to lead me [*sic*] that such a preparation as this could be appointed as is reported; for the greater the number, the more danger there is in going so far, not having any certain place of security to go to, especially England being prepared as it is. If for Ireland, if there be a pretence as there was on the Pope's part, there is no more to say. But let that be provided that the enemy do not land there, and all their device is utterly undone; for certainly 'and' they come aland quietly with the provision that they have, it will breed great displeasure to England. In fine, I will be plain with you; if I had been provided as I requested, and as you thought good, I had given such advertisement as I am certain has not yet been given. I would I had here a trusty man that I might deliver something to, which at now I may not write. In fine, let Ireland be made sure, and then the greatest danger is past.

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This bearer, whose name is Nicolas Ellis, has somewhat by word; please hear him. And thus for the present I rest.

The King with his whole army prepares for Portugal; I think he will be occupied there for this year, for it is not known whether he will be received in peace or not.—'Saint Lucas,' 1 June 1580.

Add. (*seal*). 1 *p.* [*Spain I.* 47.]

June 1. **307.** Roger Bodenham to Burghley.

Great preparation and show of wars is made and gathered together here in this part of Andalusia, being in number of men above four score thousand of sundry nations; without any knowledge where they shall be employed. To obtain knowledge of this, divers men have taken some pains, and yet few have obtained their purpose. I am certain divers have written therein largely, some after one sort and some after another, but in my opinion most are deceived, because these matters alter from time to time on sundry occasions, which is too long a matter to trouble you with; wherefore it is hard to write with certainty in so great and changeable causes. Nevertheless I will deliver you my opinion on all these matters which I have by some labour 'procured to know'; I will begin at the first cause and pretence of all these provisions, and so following to the time we are now in.

To the first part of this matter I find that great is the hatred that grows between all nations for matters of religion; therefore Spain being, as you know, governed altogether by the spiritualty, and the King being thereto most earnestly bent, he gives the more occasion to their pretence. You know what is to be looked for at their hands, considering how far we are from them in opinion of religion.

The second part is that the loss of the Low Country is also a great grief to them, which they say is only by the aid that England has given, and specially because the Queen has never hitherto granted them safe ports for their fleets in England; without which there is no hope of recovering those places in Flanders. And to revenge this injury there are many devices made, resting in hope, though not now, yet hereafter, to have a time to serve their purpose. It had been attempted this year, had not the matters of Portugal altered it; in which business most certainly the King and his great power and preparations must be employed this year, however matters go, and how long after is not known.

The preparation in England is well known here. It did and does somewhat trouble them and their pretence. I am of opinion that you know that the greater the preparation is of ships and men here, if it should be bent towards 'that' part, the more is their danger, unless they had some certain place that they might securely repair to. And as they are certain that they cannot come into England without the Queen's consent, it is determined that Ireland will serve their turn far better, because the ports are specially good, the land plentiful, the sea and rivers with plenty of fish, the land with plenty of timber for all kinds of shipping. And for anything else that 'lacks them' plentiful provision is made, at no small charge,

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with four or five thousand ploughs. In this I will not trouble you with what I know; only that Ireland being so provided for that the enemy do not land, their whole pretence is void. The men and provisions appointed for Ireland are such that the like has not been seen. They all go in the Pope's name, so that in this King Philip will say he does not meddle. I say again, let there be such order set, that there is no landing in Ireland, or it will breed such harm as is manifest to all men of knowledge. As I will not trouble you long with my plain manner of writing, I have committed somewhat by word to the bearer, Nicholas Ellis, master of a ship that is here. If you will hear him, he has somewhat of importance. If I know hereafter that I can do you any service, I will in diligence apply myself thereto.—San Lucar 1 June 1580.

I beseech you, let this letter be to yourself, for I am here somewhat mistrusted; the causers whereof are there, and what harm they do I know and have somewhat felt. No foreign men can be suffered here. I have divers times spoken of them, but it avails not. Therefore I name them not.

In this doubtful time there were and are here 50 good ships with above 1,200 or 1,300 good mariners. I was sorry to see it, and also all nations furnished with ordnance from England. We shall find the smart of it if we brave any of them to enemies.

Add. Endd. 2 *pp.* [*Ibid. I.* 48.]

June 2? **308.** Sussex to Burghley.

I 'perceived by' the French ambassador that his whole speech to her Majesty to-day tended to getting some good matter which he might have written to Queen Mother, before she returned from Angiers, but he could get no further certainty than he had before. He declared to her how plainly he had written to the King and Queen that all persons here who loved the state, and such as had been enemies were now satisfied, so that he knew no let, if God would accord their two hearts. On the receipt of that letter, Queen Mother went at once to Angiers, to bring all things to a resolution there. Her Majesty liked his writing well, and all that he declared, but when it came to the conclusion that he required some certainty to write of to Queen Mother her answer was that he might write as he thought best, but as yet she could not advise him what to write as from her. After his audience was finished, he departed without 'resolute' answer. I told him that she had written to Monsieur by Burge[Bourg]and had received no answer; so that until she received understanding of his resolution she could not in honour go further than she had done. He knew du Vray was coming with resolution, which her Majesty daily awaited. She had written honourably by Burge, she had spoken frankly with him; whereupon he had written liberally, which she well allowed, and he had not found her alter in anything; which I thought was matter sufficient for him to write, until upon du Vray's coming, her Majesty knowing the resolution of France might also resolve here, which is the substance of this day's negotiation. God send all to a good end. I will shew all my letter to her Majesty saving the copy Simier's letter, of which she has the original.—This Thursday, late in the night.

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P.S.—She keeps to herself the contents of Monsieur's letters, saving for du Vray's coming.

Add. Endd. in Burghley's hand. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 78.]

June 2. **309.** Mauvissière to Burghley.

I wanted to write to you, to satisfy the wish I have had to see and speak with you if occasion offered, as has not been the case since the two or three favourable audiences which I have had of the Queen. They have left me full of hope that she would complete what she has begun in the matter of her marriage with the brother of the King my master, and that by her great prudence, honour, resolution, and authority, she would overcome all the difficulties in the way of perfecting a thing so much wished by all good subjects, whose only passion is to see her prospering and establishing her reputation securely in ages to come; a thing worthy of such a princess for the good of these two realms, nay, of all Christendom, and one which will immortalise her name and reign for ever, to use her endeavours to leave heirs to these two crowns, and to her virtues. It is a thing which we have desired with one common accord, and done what we could to promote so holy a cause; but this would all be regret and loss of time if the end did not crown the work. Therefore, approaching you with this letter in default of seeing you, I beseech you, by the sincerity of the affection wherewith you have served her Majesty, to importune her on the decision which she has promised me to take in a few days, if she is not already about putting their Majesties of France out of pain, and a prince who this day looks for nothing in the world but this good news, of which I have in these days not been able to refrain from giving them some hope such as I have myself gathered from her Majesty.

And in order that I may not deceive them in France and myself here, I will once again ask you, as a Nestor in your Queen's Council, to aid her a little in a victory so great as that of overcoming herself, as she said to me that she would do: and that *jacta erat alea.* Spare not then your prudent counsel, that no more time be lost, and that the Parliament may be held on the day appointed; in order that the Commissioners, who are all ready to start, may take the road as harbinger of the perpetual happiness of her Majesty and of these two realms, which will not long enjoy their ancient splendour if they are not allied by the marriage, whatever those who do not desire it in England and France may contend to the contrary. They are not sufficient to ward off (*garentir*) the evil which would arise from the dissolution of so holy an alliance; upon which it seems to me we are in all directions so far embarked that on no side can one withdraw honourably and profitably. For my part I should much regret if after having employed so much time I had to start a new plan, such as I promise you some are trying to lay the foundation of, for the pleasure which they take of believing that her Majesty has never wanted to marry. I cannot yet think this, nor that God has so little regard for Christendom and for a Queen whom He has so loved. That is what I could have said to you; and I have put it in this letter.

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As regards the Queen of Scots, and what she has written to the Queen and you of her Council, the subject of which you know, as it was placed in your hands to show her Majesty, as the person whom I deem most exempt from all passions save for the service and honour of your mistress, when I spoke to her about it, she had the letter from the Queen of Scots in her pocket, and I the copy in mine. When I wished to read it again, her Majesty seemed a little offended over the commencement and little disposed to grant what she asks. She deferred till another time answering it, and even speaking of the permission to visit the baths for her health. I have not since spoken of it to her Majesty, who will do as she pleases. But, Sir, it would surely be a work of pity if those who cannot have enough of increasing the trials of the Queen of Scots, would desist from bringing fresh charges against her without cause, whether directly or by artifice, to keep her always in her Majesty's disfavour; such as saying that she maintained English rebels and bad subjects out of her dowry. She could not do it, in the first place for want of means, and for want of will, as may be well believed, just as little, seeing that she places all her hopes for good and for safety in her Majesty. All the Queen's dowry, originally only 50,000 *livres d'assignat*, does not to-day, owing to the wars, and the forfeiture of the duchy of Touraine, amount to more than 40,000 *livres tournois*, of which 33,000 are mortgaged to French officials since the time when she was Queen of France, and this is a first charge on her estate; so that the salary which she gives her ambassador and a few small pensions to some Scotchmen banished to France on her account are remitted on the expectation of certain chance receipts and about 2,000 crowns allowed her every year at her Majesty's pleasure for her clothing and wages of servants and women about her, and to buy medicines and other things needful for her heatth. This her treasurer's clerk, who is here, assures me to be true; and that having always handled her dowry under his master M. Dolu he has never heard tell that any Englishman has had a *sous* of her dowry, and he says that he will answer it on his life. I would have you credit this for the lady's justification, in order that if she is found to be innocent, and with many enemies, her Majesty's kindness and justice may be more favourable to her than the bitterness and malevolence of these accusers, who will always have means to increase her sufferings if no one is found to speak for her, and if she cannot be heard in her justification. For myself I have always so restrained myself and been so shy of speaking about the affairs of the Queen of Scots for fear of saying anything displeasing to her Majesty, that no one can complain of my behaviour in those affairs, as her Majesty confessed to me. She is her own relation, she has been much honoured, and has been our queen in France. If she has done wrong, God has not exempted her from doing penance for it. He it is who holds the hearts of mortals in His hand, of princes as of people. He has done what pleases Him. But the conclusion of my letter will be to refer it to your prudence to aid and defend the Queen of Scots so far as you shall judge reasonable and as she shall be found innocent and shall seek her Majesty's grace and render her behaviour and actions agreeable to her. The letters which she writes me are full of hardly anything else, as the

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Secretaries have been able to see, whenever they have pleased to open the dispatches, when I have sent them to them, if they have taken the trouble to read them. But neither of them, as both have often said to me, would concern himself with any matter touching the Queen of Scots, which is the reason why you will please excuse me if I have spoken of her to you and added this discourse.

In conclusion, if her Majesty takes the good resolution to marry Monsieur she will cut away the road to all the inconveniences which may result from the factious practices of those who intend something against this Crown. There are all sorts of lookers-on upon the hope of this happy marriage. I leave it to your consideration, beseeching you to keep me in her Majesty's favour and your own, and praying that a year hence I may see her born again in a fair son, your prince.—London, 2 June 1580.

P.S.—Excuse this letter badly written in my own hand, and kiss her Majesty's for me; and beg her among all her animals to remember her frog.

Add. Endd. by Burghley: The Fr. Ambassador to me, being at Nonsuch. *Fr.* 5 *pp.* [*France IV.* 79.]

June 2. **310.** John Dun's Advertisements from Spain.

It was March 13 before I left England, by means of the restraint of the ships, whereby I was driven to ride from one officer to another, before I was suffered to depart. So I arrived at Bayona on the 28th, where I stayed 6 days, till I heard from the Groyne.

Meantime I had conference with the sub-prior of 'Twye' [Tuy], who told me that within three months Ireland will pass many troubles, 'for those of our coat know more than we may speak; for whereas it is given out that this great army shall go for Portugal, there is no such matter, for the Portugals shall have the Indies to themselves and be ruled by five Governors, till it shall be judged who shall be king.'

On April 11, at St. James de Compostella, I acquainted myself with an Irish priest called Sir John Pergos [*corrected in Burghley's hand to* Fergus], and after I had professed to him that I was a Catholic and was shriven, and heard his mass, and gave him liberally for his benediction, he showed me a letter which he had received from 'Faro' from the bishop his master, that one Thomas White, his lordship's 'solicitor,' had written him that he should be ready by June 5, by which time the rest of the fleet would be ready, and that the King had answered him that all things should be accomplished as he had written in his former letter; and that he had heard from Ireland, by way of Biscay, that the Earl of Desmond had 8,000 men in readiness, requiring him to make as much speed as he might to come away. But he meant not to go before the rest of the fleet were ready, for he would not venture to go as slenderly as James Fitzmorris did.

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And that he had at the 'styrris' [? Asturias] 4,000 soldiers, who he would not should come to 'Faro' before the fleet were readier; that no intelligence might go to England. And that he had received money from the Pope for their provision.

On May 8 I had intelligence by a young Spanish gentleman, a servant to the Irish bishop, that his master had great friendship at the Court, as appears by White's letters, and that his master had 4,000 soldiers in readiness in the styrrys, and at 'Faro' he had two ships well furnished, and in the town, pikes 3,000, harquebuses 2,000, halberts 1,500, corselets 4,000, powder 300 barrels, field beds 200, wine 200 pipes. Bread and other provision he shall have from the storehouse at the Groyne as much as he likes. The Spaniard's name is John 'Roderigus' de Lado; he was servant with one of the 'oyadors' [*oidores*] of Galicia, before he came to the Bishop.

The King of Spain's provision at the Groyne, under the charge of one Bonyface.

Wine, 3,000 pipes; oxen killed, 3,500; bacon, 4,000 flitches; biscuit, 4,000 quintals 'and yet do bake daily.' On May 4, came an English ship of 70 tons, laden with wheat, which was taken for the king's provision.

On April 22 this copy was sent to the Archbishop of Santhony [*sic*], and on May 8 he had the same copy of Gonsalvo Fernandos, the regent of Gallicia's steward; by whose means I was delivered from prison the last time I was in Spain. [*A translation follows of the document calendared above, No.* 283.]

In February last Fernando 'Pyrys' Andrada, a captain in Gallicia, came into England as a spy, and so came to London in a mariner's apparel, and sold 'orynges and lemmans,' and returned to Spain on March 22 at the Groyne, and so posted to the Court, and was not returned at my coming from thence. This I heard from his sister and one of his men.

Endd. with date. 5¼ *pp.* [*Spain, I.* 49.]

June 3. **311.** A detailed statement drawn up in tabular form of the various breaches of the Edict of Pacification which are alleged to be the cause of the renewal of civil war in France, under the heads 'Exercise of Religion,' 'Administration of Justice,' 'Assurance of Promises.' Under the second head appear the cases of towns attacked, captured, or surprised by the Catholics, murders committed on Protestants, etc. Concluding with 'Objections against the Prince' (his entry into la Fère, and the taking of Mende) and answers thereto.

Endd. by Burghley: 3 June, 1580. The state of the violation of the edict of pacification in France; *also by his secretaries.* 6½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 80.]

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June 4. **312.** Mauvissière to Burghley.

Please excuse my importunity, or rather my inclination (*affection*) to send every hour, if it were possible, for news of her Majesty, who has in me a humble and faithful servant, desiring only to give her practical proof of it. I do not want to be wearisome to her about the decision which she has promised to give as to the answer to be made to Monsieur, for this must depend on her good pleasure. She sent the Earl of Sussex to give me audience, in pursuance of my orders from Monsieur, in three days' time. These expire to-day; kindly let me know, the Earl not being at Court, what time will suit her.—London, 4 June 1580.

Add. Endd. Fr. ¾ *p.* [*France IV.* 81.]

June 4. **313.** [Walsingham] to Gilpin.

I have received yours of the 29th ult. and perceive from it that the 'matter' for the reception of Monsieur goes forward very fast. If they continue in this course, or proceed to make any change in the government of those countries without her Majesty's privity, considering how contrary it is to the bond of true 'gratuity' toward her, the advancement of their affairs, and the continuance of the ancient amity which has been and should be maintained between this Crown and the House of Burgundy, it will be taken in so evil part here that 'the first occasion they may minister to her Majesty thereby to conceive of their overgreat unkindness toward her,' will, I fear, fall out more to their hindrance than they are ware of. For the avoiding of which inconveniences you will do well, according to the contents of my former letter, and as you heretofore have done to very good purpose, to employ all your best means and persuasions toward such of the Estates as you know to be good patriots, to induce the deputies of the provinces not to resolve touching the reception of any government without her Majesty first being made privy thereto.

I thank you for the pains you have taken in getting Piper set at liberty; also for your good advertisements.—Nonesuch, 4 June 1580.

Copy. ¾ *p.* [*Letter-book Dom. Eliz. Vol. XLV. p.* 72.]

June 5. **314.** R. Lloyd to Walsingham.

[*First part appears to be missing.*] Divers gentlemen arrived here last Tuesday in post from Monsieur, among whom I understand was Captain Valière with the wooden leg; who, in four or five days, depart hence with no less speed towards Flanders. From them I learned that M. du Vray had not spoken with Monsieur since his return, but on that day, being the third, he was appointed to be at Tours.

M. Rambouillet, who as the bruit ran was sent by the king to present Monsieur with the office of lieutenancy, is not yet returned. Of this there is divers speech; in Paris they report that the King

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had added these three conditions; that Monsieur should not open any of the King's packets, that he should not deal with the treasure or finances, and that he should admit the Duke of Guise for his lieutenant-general. But M. de l'Estoille, one of those that came, who is of the Religion, told me for certain that the only condition Monsieur was bound to was to take arms at once and go against them of the Religion. I understood from him also that Monsieur made answer that he 'seemed' very grateful for the favour shown him; but touching the office, he craved pardon, he would not accept it now or at any other time if it came with any kind of condition. Nevertheless he promised to do what he could to unite the King and his subjects, and to pacify the present troubles.

M. Fervaques is not as yet returned from the King of Navarre, who lies at Nérac, but as soon as he comes, Monsieur departs from Tours to meet the King of Navarre at some convenient place between Nérac and Tours; some think, for the pacification of these troubles, but the greater number say that he goes thither to see the young princess, the King's sister, more than for any other cause.

Touching Monsieur's return thither, I would I were in England to learn some news where they are stirring, for here it is grown out of remembrance and 'no man speaks of it, but will smile.'

Last Friday or Saturday Monsieur appointed to 'go see' the Duke of Montpensier, at his house called Champigny, 8 or 9 leagues from Tours.—Paris, 5 June 1580.

Add. (*The hand is the same as No.* 302, *and is one in which many of Poulet's and Cobham's dispatches are written.*) *Endd. by L. Tomson*: from Mr Floyd. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 82.]

June 7. **315.** Cobham to the Queen.

Mr Secretary Walsingham sent me not long since the effect of what has been answered by the Scottish King touching Lord Hamilton, and I have informed him thereof. He has written his letter of humble thanks to your Majesty, which is sent herewith, and has further required me to let you understand from him how he rests wholly at your devotion, and has hitherto refused all other proffers of lands, estates and pensions wherewith he has been tempted by the greatest princes. But as you are a professor and favourer of religion he chooses rather with the satisfaction of his conscience to offer himself to you than to any other, having remained constant hitherto, notwithstanding that beside his exile he is much pinched with extreme want; awaiting your further commands and comfort. On Sunday last, the 5th, he was entertained by the King and the Queen Mother with great good countenances [*sic*] and long conference, and, as I hear, received great promises.

Since I think my wife's dutiful thanks are no way sufficient I would not 'leave for to accompany' hers with my humble thanks for the jewel you vouchsafed to send her, as a token whereby we

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both hope not only 'of' your singular good grace, but of your meaning to do us that present good we have long looked for.—Paris, 7th June 1580.

Add. Endd. by Walsingham; also: the Lord of Arbroth at her Majesty's devotion; *and in a later hand as to the jewel.* 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 83.]

June 7. **316.** Cobham to Walsingham.

After I delivered Lord Hamilton the message you sent me and shown him the copy of the Scottish king's letter, I found him discontented with two things: one, that his hope was frustrated, having received no maintenance from her Majesty, being 'put in comfort' by his brother Lord Claude's letter, which was shown me, wherein he wrote that the Queen had ordered her ambassador to supply his wants. He himself, however, did not so clearly discover his meaning, as he did by Conningham, whom he since sent to me. Notwithstanding, he himself said he had been and was daily tempted to the great grief of his mind and anguish of his conscience, and should continually be so dealt with as long as he remained in the Bishop of Glasgow's house, where he stayed, hoping to receive relief from the Queen. In honour she was bound to be the means of his restitution, considering he had yielded to his enemies at her request and assurance when he might have assured himself. He doubts not that the Queen has good means to do that for him whereby he shall be obliged more to her than to all others in the world. He seems not to be fully persuaded that he himself and his brother Claude should be both together in England until he has some further proof of her Majesty's goodness towards him. He will, however, upon reasonable order obey her if he will give him assurance by letter or some such like way. And it seems by his further speech that he has a secret conceit that Lord Morton is so far partially and principally 'friended' in England, that he is not yet fully bent to repair into her Highness's realm without some better signification from her; but swears and with most earnest words protests that he 'is to' depend on the Queen and will bind himself and deliver good pledge to answer for his fidelity. And whereas I found him scrupulous to give himself into her Majesty's hands, I used persuasions to induce him to yield to the order which his King had set down in his letter. Howbeit, I find he remains fearful of the favour and credit which Lord Morton enjoys at her Majesty's hands; though he acknowledges that the Queen has an assured servant 'of' Lord Morton and one that deserves her favours. Moreover, of his own accord, he shows how he may be contented to be thoroughly reconciled to him, though in this he would have his honour saved, as not to seek it; having been, as he says, 'injuried' by Lord Morton. He is induced thereto because he conceives that both their fortunes concur in this point, that if d'Aubigny's greatness take sufficient foundation it must needs become the overthrow of the Hamiltons and the Douglases; which opinion appears resolutely settled in him. He has also alleged to me

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how the Earl Morton received his earldom at the hands of the Duke of 'Chastilleroy' his father; and that at another time when there was a confederacy to have slain Morton, he was warned and saved only by the advertisement of 'this Lord Hamilton'; so that he thinks Lord Morton is in many ways bound to be his friend. Lord Hamilton 'shews to be' of a haughty mind, not forgetting his parentage; wary in his proceeding in this matter, relying his negotiations on the advice of his brother Lord Claude and Sir James 'Bafoure'; with whom I have spoken on his request made to me through Alexander Stuart. This Alexander came to me in the company of one 'Bailye —' of the king's guard, who 'pret[ended]' to desire me to move the Portugal ambassador to know if the Governors would accept the service of one or two thousand Scots who would repair into Portugal under their conduct. The said Bailye — came first and afterwards brought Alexander Stuart, who requested that Sir James Bafoure might speak with me privily; which I granted, and received him one evening in my garden. He passed a long intermingled discourse of the state of Scotland happened through the infancy of their King, with 'protestation to be determinately a protestant,' and that if it pleased the Queen he would return into England. But as it was late, for the present I thanked him for his visit; giving him to understand how the Queen desires the repose of that realm and has with great care and expense appeased sundry disorders, in which she continued, and was minded to deal honourably with all men of quality of that realm. So I desired that our begun acquaintance might be continued by another conference; and yesterday Conninghame, Lord Hamilton's servant, coming to me, let me know that Sir James Bafoure depends on Lord Hamilton, and would betake himself whatever way he did, requesting that he might return to speak with me. I appointed it for this afternoon, when he signified to me that Lord Hamilton had made him privy to what had passed, assuring me that beside the words which Lord Hamilton had used, he knew that after all things were weighed, and all other offers considered, he was resolved to stay himself on the Queen to obey her commands and be led by her counsels; being willing, upon signification and means received from her, to repair to England, so that his brother may be suffered to pass for the time into Flanders. Further Sir James said Lord Hamilton thinks that in case his departure hence should be discovered, he might be detained.

Sir James offers his service to her Majesty, and seems not to have any further affiance on the Scottish Queen. He would be glad to see the young King continue in the profession of religion, and in peaceable government; but doubts, by the practices which he discovers in these parts, lest the young King, 'whom' he hears goes on progress, should in the west parts 'happen into' come of their 'strengths' who mind to bring him into these parts. He laments further to see the young Earl of Huntley, now studying at Orleans, induced to become a Papist, being one of the greatest personages of Scotland for 'living and allies,' and to see the youth of Scotland corrupted by the persuasions of the Jesuits; so that by this means,

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and the seminaries which are building, there will be great enticements used to 'nousle' youth in superstition. I requested him to continue his zeal and to maintain the good will which he professed towards her Majesty. He said that since he found the exercise of his religion not so free in Paris as heretofore, he purposed to repair to Dieppe or thereabouts for 20 days, to communicate and hear some preaching.

I have been advertised that d'Aubigny continues the enterprise he has in hand to convey the young King into these parts, as also that some of the galleys at Nantes are assigned for that purpose. Likewise that assuredly Lord Morton will hardly escape the violence prepared to be used against his person. Also that the Scottish Queen seeks nothing so vehemently as that her son might be transported into these parts and nourished in the Catholic Roman opinion.

I was lately assured that the young Scottish king had been so deeply persuaded to come to this Court by the impressions delivered him of the excellence, bravery, and greatness of it, as also that he would thereby become acquainted with his chiefest cousins, by whose means he might not only have more liberty, but be made lord of greater estates, and that this had been so pleasantly and sweetly instilled into his ears, that it has not only wrought great love in his heart towards d'Aubigny, but he has privately signified his willingness to Lord Ross and others, 'both' French, Scottish, and English. The expectation of it has drawn many English into these parts.

I have been told that the Scottish Queen did lately 'seek means' to have leave to repair to the 'Baynes,' namely those about 'Bristowe'; which they say is not granted by the Queen as they hoped. But as nothing is certified from England I doubted of the truth of it.

Now it seems her Majesty may have the 'commodity' to command Lord Hamilton, and through him the young Lord Huntley his nephew, and Sir James Bafoure professes to be willing to take the same course. I shall await her pleasure and your directions, if it seem worth embracing.

I think Alexander Stuart and his son, who has lately become one of the King's guard, take their journey to-day toward Scotland, being much affected to d'Aubigny. 'The Mr Graye' passes in their company.

Lord Hamilton has written to the Queen. I send a copy.

The Duke of Guise being lately informed how d'Aubigny had become one of the Protestant Church, only smiled at the matter. He is at present a little indisposed in his health.—Paris, 7 June 1580.

Add. Endd. by Walsingham; added in another hand: Touching Hambleton. 3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 84.]

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June 8. **317.** COBHAM to the QUEEN.

This place requires some faithful person to help me in the affairs in which I deal; that after I have dealt with their Majesties here for any cause of yours, I may have some one by whom I may 'solicit to' the Secretaries and Council of this Court for the better effecting of what I may at any time propound. There are also well-willers of your Highness in these parts who have not the 'commodity to come to me at all times'—especially with troubles and dangerous days approaching—but will be content to send their minds by some person known to be 'confident,' secret, and assured to you. For that purpose I have conceived a good opinion of [Mr] Wade, and my desire is that you will not only be pleased with my intention herein, but that he may be accepted for your servant and bound to you by oath. I suppose, moreover, that when it was your will to send me to this place your meaning was, and now is, that I might serve your turn with my ears to hearken and understand, and with my eyes to see and perceive all things that may concern you, 'either' for your service, honour, profit, or pleasure. Therefore, since among a great number of the sons of your subjects who are come hither, there is Mr George Hopton, son to the Lieutenant of the Tower, I thought good to inform you of it, for I understand he is 'indued with sundry parts of ability' to do you agreeable service, having travelled in Italy and Constantinople, and being able to render good account of both those Courts. 'Betaking' both these gentlemen to be recommended to your Majesty's favour by those of authority about your person, to whom they are very well known.

Madame de la Noue beseeches you to take compassion on M. de la Noue her husband, and to promise the safety of his life and restoring of his liberty by all such means as may seem good to you; for whose happy and long life she prays the Almighty and humbly kisses your hands and feet, being the most sorrowful woman that can be seen, and worthily to be pitied and comforted.—Paris, 8 June 1580.

Add. Endd. by Walsingham and another; and in a later hand. 1¼ *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 85.]

June 9. **318.** COBHAM to BURGHLEY.

Though some opinion has been conceived hitherto of the continuance of peace it now seems that they of the religion doubt thereof, and begin to provide somewhat more warily for their safety. So that seeing the chief princes have been so dealt with that they are for their better defence driven to join with their friends, the gentlemen and others shrink from Paris and such places, retiring the rather because the King not only seeks those who take arms, but enquires after and apprehends those who assist the afflicted Protestants with money or otherwise.

I enclose a copy of the Prince of Condé's letter 'directed' to the King at his parting: and Mr Wade has, to show you, a copy translated into English of the King of Navarre's protestation [*qy. No.* 311.]

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I likewise send the Edict now set out by the Court of Parliament for levying on the enclosed towns enough money to pay the wages of 50,000 footmen. Preparations are made to besiege la Fère.

The King issues many commissions for levying armed men in sundry provinces, especially Languedoc, Provence, Burgundy, Champagne, and Picardy.

Monsieur is still at Tours, but I hear goes from thence to visit the Duke of Montpensier, and so passes on to Angiers. As yet he continues to treat of peace with the King of Navarre. But the King has so limited his commission that small fruit is looked for. The three commissioners for the Low Countries continue with him.

The King of Spain went to Badajos on the 20th ult., where he has given order for the dividing of his army by sea into three parts, the largest to make its entry by the mouth of the Tajo beside Lisbon, while the others keep the coast of Africa and that toward Galicia.

On the other side the Portuguese have put themselves in order for their defence, and it is reported to-day that the King has entered the frontier of Portugal; but I have seen no letter of it.

I have dealt with Lord Hamilton according to her Majesty's instructions. He has written and assured her of his service, but is loth as yet that he and his brother should be both together in England; upon mistrust that Lord Morton has too great friends there. I daily await the coming of the Italian from Milan, whom in your last letter you wished me to send for.

I suppose that Mr Wade's service and devotion to you are so well known that I need not recommend him; but I should be beholden to you if by your means he might become the Queen's sworn servant, for he 'attends only upon' such favours as you may bestow on him, having always belonged to you only. If you like, he may stand me in very good stead for the Queen's service in these times. I have enlarged to him my mind to deliver to you on the state of this country.—Paris, 9 June 1580.

P.S.—By the enclosed [*see No.* 288] you may perceive how well Lord Percy can write French; which I suppose will like you, and give his father great content.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 86.]

May 23. *Enclosed in the above* (*or in the following*) :—

319. Copy of the Prince of Condé's Letter to the King.

I trust that by my demeanour since I came into these quarters (as also before) I have given your Majesty so good testimony of the zeal and affection which I have always borne towards the maintenance of the peace of this realm, that you may easily perceive it was not through my fault if everything has not been ordered by the greatness of your authority, nor passed according to your upright and godly intention, whereof it has pleased you to give me often knowledge by exhorting me to observe your edicts. Whereupon I

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laid such sure foundation that I never doubted but it were most easy for you to conform to them all those who being led by their passions would by any sinister practice draw your subject to a new inflaming of their minds and irreconcileable hatred, as I have before advertised you. Now likewise since the King of Navarre has been constrained to take arms, the League of the province have daily renewed their practices to entrap me, in such sort that seeing in your Majesty a present demonstration of peace, and a determined purpose of war in the hearts of those of the League, the desire of the one and the fear of the other have always warned me to have an ear to the wind and an eye to the field, to discover their secret devices; knowing so well their intention on all sides to entrap me, and that without your knowledge, and in contempt of your authority they pursued their devices, your Majesty not being able to take such order therein as you desired; as you have now by this bearer signified to me, and that you knew nothing of the assembly of those of the League. In the end, to my great grief, I am resolved for the necessity of the affairs of the party which I 'hold on,' and to avoid danger to my person, to withdraw into 'Almany'; which I do in order to employ all the means I may against those of the League, and all who abusing your authority would help themselves therewith to work my overthrow. Most humbly beseeching you to be persuaded that in Almany as well as elsewhere I will never be directed from the duty I owe you, and will be always ready to receive some perfect peace at your hands.—La Fère, 23rd May 1580.

Translated. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 86*a.*]

June 9. **320.** COBHAM to WALSINGHAM.

Since the departure of the Prince on Whitsunday evening towards Germany, the opinion of the troubles increases, and preparations appear every way.

On leaving la Fère the Prince wrote to the King, of which I send you a copy. He has left M. la Personne, M. de Mouy, and M. de Ruze for captains and governors in la Fère with a sufficient garrison, lest it should be attempted after his departure. The opinion is it will shortly be besieged, for preparations to that purpose are being made.

The King caused an edict to be made in Parliament on the 6th inst. decreeing that all who shall bring into his realms forces of strangers, or assist them in any way with money or otherwise, shall be 'enquired on' and proceeded against as rebels, with confiscation of their goods in more rigorous manner than has been heretofore accustomed. In this edict he has protested much of his desire to continue the peace.

Lately at one of their councils, which was held privately, the Count of Retz, as I am informed, 'delivered' how the Protestants were to be 'understood and considered on' by these four points. First, that now they had no religion nor use of it left among themselves. Secondly, they had no principal heads or chiefs. Thirdly,

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they had small means or power. Fourthly, they were confined to two provinces, Languedoc and Guienne. Whereas the King had a strong party and most of the strongest towns at his devotion. Whereon he concluded it was easy to overthrow them. So divers judge that affairs are being temporised here rather that they may enter into war jointly with their confederates than with any better mind.

The King since the Prince's departure, has sent M. de 'Braglion' into Germany to 'Chamberg'; whence it is advertised that a packet of the King's to Schomberg has been intercepted, and copies of it delivered abroad in Germany; in which there appeared the King's order to him to levy reiters, and his meaning to address himself to the wars.

M. de Beaufontaine was sent by Monsieur into Germany, at the King's request, to require the staying of the reiters who are to serve the Protestants. He is returned, and reports that 3,000 were in readiness.

M. de Laval has passed into Germany very privily, and M. de Rohan is gone to Rochelle. It is signified to me that the young Count of Montgomery has taken M. de Gourdes, Treasurer of Guyenne, with some money. He is set at 10,000 crowns ransom.

Those of the religion in Languedoc take such small towns as they may compass, so that the passage grows very dangerous. A gentleman of Monsieur was lately slain by thieves as he passed with a packet to the King of Navarre. In it was enclosed the power to treat for peace which the King had sent lately to the Duke of Anjou by M. Rambouillet. This packet was not taken but left untouched, and Rambouillet remains with Monsieur, apparently about according the affairs concerning the appearing of the public troubles and also for the 'agreeing' of the Dukes of Montpensier and Nevers.

It is much bruited that Montpensier repairs to Paris, but there is small appearance of it unless Monsieur should guide him to the Court. Of this there is no present speech; but rather that he returns towards 'Aingers,' to visit Montpensier on the way.

The King has given Biron commission to besiege Bazas; yet there was lately but small force in readiness for that purpose, unless he draws some of their 'commonalty' out of Bordeaux, and taken with him part of their artillery and munitions.

Châtillon as yet overmatches Montmorency; and lately Beziers, one of his richest towns, is revolted and the townsmen stand on their guard.

A person who has some credit with Monsieur 'discoursed' to me lately that in every state it is greatly to be thought on how far the establishing of the succession 'imports' every realm. The dangers not long since of Poland and now the imminent troubles of Portugal were enough to open the eyes of any good patriot. They might serve for example to France and other places; as if any 'change of life' should befall the King and Monsieur, there

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were some who would pretend their claim from St. Louis, and others from Charlemagne, which party had already well fashioned their affairs in France. He proceeded so far as to touch our case in England. Leaving that point he assured me that the Dukes of Maine and Aumale had intelligence with those of the League of Picardy and were willing enough to oppose the Prince. He lamented a little that while Fervacques was sent from Monsieur to negotiate some accord with the King of Navarre, in the mean time they of the Religion seized a town; concluding that if the King of Navarre did not follow Monsieur's opinion he might thoroughly endanger his estate and those of the Religion, and was like to stand presently in very evil terms. Moreover, he 'uttered' how the Duke of Guise had taken in hand an enterprise which Monsieur had impeached; but though I requested him, he would not discover which way it was meant, but answered in such 'staggering sort' to my demands that by conjecture 'I had cause in my conceit' to mistrust it was meant in places that side of the sea, it might be in Scotland.

The King is seeking 'by means' to disunite the commonalty in Province and Dauphiné from those of the Religion who are confederated. The affairs of the Marquisate of Saluces stand on such evil terms that if the King should seek to alter the present government or displace the captain, he would perceive what small authority he has there. In this state it seems the affairs of France stand at the present day.

By the last letters from Spain they certify that King Philip, continuing his 'pretensed' enterprise towards Portugal, removed on May 18 from Guadalupe to Merida, thence next to Lybona [?Lobao], a small village, and came on the 20th to Badajos, whence he proposes to enter Portugal; having answered the Portuguese ambassadors that he will not stay the pleading of his right, since it is so clear. He has appointed the Duke of Alva to be lieutenant-general of his army, the Prior, Don Fernando de Toledo, his general of the horse, the Marquis 'di Santa Croce' general of the galleys, the Marquis of Ayamonte 'proveditor' and commissary-general, the Marquis of Mondejar general of the company of Naples, the Count of Pliego captain of the horsemen, Don 'Piedro di Medicis' general of the Italian footmen, the Duke of Brunswick general of the Almaynes. Don Liego de Cordova, master of the horse, will carry the standard before the king, 'whose Majesty' minds to enter Portugal by four ways; that is, the Duke of Medina with 5,000 foot and 1,400 horse by the county of Ayamonte, the Duke del Infantasgo with 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse by 'the city Rodrigo,' the Count of Monderey, Marquis of Sara, Count Ribadania and the Bishop of Tuy by Galicia with 8,000 foot, and himself with his Captain-general, the Duke of Alva, with 15,000 foot and 6,000 horse by Badajos. The galleys and ships will be this month divided into three parts; the greatest number will pass towards the river Tajo, which goes up to Lisbon, the 'other' part will sail toward the north of Portugal along the coast toward Galicia, the third is to keep by the coast of Africa. The king has left his queen at 'Libona.'

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By letters of last month from Strasburg I hear that Casimir has been to visit his brother and the Duke of 'Wittembergh,' who were with their wives 'in' the baths at 'Bada'; and thence came to Strasburg, where staying two days he returned to 'Kaisar Luther.' On the way M. Sarrasin, the Prince of Condé's secretary, met him, and so went to Kaisar Luther, where they found M. de Huguerie and de Guitry, agents for the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. There is likewise Count Rocheguyon; and it certainly appears that Casimir is preparing for the levy of reiters. There is a gentleman of the Duke of Guise who seeks conference with Casimir, not to the 'contentation' of his friends.

There have been lately with the Elector Palatine at his house the three Archbishops Electors, the Bishop of Strasburg, the Bishop of Basle and the Duke of 'Wittemberg.'—Paris, 9 June 1580.

Add. Endd. by Walsingham: From Sir H. Cobham. The occurrents. 3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 87.]

June 9. **321.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

The Lady de la Noue has been with me, whose sorrowful care is greatly to be pitied and considered. I beseech you that this letter may serve for a memorial to 'bestow your speeches' to her Majesty whereby she may be stirred to save the life and recover the liberty of that worthy Christian and rare gentleman, to whom the Christian Church is bound for his travails, and all nobility and knights, for his 'clear value,' are obliged by their profession to have in consideration. Therefore methinks it should not be so easily suffered that the enemies to his zealous religion may triumph and use their outrage on so singular a person. In times past men's minds have been virtuously moved to do great things for such causes as the preservation of so valiant and rare a gentleman. I beseech you to excuse me if I express my earnestness herein something more than enough, since he deserves it, and whatever I could write, say, or do.

Captain del Bene was sent hence about the 4th inst. by the king to the Prince of Orange to seek means for the deliverance of M. de la Noue. Before he went, he was sworn gentleman of the king's chamber. I send his letter, which bears date when he had been appointed and then stayed again.

Mme de la Noue uses many means. She is sending M. Bellefleur, who is to pass first into England.

Cardinal Riario, the legate from Rome, has made his journey along the 'Levant coast,' and through the Duke of Savoy's territories; and passes by Narboune, and so by Perpignan into Spain.

I have dispatched Mr Wade with this, to be received by you according to the affectionate humble duty he bears you, beseeching you to lay on him as my dear friend some of the favours which you might bestow on me if I were there; and that you will present him to her Majesty with so good recommendations that he may be

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accepted as her sworn servant, since he has already 'showed to serve her' carefully in other parts this side the sea, and continues disposed to obey her further commands.

I should be glad to know in what way I might deserve your further good will; therefore I beseech I may receive your mind by this gentleman, which I will accomplish accordingly.—Paris, 9 June 1580.

P.S.—I beseech that Mr Wade may be returned with the first dispatch.

1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 88.]

June 11. **322.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

Though since Mr Wade's departure nothing of importance has fallen out, I would not 'leave but to deliver' these few words to you, to signify how the king is fallen somewhat sick of this 'murre' or rheum, whereof sundry ladies of the Court and other principal persons are also diseased. But since no one dies of it, it is not found to be dangerous. The tempestuous weather, however, and extreme thunder of last week have so altered the air that many are become sick. The thunder passed through sundry houses, and 'kept some stir in St. Mary's Church about their images,' and slew a canon. They say the like weather has rarely been seen, of great winds and diversity of temperature in this month.

I enclose herewith occurrents from sundry places.

The preparations for the siege of la Fère slacken, and a new bruit is given out of peace; it is supposed to gain time.—Paris, 11 June 1580.

P.S.—I beseech that young Adams may be sent to me, for he is to render me certain accounts.

Advertisement is come to the Court that Monsieur is presently departing from Tours, to have an interview with the King of Navarre at Cognac; but I have cause to doubt of the event, for divers principal persons of the Religion mislike it.

1 *p.* [*France IV.* 89.]

June. **323.** Occurrents (*presumably those enclosed in the last*).

From Prague it is advertised that the Diet of Austria was begun in Vienna, and it is thought but small profit will arise of it, as there did from the Hungarians', so that his Majesty will be constrained to return.

The Emperor purposes to return to Vienna this month of June, for the suppression of the preachings, which are beginning again.

The Elector of Saxony has departed towards Denmark with the whole Court, taking 100 halberdiers more than ordinary; but his intention is not known. The Duke of Prussia and Marquis of Brandenburg are likewise departed.

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The Moravians are in controversy with those of Austria; and 'Sr de Stotsenghen,' steward to the Archduke Maximilian is sent to 'accord' them.

The Emperor has let the ambassadors know that on Aug. 1 he means to take his journey into Silesia and Moravia, and thence to Vienna; since the Hungarians desire his presence to decide certain causes of importance. He will remain there 5 or 6 months and his brother be resident at Prague.

From Constantinople is news that Mustapha was drawing near, and that the Grand Signior had sent one of his *chiaus* to meet him, with order to behead him on his arrival at 'that porte'; also that his secretary and the master of his house were already imprisoned. Which *chiaus* being come to Mustapha and making towards him, Mustapha willed him to stand back, and if he had to speak with him, to stand further, and by no means to come near him. Others report that as soon as Mustapha is come to Constantinople, he was to marry Sultana, late wife to Mahumet deceased, and that he would be made first vizier; with advice also how there was great provision prepared for the affairs of Persia.

The Duke of Ferrara has sent a gentleman to all the Electors of the Empire, it is supposed, to be a 'let' that the Grand Duke shall not be 'sacred' King of Tuscany.

1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 89A.]

June 13. **324.** The King of Denmark to the Queen.

We received a few days ago your letter dated Westminster, April 19. It gratified us both by its kindness towards ourselves, and by its care for the Christian commonwealth; whereof the one concerns the ancient friendship between our realms, the other the advantage of the Church of God, and above all, your honourable office as Defender of the Faith. We thank you therefore on both grounds.

If we could by action or advice do anything towards promoting concord among the Reformed Churches, we would not fail to do it. Therefore upon the request made to us last year by the King of Navarre we conferred with our relative Augustus Duke of Saxony, to whose affection for us must be ascribed any result we may have obtained thereby. We certainly made our proposals in perfect sincerity, and we should rejoice if our communication were to do anything towards moderating religious dissensions.

But as in what you have said we recognise your anxiety to forestall greater disturbance to the Church, so we make no doubt that all the steps our relative has hitherto taken have sprung from his zeal for the Churches of the Augustan Confession. If, as we hoped, he had come here, we would not have failed to bring forward the subject as you request. But as he unexpectedly changed his plans when he had accomplished half his journey, and owing to certain serious impediments connected with both public and private affairs, went back to his country, and we were therefore

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prevented from speaking to him, as you wished, we will take an opportunity of explaining to him either by letter, or through your envoys, who will, we hope, be here shortly, and let him know our wish in regard to promoting a synod of the Reformed Churches of Germany. Nor do I doubt that this will, if it is addressed in friendly wise by you, so declare itself that you will have nothing to desire.

Nor need we cease to hope that if Andreas, whom you mention, should abuse the goodness of his excellent Prince, and in place of the common tranquillity, which his Highness contemplates, should, as you seem to hint, fling a firebrand of fraud and strife into the Church of God, the Duke will at length take good care of his own and the common expediency.

We for our part have nothing to do with these new formularies and jointly-signed books. The churches and schools of our realms, in the reign of our late father, were piously reformed by the rejection of Papist *idolomania*, and put on a good footing. We rest in that sincerity of Christian doctrine handed down to us by an excellent parent, and true Christian prince; nor do we allow any theologian to make any innovation, or to dispute about the received and approved order of our Church. By these means we have up to now, by the grace of God, preserved at once the truth and peace in the Churches of our wide realms.—Colding, 13 June 1580.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Latin. 4½ *pp.* [*Denmark I.* 8.]

June 15. **325.** Cobham to the Queen.

Having been advertised, as your Majesty may perceive by the enclosed, of the assured disposition in this realm towards war, which it seems cannot be enterprised but that occasion will in some sort be ministered for you to enter into consideration of it in respect of the 'voysinage' your States have with France, and in consideration of those of the Religion, who are much distressed, and live daily in great fear; and since it seems the Prince of Condé proposes to repair to you (if he be not already arrived), I thought it my duty to send the advice immediately upon knowledge thereof. While writing this I received this other advertisement, from Spain, by the last courier, which may seem to give you occasion to forethink what will be the Spanish king's next enterprise; since he daily increases his army by sea and otherwise, besides that his Spaniards who were in Flanders are embarked towards Spain. I am loth to trouble you with the declaration of the hopes of those who are 'ill bent' against your person and your realms or to set before your eyes the judgments of the well-disposed towards you. But thus much I will 'remember' to you for the better discharging of my duty, that it seems that they of Rome have bent their counsels against your estates, as may appear not only in the favouring of your fugitives, but also in heartening and practising with the rebels of Ireland. It is further supposed that the Pope and other Italian princes would not confederate and assist King Philip so far with money and forces, but they were assured this Catholic army should be bestowed hereafter more to their liking and further from their coasts than Portugal.

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The temporising of the proceedings in this country has given cause to the wise to presume that there is an intelligence and action which is awaited, wherein all their hands at one 'instance' shall be set on work. In like manner the sending of d'Aubigny and his fair manner of entrance and accommodating of himself signifies that he wishes to gain time; so that their prepared malice is like too soon to take place, when there are not sufficient defences made against their open ready forces. Besides that it is esteemed King Philip moves not but when he finds great good foundations and some secret welcome, as may appear by this enterprise of Portugal; though perhaps many of the Portuguese' minds are contrary. *Il pensare non importa, ma il fare;* which will appear by what they will suffer at their hands, with whom daily experience shews there is no redemption nor reasonable composition to be had.

I am informed the Scottish Queen solicits most earnestly to have her son brought 'in place' where he may be 'reduced' to the Catholic Church; which is most assuredly expected, and will be brought to pass, for without that they would do little.

The Christian King has been sick of the *coqueluche*, a kind of 'murre,' which has infected the greatest part of the city, but is now well again, God be thanked, and purposes to take the air in some of his houses not far hence.—Paris, 15 June 1580.

1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 90.]

June 15. **326.** Cobham to Walsingham.

A particular edict having passed for the confiscation of the Prince of Condé's goods, I am informed that at the request of the Cardinal of Bourbon the King has caused it to be stayed, but with great difficulty and some unkindnesses. Because of the guest who I suppose will be with you before my letter, I write thus much; of which I think he will be glad.—Paris, 15 June 1580.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson: Confiscation stayed; *Walsingham (?) adds:* of the Pr. of Condé's goods. *Then (apparently heads for a letter to be written):* 1. Portingall Amb. 2. Scotland. 3. Ireland. 4. Hambleton. Brother here. 5. Private causes. 6 *ll.* [*Ibid. IV.* 91.]

June 15. **327.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

I have written to you by Large, the ordinary post, since Mr Wade's departure; yet as I am informed of the (Prince of Condé *erased*) Count de Torryne [*qy.* Turenne] meaning to pass over soon to her Majesty I thought good to advertise it with all speed; doubting he will be there sooner than these my letters. I have sent a little 'bille' of this intelligence inclosed in her Majesty's letter, which I beseech you to take into your hands when she 'has served herself of the advice.'

I hear daily of the King's preparations in Languedoc, to be levied by Biron and the Duke of Maine, 'putting himself in order to be chieftain of the war in Dauphiné.' The troops are 'amassing' in

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Picardy. The King rather seeks to unite the noblemen and gentlemen of the provinces, by whose forces, on horseback with lances, he purposes to withstand the entry of the reiters and to weary them; as also an assured means to overthrow those of the Religion, for they have few troops on horseback, and those but slenderly appointed for lances. Their forces are but shot, without armed corselets, so that the French horsemen will, as they reckon, being better armed and appointed, overthrow them at all encounters. In this case the affairs of the 'poor afflicted' stand.

The King seems to blame Monsieur, that while he treats with him about some pacification, the King of Navarre has taken Cahors in Quercy and another small place beside it; with which the King was highly offended, and in his choler said in a private place that his enemies had made him many *bravados* since his return from Poland: but he had in store a secret which was not known, by means of which he doubted not he should be revenged on them.

M. Rambouillet is returned from his Highness with small satisfaction; for Fervaques is not yet come back from the King of Navarre. His Highness remains at Tours.

On Friday the 10th the King was to visit the Duke of Nevers, who has been sick of their disease called the *coqueluche;* when he continued about three hours in secret conference with the said duke, the Duke of Guise, the Count of Retz and Villequier. The Cardinal of Bourbon was also admitted for a time. Next day the Duke of Nevers began his journey toward Mézières, and so it is said he will pass to the baths.

The King has sent M. Rambouillet to the Duke of Montpensier coming towards Orleans with above 600 horse, requiring him to leave his troops and repair hither with some 50 gentlemen, the rather because the Duke of Nevers is gone. I am informed that the Marquis of Elbeuf and the Duke of Aumale are with the said duke, being allied with him; it is thought he will enter Paris in two days, as the King shall appoint.

There is one come from Germany, from 'Chamberg,' leaving him at 'Hertfordt' [Erfurt] on the way to 'Misnia,' bringing news of the levy of reiters for the princes of the Religion; so that now every gentleman puts himself in order for the wars.

The preparations continue for the siege of la Fère, and M. la Guiche, master of the artillery, has received 5,000 crowns to find 20 'battery pieces,' and they have taken order here for horses to draw the artillery. I hear there is evil agreement between the gentlemen left by the Prince as chieftains in la Fère.

Four regiments of foot are beginning to march, and are commanded by M. de Vauguyon, 'great master of the camp.'

The king has received one quarter of the wages of his officers and those of the Receipts.

It is 'looked' that the King should to-day or to-morrow repair to the palace. Yesterday the chiefs of the Parliament were with him at the Louvre, to understand his will as to the form and

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manner of proceeding to the execution of the last Edict for the sale of the lands and goods of those of the Religion who are departed the realm and their adherents and such like. The Protestants are much in fear of some secret design intended against them, whereon they daily shift themselves away; 'but truly, sir, I do not see how they can escape the ill hour,' being so compassed about with malicious devices, and no relief appearing, except the Almighty break the bands and chains of the mighty.

I hope thus much being 'enlarged' hereof may suffice to discharge my duty, and give her Majesty cause to look providently to great imminent threatenings; as also that this may serve for a remembrance to your honour and my Lords of the Council, whereby your counsels may be employed in time for the safety of the servants of God.

The Portuguese ambassador, at his last visit within these three days lamented to us in earnest sort that Don Antonio de Castilia advertises him that the favours for the munitions required for Portugal are slowly granted, and that the Queen suffers copies to be taken of the Duchess of Braganza's letters, which were sent to Antwerp by some 'new Christians' and so conveyed into Portugal; also that her Majesty rather nourishes the divisions in Portugal than seeks their uniting, in that she receives letters from Don Antonio, and sends answers, entertaining him with hopes by means of Mr Secretary Wilson.

I learn by the last letters, of May 30, from Madrid, that the 'Foulkers' have sent a letter of credit to the Prince of Parma for the receipt of 300,000 crowns, to be repaid him at Besançon, and 200,000 more to be paid at Lyons, which sums are to be disbursed to the Malcontents in Flanders.

I send herewith an advertisement from Merida, where the Catholic army at that instant was.

By letters of the 30th ult. from Madrid it is advertised that the Duke of Alva had entered Portugal; which came by the last courier.

I send you a book set forth by a Scot who was a minister, and is now become a papist, as many of them daily do.

M. d'Aubigny has written to some friend of his at this Court that he has received courteous letters from the Queen, wherein she gives him the title of Cousin.

I am informed that not long since, as the King of Scots was walking in his garden, a messenger came secretly with a countersign from his mother, with a message in the name of the Widow, to whom he answered that he loved not only the Widow, but all who love her; so that it is likely there will fall out good intelligence between the mother and the son, and that assuredly the King does not favour Earl Morton.

John Tupper made such diligence that parting from you the 10th we had him here the 12th at noon.—Paris, 15 June 1580.

3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 92.]

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June 17. **327** *bis.* COBHAM to [WALSINGHAM].

I would not let this ordinary post pass without these few words, wherewith I send you the Edict which has now passed out from the printer, whereby those princes and other noblemen will be brought to extreme terms, so that it appears the King is prosecuting the cause with more apparent rigour than usual.

Notwithstanding the Duke of Nevers is gone to Mézières, Montpensier cannot be persuaded to repair hither so 'smally' accompanied as the King required; so he has returned to his own house.

Signor Giovanni Taddei, who came yesterday from Monsieur, assures me that neither the Duke of Aumale nor the Marquis of Elbeuf is in Montpensier's company. He also says that his Highness remains yet at Tours, where the Flemish commissioners are entertained at his cost, and none repair to them without license.

I am informed that his Highness makes companies and puts gentlemen in order for some enterprise, but whether for the cause of Flanders I cannot assure you; though those are being entertained by Monsieur who would not willingly, nor at all, serve him or the King in any civil wars. Howbeit, their minds under this climate have been taken to be variable for the most part.

Preparations for the siege of la Fère continue, and those who favour Monsieur are most glad of the accord made at Cambray last month.

Lord Claude has written to Lord Hamilton that he has taken his journey towards her Majesty's Court to find out her disposition for their cause. He asks him to send over his servant Conningham with his whole and entire intent. I think Conningham departs on Monday the 20th; I will write to you by him.

Lord Claude informs his brother that the Earl of 'Ainguyshe' shows kindness towards him, and has gone about to chasten some of those vassals of Lord Hamilton who 'decline' from him in the 'Shrivewick of Glidesdale.'

Captain Louther, one of this King's *garde du corps*, returned yesterday. The Bishop of Glasgow is assured by him that the King is most desirous to pass into France, with discovery to none but d'Aubigny and such others as are his assured.

I wrote to you of Alexander Stuart, who went hence about the beginning of this month, passing through England. A resolution is, as I am informed, sent by him for the dispatch of Earl Morton; and that the Scottish Queen has consented that whatsoever shall be done that way shall be allowed for her service. So that upon the next easy occasion he will, as they term it, be sticked; and thereby it is supposed the Queen's chief 'dependor' in Scotland put out of the way. The said Alexander is a man of no great execution himself, but evil-disposed; and has a crafty meaning and manner to put an evil work in practice. I am further advertised

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that Keerey, the interpreter and secretary to d'Aubigny, will be sent from Scotland hither very shortly about their secret affairs. He is to pass in a little ship of 'Lythe,' called the *Huguenot*.

Two young men are come hither who left Spain about the beginning of May, one called Richard Parker, the other Bartholomew Yonge, sons of Gregory Yonge, grocer, of London, and of his wife's first husband. Bartholomew Yonge is the nephew of Dr. Yonge imprisoned for papistry, and was sent by him into Spain on purpose to have gone into Italy upon the doctor's direction. He had conference with the Duchess of Feria, being recommended by a privy token from his uncle.

It is advertised from Venice that the Signiors are in doubt that the Turk intends somewhat against them, occasioned by the evil disposition and malice of the chief Bassa. Therefore 'they have and do' send great preparations into Candia; the rather it is said that the Persian has concluded a peace with the Grand Signior.

Radolpho Baglioni has not as yet made any companies in Italy for the King of Spain; since the Italians are most unwilling to go 'for' Spain, because most part of 9,000 men who went thither are dead 'for' hunger, want of sustenance and pay.—Paris, 17 June 1580.

P.S.—It is said two Englishmen are gone by Rouen into England. Names of Englishmen in Spain: Sir Fr. Englesfield, Mr Henry Carey, to be captain in one of the ships for Ireland, Mr Charles Browne, captain of a company for Ireland, Mr 'Predioxe,' John Jackson, who was in trouble for the Countess of Shrewsbury, and his brother Mr Newland, Henry Gille, priest.

There is now a ship preparing in the river of Bordeaux, and a ship and pinnace of M. Lansac, it is said for the Indies. Two more ships in the river of Bayonne.

2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 93.]

June 17. **328.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

My lord Hamilton having let me know that Mr Conningham his servant is presently departing for England on purpose to confer with lord Claude I would not suffer him to pass without these few words to inform you of it; the rather because he is well trusted by his lord and goes fully instructed in all his causes, and of their proceedings here and in Scotland, as if you speak with him it will appear.

I yesterday delivered Peter Brown, the ordinary post, a packet for you with the Edict for the attaching and confiscation of the lands and goods of the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, M. de Laval and others.

There is speech here of Mr Stafford's coming from 'thence.'

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The King is gone to St. Germain's and the Queen Mother to 'St. Mowre,' where they will remain some time. The town is infected with diseases, and somewhat with the plague.—Paris, 17 July 1580.

⅔ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 94.]

June 17. **329.** Du Plessis to Walsingham.

I would not fail to advertise you of the news, dated 11 June, which I have to-day from Paris. On May 30 the King resolved upon war, and assigned the duty of arranging for it to the Paymaster-general (*Thresorier de l'extraordinaire*). He has dispatched fresh commissions for their soldiers, has sent into Germany and Switzerland to hasten the levies, and orders to Marshal de Biron to take the field and besiege some place, in order to bring the King of Navarre to battle at whatever price, which is their sole design. Also the Duke of Maine has been sent into Dauphiné, the Prince Dauphin, who is governor of it, not wishing to desert his father in his quarrel, which still continues. To meet the costs of the war they reckon on 2,000,000 francs, which the clergy have offered for the redemption of their revenues, on forced loans from private persons, and above all, on our property. In fact on the Monday week previous letters patent were issued to seize the goods of all who were absent, and those who were bearing arms or favouring them. On the 9th inst. they placed a garrison at the bridge of St. Cloud, and are doing the same at all the approaches. Companies begin to march towards la Fère, which they mean to batter with 30 cannon. Marshal Matignon is to command the siege. There are 800 good men and 80 gentlemen well mounted, resolved to fight for their lives there. My cousin M. de Mouy, son of the late M. de Mouy, is in command; M. de Laval's young brother has remained there also, and M. de la Personne. They have provisions, and have already fortified four ravelins.

On June 3 the King received word that the King of Navarre had surprised Cahors, a great, rich, and strong town, which has done us a good deal of harm. Notwithstanding, there is still talk of peace, but you know what the preparations (*expéditions*) for it are.

In Lauraguais they have defeated those who massacred our people at Soreze. This is the state of our affairs; they need only a moderate assistance to make a good recovery. I forgot to say that 4,000 Provençals have joined with our friends in Dauphiné. For the rest, Captain Beaupuis is at Cambray to receive the oath on behalf of Monsieur, and M. de Valises left Paris on June 10, taking 10,000 crowns, which President de Thou, now chancellor to Monsieur, has lent.

I have no letter from the King of Navarre; for M. de Chemeraut whom he has sent to the King, a good gentleman, had his throat cut lately on the high road, and his packets stolen, and since then M. de la Bussière also, who belonged to the Queen of Navarre, four leagues from Poitiers.

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Thus much I could not keep from you while awaiting our news.—London, 17 June 1580.

P.S.—These news come to me from three different quarters, and are certain.

Add. Endd. Fr. 1¼ *pp.* [*France IV.* 95.]

June 18. **330.** The Prince of Condé to Walsingham.

Having made my way to this country as speedily and as secretly as possible, for great and important occasions, of which I desire myself to treat with the Queen, I would not fail, so soon as I landed in this port, to dispatch this bearer, one of my secretaries, to you with all diligence, to advertise yourself and the Earl of Leicester thereof and to pray you to let her Majesty know it, in order that when she has done me the honour to make known her will, I may follow it as well as the advice which I beseech you to give me as to my course of action. Wherein I address myself to you, as to one whose friendship I have so long experienced that I count him as one of my best friends in this world. Awaiting therefore this bearer's return, whom I beg you to credit, and to dispatch as soon you can, that a long stay in this place may not betray me, I commend myself to your favour.—Sandwich, 18 June 1580. (*Signed*) Henry de Bourbon.

Add. Endd. in L. Tomson's hand: From the Pr. of Condé to myself. *Fr.* ¾ *p.* [*France IV.* 96.]

June 18. **331.** The Prince of Condé to Leicester.

In the same terms as the preceding.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Fr. ¾ *p.* [*Ibid IV.* 97.]

June 19. **332.** Christopher Carleill to [Walsingham].

By 'means' of advertisements received this week from the quarter where our people lie, I have been absent from this town and am but even now returned, so that I cannot for this time write your honour of anything that has been passed here in Council or otherwise.

The cause of my going to the quarter was to have made one in the surprise of Alost, of which we had some vain news that good success was likely to have followed, but in fine all is come to nothing, and the matter worse to begin again than ever before, by reason of certain cavalry they have caused to lie very near the town.

To-day is come the first news of a rencounter that 'should happen' between the States' forces that lay in the country of 'Groeningerland' and thereabouts, and those other forces of Malcontents who went thither to succour the town of Groningen, in which it is said that our folk remain the winners. But this is so fresh that I know not how to believe it as yet.

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We understand that M. de Hèze is imprisoned for being discovered practising the delivery of Arras and Valenciennes into the hands of the States. Commissaire 'Rowssell' was chiefly employed in these matters. He said at his departure from this town that he would advertise you the substance of his business from Dunkirk.

Mr Norris in coming from the castle about the beginning of last week 'happened to have another unhappy chance to light upon him.' This was by the falling out of some of his men with a waggoner, who being drunk, or 'nowghtely' disposed, ran with his waggon upon his 'footcloth nag' whereon he was mounted. But 'being very hardly escaped' his men rebuked the waggoner, who finding himself in the town, where he made account he should want no mates to take his part, answered them again with such vile speeches that one of the colonel's servants, not able to endure them, struck the waggoner with his sword in the scabbard. Hereupon they fall to drawing swords on all sides, and in this broil, some one, we know not who, struck Mr Norris with a great staff over his nose and one eye, wherewith his nose was beaten flat to his face and his eye somewhat bruised. But the eye is already well recovered, and the nose so raised up again that it will be no 'disfigure' at all. Meantime it is sore, and the bruise so great that he is driven to keep his bed for better ease. The Prince and all of the better sort seem very sorry for the mischance, and make 'semblant' that they will have justice done in the matter; but as yet the parties cannot be found, nor if they were is it thought that such justice could be ministered as were requisite for such a fault, for the people are so apt to mutiny that they would hardly suffer any punishment to be done among them for such kind of occasions. With the consideration of this Mr Norris partly satisfies himself, and intends to 'overpass' it as well 'as he may find it can be no better.'—Antwerp, 19 June 1580.

Endd. by Walsingham. 3½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 32.]

June 19. **333.** Rossel to Walsingham.

Finding myself here at Bruges to set on foot a good military enterprise against Cassel and other places, I have found an opportunity of writing to say that I am your assiduous and willing servant, although I do not send you news so often. I cannot do so, being continually on business of such importance that I put off eating and drinking to attend to it, inasmuch as the situation of the universal cause depends on it.

You will have learnt that my twofold journey into France on behalf of Cambray and Bouchain has brought upon our malcontent enemies an admirable division and distrust among the lords, the consequence of which has been the arrest and imprisonment of M. de Hèze, who has been taken from the camp to Mons. Several of his captains, and those of M. d'Egmont and M. de Montigny who were at Alost and elsewhere, have been arrested, the town of Mons thrown into discontent and mutiny, Lille and other places similarly excited; all through the accursed treachery of one who was reputed

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of the Religion, who discovered the enterprise on Mons, the 'ruin' of the Albanians, twenty ensigns revolted, and four towns brought over to our obedience.

All which things and other details I should have liked to relate more minutely, but I am obliged to start this instant for Ypres. The 'briratz' [*Breederaed*] at Antwerp met last Friday, to resolve upon the affair of M. d'Alençon, but came to no conclusion because the nobles and magistrates had not sent their opinion, which it is proper for them in the first instance to do.

I received yours of May 20, containing news of the army collecting in Spain against Portugal. This will further our affairs. When I left Antwerp they were saying that the Duchess of Parma was about to start for Paris, to negotiate the marriage of a daughter of Spain with Alençon. I do not know indeed if there was anything in it.—Bruges, 19 June 1580.

Add. Endd. Fr. 2 *pp.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 33.]

June 20. **334.** Roger Bodenham to Wilson.

By Nicolas [Ellis I wrote to y]our honour, and this is only to advertise you that the King is now upon the borders of Portugal . . . . . and thither is carried a great number of men and provisions, so that it is thought here that the King will make an end of that matter before he be . . . in any other, although great preparations are made 'with a mighty charge of divers things which appertain nothing to the matters of Portugal,' whereby it is gathered that some great enterprise was and is pretended besides that of Portugal; which is indeed either for Ireland or 'Argell.' It is good, therefore, that the Queen be ready, as it is reported here that she is, to withstand any power that can be made against her; and so there is no fear of any man. There is no more to say. 'But and' Ireland be provided, that there be no landing there, all these practices will be to no purpose; 'but and' they may land, it will breed great trouble. There is a heavy burden laid upon this people to maintain this great army, which may not long continue.—San Lucar, 20 June 1580.

Slightly damaged. Add. ¾ *p.* [*Spain I.* 50.]

June 21. **335.** Cobham to Walsingham.

Since my last I have had word from Lyons that after the King had sent letters containing the abolition and pardon of the league of the country of Dauphiné, the gentlemen of that league separated and returned to their houses until now of late; when four companies have been defeated by Captain Bouviers, who commands for those of the Religion in the towns and castles of 'Cinquantin' [St. Quentin], Yseron, and Châteaudouble.

About the 17th ult. the Estate or Council provincial was held at Grenoble; where it was agreed that the clergy should pay two-tenths, the nobility 10,000 francs, and the commonalty or third

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estate 40,000 francs, which sums are levying with great diligence, for they expect very shortly the coming of the Duke de Maine to be general against them of the Religion. He has taken up much corn in Burgundy, and 1,500 soldiers, who were already transported to the Saone, to descend to Lyons.

M. Lesdiguières is besieging Tallart, and is in good hope to win the town before the King's forces approach.

M. 'Livrot's' company traversed Burgundy and Beaujolais, having crossed the Loire at Roanne, marching up towards the forest. It is thought they will traverse the country of Gévaudan to approach Mende, which is appointed by the King to be besieged. M. de Paye, with his regiment raised in Dauphiné passed the same way. M. Vidal of Auvergne left Lyons on the 9th, taking thence with him one battering-piece, and 150 quintals of powder.

Monsieur remains at Tours, where he often exercises himself on horseback by four o'clock, armed, but privately.

The Earl of Westmoreland is looked for here shortly.—Paris, 21 June, 1580.

1 *p.* [*France IV.* 98.]

June 23. **336.** Spanish Advertisements.

I thought it my duty, hearing of some Spanish news, to examine some man of the most credit and best judgement among the company—considering the matter is weighty, and to advertise you thereof. And finding one John Ley, master and 'honor' of the *Flower de lice* of 'Lime Rege,' being a wise and expert fellow, having some acquaintance of English, Irish, and Spanish members of the confederation, the 'rather' to give information thereof, I have thought it well to send you the same, according to the 'collection' that I have made of his talk.

He says that about May 24 Mr Henry Cary came from the Court of Spain, with whom he had conference, Mr Cary told him he had been a captain with Mr Furbusher in his voyage to Cathay, and being the King of Spain's godson, and not liking the religion in England, he came to Spain, and had got the 'entertainment' of a captain to serve the King in this war, which he said was prepared for Portugal. The King himself had gone from the Court (leaving the Queen 'on' childbed, being 'brought abed' not above 14 days before), with a great army of his nobility, who refused 'the same' without his presence. He said his long stay was the means of sickness among the soldiers in his ships. He has taken them ashore again and sent for new men into the straits to furnish them. Fourteen sail lay at Biscay, and were expected every day at the Groyne, where Mr Cary and other captains stand to take charge of them.

He also told Ley that there were 40 argosies lying in 'Cales' in Andalusia, which were to meet these ships at Bayona, and be victualled from the Groyne, where all the King's provisions were.

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He thought these were sufficient for a very large army; and having conference with a Spanish merchant there, what the meaning of it was, being a great deal larger, as he thought, than would suffice these ships, he answered that the King had to employ them for other purposes. He also told the merchant, he marvelled why the King would relieve certain rebels to the Queen, 'and when he had some there'; and he answered that he did as she did by his rebels in Flanders and also said, 'He that would England win, with Ireland he must begin.'

He also talked with a Portugal merchant, who said they had made provision to defend themselves, and they had leifer deliver themselves into the hands of the Moors than yield to the King of Spain.

Ley also reports that on May 24 there arrived at the Groyne an Irish bishop with two ships, one of 160, the other of 50 tons, in which were 800 soldiers and plenty of munition for the field; so that he was driven to hang the carriages of the ordnance by the ship's side. They are reported to have 4,000 harquebuses. The ship is the same which Stukeley came in, and was left in Portugal.

Ley acquainted himself with one Oliver, an Irishman, having good credit with the said bishop, who could speak English very well. He discovered to Ley that 18 ships of their confederacy were lying at 'Saint Tanderes' in Biscay, wherein he said were 12,000 men, Irish, English, Flemings, Italians and Spaniards; and they had great plenty of money, and daily received great sums from the abbeys and monasteries, by command of the Pope. Ley asked Oliver for what purpose this company and the ships were ordained. He told him they were for Ireland, and maintained by the Catholics for the restitution of the Catholic faith and liberty of the country; which the said Bishop, going over with James 'Feemorice,' has meantime been practising both by the Pope and with other princes for the purpose aforesaid.

Oliver also told Ley that he heard the Queen's ships were on the coast of Ireland to await their coming, but they would prevent the danger of that well enough; for as soon as they came within sight of land they would strike their sails, and lie 'at hull,' and send two 'pynishes' of 10 and 4 tons, which were in Ireland on May 1 last, to learn of the Irish where her Majesty's ships lay, and so would 'forsee' to the land without 'their danger.' It was no matter in what place they landed; for the whole country, 'such as were in arms as not,' were her Majesty's enemies and their friends, and stayed but their coming to show themselves so openly.

Ley left Spain by the Groyne on June 15 and arrived at Lyme the night of the 21st. He verily thinks these rebels will put to sea the next easterly wind, towards Ireland; who understanding of his enquiry herein picked a quarrel 'to' him, seeing him ready to depart, and stayed his merchants and 700 ducats of their goods; 'manning out' certain pinnaces to have brought him in again.—23 June. (*Signed only* 'your honour's to command.')

Endd.: Spanish advertisements. *There is also on the back, written in Burghley's hand*: To Mr D. Hutcher, Vice-chancellor in the University of Cambridge (*probably written on the wrong letter*). 1¼ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 51.]

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June 23. **337.** Stafford to [Walsingham].

Being arrived at Calais I found everybody full of the Prince of Condé's arrival in England, and being asked by M. Gourdan of it, 'whom' I knew had sent it two days before to the ambassador, I was ashamed openly to lie. Yet not to tell altogether the truth, I told him the last man I saw in London was the ambassador, who told me of it, and that the same morning he had written to the Queen of it; and that I had since heard so too by the way. Whereat I much marvelled, because coming from the Court the day before I had heard never a word of any such thing; which I was sure I should not have been ignorant of if the Queen had heard anything of it. He seemed to go about to draw out of me if I thought the Queen would receive him well; and that he thought coming in person thither she would gratify him with any help she could. To that I answered that I was sure the Queen would if he came use those courtesies which she never denies to any stranger, especially so great a prince; but as for giving him help, I thought he, knowing her so well as he did, would look twice or ever he would ask for her help 'again' the King, to whom he knew her to be so good a sister, and so straitly allied, and I assured him, if he did he would find himself denied. But I rather thought, if he were there, he was come to save himself out of a place of danger here; to put himself in a place of surety under the wing of so virtuous a princess.

He answered me he prayed God it were so, and wished all things were well in France, desiring peace much, as it seemed; and so we 'left,' being very late.—Calais, 23 June 1580.

P.S.—Please send this to the prince, and let him understand by you that you are that I dare account of my honourable friend, and how sorry indeed you may assure him I am that I cannot, by 'necessity' of absence, show the good will I have to do him service.

1 *p.* [*France IV.* 99.]

June 23. **338.** The Queen to the French King.

Whereas many curious spirits in this present age discourse after their fancy concerning the affairs of princes without any respect or consideration, interpreting them for the most part in an ill sense, we, holding nothing in so high commendation as honour, and to obviate the frivolous discourses which some of these malicious and restless spirits might utter concerning the coming hither of the Prince of Condé, have charged Sir Henry Cobham, our ambassador in ordinary, to tell you the cause of it in detail, and what has passed between us and the prince, all of which we have communicated to your ambassador; who reporting it faithfully to you, as we hope he will without fail (having found him up to now well disposed to do all good offices for the maintenance of our mutual amity), we doubt not you will remain satisfied, and interpret our actions in good part, as those of a princess who loves and honours you, and would not on any account do anything with which you could rightly be displeased.

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A similar document (to Monsieur) for Stafford. 'Not only the reason of the prince's coming, but the particular hope and trust which he has in you, owing to your reputation as a prince full of pity and inclined to have compassion on the poor afflicted, as he admits you have shown by your actions towards him.'

Drafts in the hand of L. Thompson. Endd.: Mts. to Sir H. Cobham and Mr Stafford, 26 June 1580. *Fr.* ¾ *p. and* ¾ *p.* [*France IV.* 100.]

June 26. **339.** Dispatch to Sir H. Cobham.

Her Majesty having an especial regard to her honour, and considering that divers constructions might be made of the Prince of Condé's late repair into her realm, thought it to stand greatly with the respect she had thereto if the King might be made acquainted both with the manner of his coming and also with the cause of it, for her better justification; wherein she first made his ambassador privy to the prince's arrival incontinently after she had received the certainty of it herself, and afterwards that he might be an ear witness of the speech between herself and the prince, she sent for him to be present at the prince's audience, that he might report it to the King, and the King judge thereby of the sincerity of her actions.

First therefore, touching the manner of his coming, he was landed before she ever heard of any such intended voyage he meant to make to her. This she wishes you to assure him on the word of a prince to be true. As for the intention of his coming, he desired her to think it was for no other end but to 'lay open' to her for her satisfaction against all such contrary reports as might be given out against him of his withdrawing from that realm and repair into Germany, and also to acquaint her with the reasons which moved the King of Navarre to have recourse to arms. In the declaration of this he laid down before the ambassador many particular wrongs and outrages by them sustained; wherewith they do not in any sort charge the King either as willing or consenting thereto. To him they mean, as in duty bound, to yield all dutiful obedience so far as their lives and living will extend; and then to beseech her Majesty to be the means to make them known to their own sovereign, as the fittest instrument they could think of to present their justification. This was the effect of his speeches, as the ambassador is to report; and her Majesty thinks he will do it sincerely.

You should further let the King understand that for the sincere affection she bears him and the good she wishes to his state in respect of the strait terms of amity he has lately desired to enter into with her, she cannot but pray him to consider what the nature of the war is he enters into and what effects are like to follow, by consideration of the miseries of 'forepassed' times. For if the number of subjects be the glory of a prince, what can the diminishing of them, yea, of the best sort of them, be, but a spoil to his Crown and a very pathway to the ruin of his person and state? All princes that ever honoured the glory of France, 'sorry' greatly

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to see those heavy accidents already fallen upon the realm, a great part of the ancient nobility being worn away by these civil wars, and such as remain, likely to pass the same perilous course; a matter of small comfort to a prince of long continuance, to be driven for the maintenance of his princely state to create a new nobility and perhaps of so small deserts as do not answer to that calling. Besides, the misery cannot but be great for a prince to behold infinite numbers that never offended consumed by fire and sword, error and malice of a few, and commonly with this 'rate' that the better sort are carried away and the worse remain, and that as it always falls out in civil wars, there is nothing more grievous than victory. You should therefore shew the King that she does not conceive these troubles to proceed from want of good disposition in him to have his subjects live quietly in obedience to his laws, or from any lack of duty or desire to demonstrate it by agreeable effects in these princes who now stand out for their defence, but only from such as desire nothing more than to be fishing in troubled waters, and whose dispositions are so unquiet, that carrying in them the nature of fire they cannot be maintained in their being but by consuming and roasting others, who either to work their private revenge or by other men's falls to make themselves great care not what becomes of king or realm.

If the King shall allege that they of the Religion are the chief causes of the troubles, answer that when her Majesty considers the quality of both parties, the match itself being between a sovereign and a subject, the whole combination of them of the Religion being in number small and means to help themselves poor, their profession being rather to bear than to offer wrong, as by many proofs they have made manifest to the world, not allied to any but such as are of the same profession as themselves, princes and states who are not easily brought to join them without great appearance of oppression, her Highness cannot think that without constraint for the safety of their lives they would enter into so hard and desperate a match.

For these respects therefore her pleasure is that you should declare to the King how for the good will she bears him and not for any other respect she 'has to meddle' with the affairs of his government and state. She could be content, if he so like, to interpose herself as mediator to do that good for the appeasing of these troubles which the present condition of things may seem to require.

Endd.: 26 Junii, 1580. Copy to Sir Henry Cobham, *and below, in Burghley's hand*: Concerning the Prince of Condé's being in England; *also in a later hand.* 2½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 101.]

June 26. **340.** Dispatch to Stafford.

Of late, unexpected by her Majesty, the Prince of [Condé] came over from Germany to this realm, and afterwards, upon request made to have access to her person, was thereto received. Wherein notwithstanding she first acquainted the King's ambassador with

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his arrival, and afterwards with the time of his audience, willing him to repair to the Court that he might hear what the Prince had to deliver to her; yet not resting satisfied with this sincere kind of dealing, and considering how diversely the world is wont to 'construe of' her actions, she has thought good to give order to her ambassador resident there, and likewise to you to deliver and report the whole matter, one of you to the King, the other to Monsieur, with directions to you both for the performing of your charge. Sir Henry Cobham has his in such sort as was meet for the person of the King. Yours has a little different course, not in matter, but in respect of the circumstances of the person upon whom her Majesty most relies, both for the maintenance of her honour against all sinistrous constructions and for doing good to those princes whom he has in former times no less honourably favoured. Then their case as it is taken is not lightly to be abandoned, for many inconveniences that might ensue, not only to the realm in general but in particular to Monsieur himself. Therefore you should declare this much to him, that the Prince when with her, and in the presence of the ambassador, proposed only two points; one touching his justification in withdrawing to Germany, and the King of Navarre's for taking arms; the other a request to her to be a means to present his justification to the King. Which points she contentedly heard, and has thought good to present the knowledge of them to Monsieur, meaning to have his defence if she be misreported or [ill] thought of for this mediation. She desires both one and the other for her own sake and not without respect to him, who cannot but be touched with the sense of that grief which either the one or the other of those two parties shall feel. But for her own defence she does not much labour, because she stands assured of the sincerity of his affection towards her; and for the other she rests as well resolved, because it is not now only that he has carried a singular favour towards them, joining his fortunes with theirs in former times and by their behaviour then understanding the dutiful mind they carry to the King. Then how great a loss it would be both to his brother and himself to have such persons cut off through the malice of their enemies, who touch him so nearly in blood, and of whose devotion he stands most sure. If it were but the loss of those two princes, it were too great an adventure for the State; but as the cause is not included within their two persons, but rather to all parts of France, their followers and 'adjoints' will be many, and the misery that will ensue will draw with it the utter ruin of infinite numbers.

Former 'presidents' show how far the incommodities of civil war reach; the matter needs no long discourse. Her Majesty thinks it sufficient to lay before him that great trees cannot fall without mighty destruction; and therefore her pleasure is you should commend this cause with special words to him, and move him to let the world understand in what recommendation he has his brother's safety and his own, the wealth and flourishing state of that Crown, which cannot come glorious to him if it be eclipsed in his brother's life, the preservation of many thousand lives, the maintenance of the liberty given them by Edict on the faith of a prince, the continuing of those two houses, the next of his blood—in short how

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far he would adventure himself to do an acceptable pleasure to her Majesty; for the fruit of which his actions, besides the honour he shall win and the obligation he shall lay up in that whole kingdom whereby the subjects will be for ever bound to him, her Highness will not forget to acknowledge this benefit shown her, by what means soever she may demonstrate how much she does and will hold herself beholden to him for it.

So recommending the performance of this to the care you have 'for your own particular' of those two princes' and their associates' well-doing, though they desire no such mediation, I commend you, etc.

Endd: 26 Junii, 1580. A letter to Mr. Edward Stafford. 2 *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 102.]

June 27. **341.** Stafford to [Walsingham].

Being arrived here at Paris on the 26th in the morning, the ambassador having gone to the Court 'present' after my coming, to ask leave of the King for me to go to his brother, late at night came hither again with my passport; so that I hope now 'upon' to-morrow night to be with Monsieur at Tours.

To write what I found by the way: great companies are assembling to go to the siege of la Fère. As the general is appointed Marshal Matignon, who yesterday arrived at Senlis, 'onwards' his journey thither. The camp assembling at Compiègne, great store of artillery and munition is gone thither, both from hence, and also from Abbeville and Amiens.

I find by everybody that the King is 'sore bent to set up his rest' at this time. Many complain that they of the Religion, as he says, have begun this; and offers (as one of no small credit told me since I came here) to have peace, so that those towns which were surprised in peace-time and those upon whose taking the peace was broken, may be restored. When I have spoken with Monsieur, and on my return with the King, I shall be able to say more.—Paris, 27 June 1580.

P.S. (*autograph.*)—Pray think good that 'again' my coming back again from Monsieur I may find here some instructions to answer anything that may be objected to me by the King either for the Prince of Condé or King of Navarre. I was to have sought Plessis the night before I came away; but he was gone into Kent, your honour knows whither.

1 *p.* [*Ibid IV.* 102.]

June 27. **342.** Botolph Holder to Wilson.

My last was by the *Jonas*, which departed 15 days past, and the first day she went out was taken by the Frenchmen and carried clean away. In which ship I laded fifty-seven tons oil, with other things for my 'nown' account; and since February last I have lost

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by divers that died and others that fled away more than 9,000 ducats, and my loss in the ship amounts to 'the point of' 8,000 ducats, so that I am left in manner without anything. God be praised for all. Some debts are due to me here which the time permits me not to recover, may be the value of £1,000 or better; which if God permits me to recover I will bring it to your honour to maintain me my lifetime, and give over all kind of trade with tossing and toiling, and serve you in such things as I can.

As touching the state of this country since my last, by reason that there died an earl amongst them in Almerin, the four Governors there remaining upon his death fled thence to 'Santoval.' Before their departure certain burgesses that were come thither about the new parliament lately called, joined together, and required the Governors not to depart, but rather to pass over to Santarem, and there to sit and determine the matters for which they were called. The Governors not regarding their request, willed them rather, with such as should come after, to repair to 'Santovall.' They answered that they would not, but would rather join together and determine that which they thought good. So the Governors departed to Santoval and the others to Santarem, where they were 'denied' by the justices by order from the Governors, 'not to come in, but to cause them' to repair to 'Santovall,' but in fine, they entered by force, about the 10th of this month. They went to the Duke of Braganza, requiring him to take upon him the government of the realm, and 'defensor' thereof, which he would not, and so 'departed to 'Santovall.' And on the 19th of this month, being Sunday, certain people gathered together in Santarem, where Don [Antonio] was, and a sermon being made by a bishop, at the end of it Don Antonio being present, they all cried 'Don Antonio, King of Portugal,' at which he beat his hands on his chair, and said that at no hand would he accept it, but only to be head governor and defensor of the realm. But in fine, 'at' afternoon they raised him up for king, and carried him to the Chamber, where they did him homage, and carried him about the town.

The city of Lisbon had not yet chosen their burgesses for this parliament, but upon Monday, June 20, they set upon choosing them; at which time came news of what had passed in Santarem, and as they were sitting together, came in before them the consul of the French nation and offered them letters from the King of France. But the heads of the Chamber would not receive them, willing him to present them next day; wherewith he seemed to be offended and so were some gentlemen of the country who were present about the election of their burgesses, and required to receive them and read them presently, which was not observed. The next day at night, great proclamations throughout Lisbon that no one should [say] that Don Antonio was king, nor obey him, nor name any king at all, nor speak of this matter upon pain of death; and no man to go out of his house after sunset.

The Duke of Braganza coming to 'Santovall' requested the Governors earnestly to cause sentence to be published about the succession. King Philip lies upon the border of Portugal, by

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Badajos, with all his power. He lately wrote his ambassador here to notify Don Antonio and the Duke of Braganza and the Governors to go and give him homage as the rightful king of this country. The Duke of Braganza, as they say, answered that he was ready to do homage to 'whosoever the judges should give sentence to be successor.' What the Governors answered, I hear not. The third ambassador that is here has not yet notified Don Antonio; who on the 23rd inst., being St. John's eve, came to Lisbon from Santarem with 200 horse. They sent against him 14 bands of 'sogers' to 'defend' his entering, but a friar and others that came with him persuaded them so that they yielded to him; and so entered quietly and caused the common people to cry him king. The same night, such head officers of the Chamber as were here, fled away to the Governors, and so did the Gov. . . . . was in Belem, with divers others in the galleys, wherein they carr[ied away] the money and treasure that was in the mint, and the rich . . . . that came from the 'Inds.' and all other treasure and things of substance.

King Philip has taken possession of Elvas, Villa Viçosa, and Campo Mayor, principal cities and towns on the border, which yielded to him, and so comes into the country; and they here contend one against the other, the people much divided and the most part of them so amazed that they know not what to do; no money in the country, nor force of men, nor armour, and therefore doubt of much misery, troubles and vexation, and utter confusion and loss of the country, which God 'defend,' and send peace and quietness to all nations.—Lisbon, 27 June, 1580.

Somewhat damaged. Add. Endd. by Wilson: 31 Maii, 1580, 27 Julii *and* (*erased:* Sir William Winter to the Lords) Botolph Holder to Secretary Wilson. 2 *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 31.]

June 29. **343.** Mauvssière to Burghley.

I wrote to you by this bearer, who is one of Monsieur's guard, on account of a false accusation brought against him by a little English hussy, of which he has cleared himself before the Mayor and judges assigned to him here. He is now going to you, to beg you also to satisfy yourself of his innocence, and that her Majesty and the Council may not esteem him so wicked as to have spoken evil of the princess at this day, the only one in the world whom his Highness loves and adores. The said bearer, who is Savourny's brother, said to me that he would never dare to find himself in France nor to show himself to Monsieur if he were not cleared of such an accusation; wherefore I beg you to aid and favour him in his innocence, which in truth I find to be great, otherwise I should be the one most against him.

I will herewith share your sorrow over the little ailment which her Majesty has had. I can give her no succour but my prayers, and pray God to give her good health, as I hope He has done already. Also I am sending to ask 'Mme de Staffort' [Lady Sheffield] to visit her Majesty and hear news of her. Please, if it be a fit moment, kiss her hand from me, and assure her of my perpetual service; begging her that the Prince of Condé's eloquence nor his

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vivacious persuasions may incite her to give him any money or permit any to be given him in any sort, by his good friends and the Churches of this realm, to reopen the troubles in France. The true way is to give them no aid except a piece of good advice, to seek the king's grace and return to his obedience, as I am sure that his Majesty will prefer gentleness and peace to the rigour of war; wherein I will further say that the king in all human probability is bound to be victorious. For to tell the truth, by the last letter I have received, I do not see whom he has to fight with, since the wisest and best-advised persons ask only for peace and repose.

I have a man just arrived who tells me that from what he learnt on the road Mr Stafford reached Paris Saturday evening or Monday by dinner. I hope he may have a good journey, for it is the true means of establishing peace throughout the world. But the common report, and that of London, says that there are so many subtle contrivances to hinder her Majesty from marrying that she will have great difficulty in deciding. Still, what God wills to grant, men cannot hinder.—London, Wednesday, St. Peter's Day.

Add. Endd. by Burghley: 28 (*sic*) Junii. *Fr.* 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 103.]

June. **344.** Instructions for Henry Middlemore.

Mr Middlemore is to be presently sent into France, with letters of credit both to the king and to M. d'Anjou.

He is to learn from our ambassador the state of his negotiation with the king upon such directions as he had to notify the arrival here of the Prince of Condé and of her Majesty's dealing with him.

He shall thereupon consider with the ambassador in what sort he shall best deliver to the French king that for which her Majesty has now directed him, as may best serve to procure a cessation of arms in France in this lately begun levy against the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and their party; for the said H. Middlemore and the ambassador shall understand that what her Majesty most desires is to procure for the Protestants in France such an assured peace that they may enjoy the benefits of the former edicts. To that end only shall the ambassador and Middlemore direct all their actions and speeches to the best of their understanding.

Her Majesty's meaning in sending Henry Middlemore at this time in haste is to declare to the king that she is as desirous of the stay of these new troubles in France for the weal of both the king and his country, and being determined to live in a firm, perpetual, and brotherly friendship with him, and to avoid all suspicion that might arise between them two to the impairing of this friendship, as she is desirous at this time to employ herself with her advice, yea, with any action in her power to stay these troubles in France no less than if they were beginning in her own realm.

And though she has directed her ambassador to deal in such sort with the king upon the late sudden coming of the Prince of Condé, and has also imparted to the king's ambassador here her sincere

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good meaning to the like purpose, yet such is her desire to hasten this good act of extinguishing the fire already kindled, that she could not be quiet in her mind till she renewed her actions towards preventing it from increasing to so general a flame that no after counsels could restrain it from ruining the king's estate; and therefore she sends you, to repair with such speed as a greater person could not easily do, to request the king to suspend his 'offences' commenced against the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé, and first graciously to hear their complaints with his own ears, and not with the ears of such as her Majesty is not ignorant have long laboured to provoke the said king and prince, by notable injuries and violences committed against them and the rest of his people, to whom the king had by his edicts given liberty to live according to their consciences, to use such means for their defence as might cause the king, not being favourably informed of their truth, to enter into indignation against them. And that the king may understand why her Majesty conceives that they have been thus without his knowledge injured and oppressed, their lives sought, and great multitudes professing nothing but to serve God and the king according to his own edicts, slain and murdered, you shall pray him at her instance to be informed of some principal and most notable facts of outrage committed against the King of Navarre and such as sought to live in the king's obedience according to edicts; of which she has received information, by reason she has at sundry times to such as have come into her realm appertaining either to the King of Navarre or to the Prince of Condé, used sharp speeches, charging them with not behaving towards the king and his ministers in such obedient sort as it becomes dutiful subjects to do, and as by the edicts they were 'limited' to do. So that her Majesty often reproved them, notifying them that she could not have any compassion of them if the king should deal hardly with them hereafter. Whereupon they have in their defence not only denied all such acts, but have caused particular declarations in writing to be sent to her containing a multitude of outrages committed against them, with such particulars and limitations of times, places, persons and circumstances as cannot but move any strong heart to lament their miseries. Of these, as it may be troublesome to the king to hear a recital of so many, Middlemore shall beseech him to give him leave to make mention of a few, wherewith her Majesty is persuaded that the heart of a Christian king, as he professes to be, cannot but receive an impression of pity, and thereby remove from his heart such impressions of indignation as it is likely have been by sinister and malicious reports already engendered there. And so after advice taken with the ambassador, and using also the secret advice of such as favour the cause of Religion, Middlemore shall make choice of five or six most notable and most 'probable' outrages, and if he shall find the king not ill-disposed to hearken to them, he may add more, with a further addition that the rest are of the same nature.

When he has done, he shall add that her Majesty does not think but where the professors of the reformed Religion have been in such frequent sort persecuted, some among them could not forbear,

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partly in their defence, partly also in revenge towards such as they thought to be the authors of their calamities, from committing some acts of violence contrary to the perfection of dutiful subjects, thereby giving occasion of offence to the king. Her Majesty means not to use any just defence in their behalf, but yet she cannot but request the king not to interpret the cause thereof to proceed from any disloyalty of the King of Navarre or Prince of Condé, but with the balance of equity like a wise and merciful king, and like a father to his people to command a present stay of all hostilities, and during that suspense to cause all these past actions to be more duly examined; and to provide by his good ministers, who shall not be partial in these causes, nor naturally disposed to more civil war for their own profit, or to serve the appetites of some who are desirous to continue the king in troubles so that he may not regard their actions.

And as these may seem but words mentioning her desire of peace without showing how it might best effected, she prays the king to take this advice in good part, namely, that whereas she understands the king means to besiege la Fère where the Prince of Condé has left a great number of his best friends, and also intends to levy a number of reiters in Almany and to amass great numbers of men of war in sundry parts of France to pursue the King of Navarre and all others of the Religion, which cannot be done without the king's great and unnecessary charges, and consequently without great ruin to his country, on the other side she understands that the King of Navarre and his party will do their best to make forces, so that the whole realm is like to come to a combustion and a spoil to strangers; her Majesty having knowledge of the intention of such as are minded to come with great forces out of Almayne to the relief of the King of Navarre and the prince and their associates, is also assured that if the king will incline to peace and withdraw his forces from the siege of la Fère and stay the levy of reiters and other hostile persecution of the King of Navarre, she can cause the foreign forces to stay, so she may assure them that should enter France that the king will bend all his actions to peace. And as she has been informed from Almayne of thus much, she cannot but request the king not to mislike of this advice, which is to bring peace into France and banish war; a thing of the greatest estimation that she can wish to France, and a thing that she desires as heartily as she would for England.

Draft in Burghley's hand. Endd. 7 *pp.* [*France IV.* 104.]

June. **345.** Instructions for an Envoy to Portugal.

"Forasmuch as the actions of princes are often subject to the surmises and discourses of jealous heads," for the avoiding of any suspicion of some 'particular affection' on our part to one of the competitors more than to the other in that realm of Portugal, or that we were disposed to 'maintain partiality' there, we have thought good, in order both to take away any just occasion of such surmises, and to be informed of the true state of things there, that at your arrival you shall first address yourself to the Governors

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who in this time of *interregnum* have the conduct of the state, afterwards to the Duchess of Braganza and her husband, whose several letters and messages since the death of the late king we have received, being the persons that claim a chief interest in the right of succession, which as yet, for anything we can learn, remains in doubtful terms. We think it meet, however, in respect of the great good will that Don Antonio has always professed to bear towards us, you should at your arrival give him secret intelligence of your coming into the realm, and let him know that in respect of the jealousy that might be conceived by the Governors and the other competitors, we did not think it meet that you should address yourself first to him according to the request made by his minister lately sent hither, for it could not but be prejudicial to him, considering the order set down by the late king in his last will, as though by our countenance and favour he should go about to anticipate the decision to be given by order of the Governors; which we think in honour is to be followed, 'as whereon' depends the surest hope of welfare to that Crown and State.

At your access to the Governors, after delivery of our letter, and ordinary compliments, you shall let them understand the good affection we have always borne to that Crown, and how glad we would be to do all good offices for the staying of the troubles and miseries that are like to fall upon them. In testimony whereof, because we could by no other means, either from their ambassador resident here, or otherwise, understand certainly the state of their affairs, we resolved for our better satisfaction to send an express messenger to them.

Our chief meaning is, by him to advise them (as a princess that greatly affects the prosperity of that Crown, which by evil or foreign dissensions is like to be shaken, unless those titles in controversy be discreetly governed) that in deciding the competitors' pretensions they follow the line of justice, laying aside all particular favour, for otherwise there will never grow any sound establishment of peace among them.

For which respect you shall declare to them that for our own part, though the King of Spain has heretofore dealt unkindly with us, yet if it shall fall out in due trial that the Crown ought to descend to him by right, we cannot but advise them to accept him as their Sovereign, even for justice' sake, which cannot be withstood without great inconvenience in the end.

And in case anything be said touching a request preferred by Don Antonio de Castiglio to assist them with our favour and supply such 'wants as they lack,' we found it strange that he was neither able to inform us thoroughly touching the right of the Crown, how it was likely to incline, nor yet what means they had to withstand the King of Spain's forces in case he should seek to obtain the Crown by force before decision of the title, and what force he had for that purpose; 'circumstances' most necessary for us to be informed of before we could make any open declaration how we were affected. Besides, the King of Spain's minister here gave out that both the Governors and the competitors had yielded to the acceptance of his

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master for their sovereign, whereof the ambassador could give no assurance, but his bare assertion, to the contrary, being so slenderly advertised of the proceedings there.

Lastly, you shall declare to them that to our great grief we see nothing more dangerous for them than the disunion that we hear is among them, and therefore we advise them that if the King of Spain, contrary to the order taken by the late king, seeks to win by force that which does not appertain to him by right, they, laying aside their private contentions, should concur in one common defence, and afterwards enter into discussion of their rights, referring the final decision, in case the judges cannot agree, to such other competent judges as shall be thought void of partiality.

When you have performed your charge to the Governors you shall repair to the Duchess of Braganza, whom, after delivery of your letters, you shall let understand how careful we have been to be truly informed touching the establishing of the right of that Crown, and towards whom the counsel of those to whom the decision was committed would incline, and in what sort they should be able to defend themselves against Spain, since we learn nothing from the ambassador here, who has received very slender information from thence; as also to understand particularly what hope she has touching her own 'pretended' title. We have therefore thought good to send a special minister to inform himself both of the general state of the realm and of her 'particular.'

You shall also declare to her that it has been given out here by the King of Spain's ministers, that he has compounded with all the competitors; which was the cause why we stayed so long from sending thither, which otherwise we would not have 'forslacked' to have done, and furnishing them with such supply as by their ambassador was demanded.

As for the right which she 'pretends' and the best means to compass it, we advise her, in case the King of Spain attempts to gain the Crown by force, to lay aside all respect of particular rights and concur with the rest of the competitors with united minds and forces in withstanding his attempt; considering that there is no easier way for him to attain his purpose than by their disunion and division; which being buried into a sound accord will make his attempt of harder success. But if it shall appear that the right is on his side, we cannot but advise her to give place to right.

On the other hand, if by the opinion of those to whom the decision is committed the right shall be cast upon her, you shall tell her she may be assured we will not fail to assist her so that she shall have cause to think that both nature has force in us and that we will not abandon that Crown whereof our progenitors have ever had an especial value.

You shall then repair to Don Antonio, and after delivery of our letters and demonstration of our sincere affection towards him, give him to understand how in respect of the honourable report that has been made to us by Mr Secretary Wilson of the devotion he has always borne towards us and of the singular virtues he is endued

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withal, we have always wished in our heart that the right might incline to his side, and that the principal cause of our sending you into that realm is to inform yourself thoroughly of the right which he 'pretends'; which falling out to incline to his side, he may well assure himself of any favour or assistance we can yield him.

And in case the right do not incline to him, you shall advise him from us to desist from prosecuting it; for the attempt of unjust acquisitions cannot but be accompanied by great bloodshed, and either very doubtful to be attained, or if they be achieved, of small continuance and followed by continual unquiet jealousies and suspicions, the only canker and incurable ulcer of quiet and contentedness of life.

And however it may be determined in the end, you shall advise him in the mean time to carry himself in an united course with the others against the King of Spain if he seek to attain by sword what law and right will not give him, or at least he cannot patiently wait till it be by order and without bloodshed cast upon him. If he hold this temperate course it cannot but 'turn him to advantage,' as the contrary be occasion of his ruin.

Lastly you shall most heartily thank him for his honourable offers made to us by his minister, in respect of which we cannot but think ourselves greatly honoured 'on his behalf,' and therefore he may assure himself that our realm shall in all cases of necessity be his sanctuary, to which effect we have sent him our safe-conduct, which our pleasure is you shall deliver to him.

Draft with alterations in Walsingham's hand, and endd.: Minut Instr. Portugall; *also* Junii, *and in another hand:* B. Negotiation Mr. Wotton Porting. and Spain, 1579 [*sic.*] 8½ *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 32.]

July 1. **346.** COBHAM to WALSINGHAM.

I was advertised by a letter from Mr Stafford that her Majesty wished me to let their Majesties here understand how she thought it convenient he should first go and declare his message to Monsieur, being a matter specially concerning the answer to his particular requests. The king and Queen Mother did not mislike this, but seemed content therewith; with such words as I have written at large to her Majesty. At that audience the king and Queen informed me of the Prince of Condé's being in England, and the king desired me to write to her Majesty thereof and entreat her that he might receive no such encouragement as might increase the troubling of his state. I assured him if it were so, she would shew herself to have that same regard as she had done with M. Bouchart, so that he might rest satisfied.

Now since, upon the other command I received in your last letter I have informed their Majesties in what sort her Majesty has granted access to the Prince; which they like, and seem to conceive hope that he will not receive any great relief, declaring that because he could not obtain the levies of the reiters he sought in Germany, therefore he resorted to England and requesting that her Majesty would speedily send him away.

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The king most earnestly protested he meant the maintenance of the Edicts, for proof whereof he had suffered all that had passed, and would do more if it would stand with his honour. Yet he would rather die with his sword in his hand than forsake such of his subjects as daily had their goods robbed, and patiently abided his further orders. Howbeit if the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé would leave their arms and return dutifully, he would accept them, having given his brother ample power to make peace.

I took occasion twice or thrice to make offer of her Majesty's will to be the means for the renewing of a pacification. It was still answered with thanks and insisted that he had 'betaken' the means to pacify these troubles to Monsieur.

The general judgement is the king would have no wars; and surely those of his own opinion condemn him in speech for his slow dealing. On the other side there are persons that are 'singularly affected in' Religion who mislike this enterprise of the King of Navarre; and as I am informed, there are sundry towns in Languedoc and Provence which will not contribute nor have intelligence with these princes for the war. I hear the Rochellois make profession of the like.

I am informed that since this last sending of Monsieur to the king by M. de Surein, and upon the message which Fervacques brought from the King of Navarre to his Highness, the king is again inclined to 'hearken after' the appeasing of all those causes; but with this condition, that all those towns be restored to the king which the Protestants have taken since the Prince left St. Jean d'Angely. It was yesterday propounded that, if the king pleased, it might seem more 'indifferent' to consent that the towns taken by the Protestants may be delivered into the Duke of Alençon's hands as *in deposito*, being the son and heir of France. Whereon hope is conceived that this will bring forth either some further confidence and therewith peace, or else a deeper and more apparent diffidence. Howbeit, it is judged that this will be accepted to be the means. As for the King of Navarre, he has, I hear, 'betaken' his causes to Monsieur.

I alleged earnestly to the king the judgement which was made of this action undertaken by the princes of the Religion, which was that extremity and despair of their safety, many ways put in doubt, forced them to venture their lives' estates with these troubles.

The king answered that he ever looked into their complaints, and found them grounded much upon jealousies, or stirred by their own provocations. I said their enemies had this high advantage over them, that they had access to his person, and they stood in such terms that they might not approach. Their religion condemned in his opinion, their injuries slowly and 'overthwartly' considered, because his commands were somewhat cunningly obeyed by some who perhaps were high in authority. Lastly, those princes of his blood did not enjoy their governments in the honourable sort that appertained to them.

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Whereunto the king answered that the cause of the stir was not now for religion, but proceeded from mere rebellion, for in matters of conscience nothing had been attempted, nor since this new disorder had he anywhere forbidden their exercise of preaching. As concerning their injuries, they 'had and do' offer such that his whole realm laments his 'tardance' in doing revenge and justice. As for their governments he thought no absolute prince would put his country and towns into the hands of such as had moved factions and rebellions in his dominions. He said this with great earnestness as one well informed and ready to answer in his own affairs.

Therefore finding him thus bent, I desired Queen Mother to help me with her gracious intreaty towards his Majesty. She said she had laboured in their behalf, but found her son much 'injuried,' and that the King of Navarre had been too easily stirred by four or five hot Gascon heads about him.

I ended with this intreaty, that since the Queen had made this open demonstration and 'extraordinary partial disposition' in 'disgrace' of those of the Religion, they might thereon be moved to show some new mercy and consideration towards these princes, and so with great satisfaction to themselves and to the world, restore them to their favour, and suppress the new beginning tumults. —Paris, 1 July, 1580.

P.S.—I am informed that the message of the King of Navarre, sent by Fervacques to Monsieur, and confirmed by la Rocque, has been two days in consultation, but not yet concluded on; for the king urges instantly the restoration of la Fère, Mende and Cahors.

Add. Endd. 2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 104.]

July 1. **347.** Burghley to Mauvissière.

Though I do not answer separately all the letters which I daily receive from you, please do not impute it to any lack of good will or regard for you, but to my imperfection in the language, of which I confess I am so ill-provided that I have almost left off writing to you in it. Not that I do not esteem them as highly reasonable and embrace them as just, being so assured of your zealous affection towards the Queen. In some discourse which I lately had with her, I let her know your great care for her health in sending your people so often to enquire how she was in her late sickness, and your wish for her recovery. With such words I assured her of your sincere affection to her, as much as any of her own subjects, and more than some. Whereto she answered that she had long known and felt it, and with other gracious words [*Eng. version* with great and long speeches] showed herself marvellously content with your dealings in all your actions; commanding me to let you know it from her, which is the reason why I am now writing. I pray you therefore to receive this declaration from me as showing her inward conception of your friendship to her estate, as not inferior to that of the noblest of her subjects, which I wish you may continue.

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As for the Prince of Condé's negotiation, I assure you that he is gone without other satisfaction than from the honourable treatment which he received; being advised by her Majesty to seek peace by all means, through the clemency of the king his sovereign, doing which, she has promised to use all means in all power with the king. [*Struck out:* To this effect I think she intends shortly to send Mr Middlemore, a gentleman of her chamber, to his Majesty.] Nor can you show any better effect of your good affection to the Queen than by employing all the means that you have in France to bring about the change of the king's indignation to a royal and paternal commiseration for his poor subjects; thus driving away the imminent war by recalling the lady Peace, who has long been exiled. By this act, truly worthy of such a prince, his realm which is now ever losing its ancient splendour and happiness, having formerly been reputed one of the most flourishing realms of Europe, and now torn by this last intestine war, by the return of peace will recover its former credit and honour.

Thus begging you to pardon my clumsy (*grosse*) manner of writing, I assure you that I wish no worse to France than to England; but I would not wish any good to France which may cause harm to our poor [*alt. to* my country of] England.

Draft in a secretary's hand, corrected by Burghley. Endd. (with date) with four *. Fr. 2½ pp.* [*France IV.* 106.]

July 1. **348.** *English draft of the above, in Burghley's hand. Endd. with four* *. 2 pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 107.]

July 2. **349.** VILLIERS to DAVISON.

Mr Travers being bound for England I would not omit to send a word by him, praying you and your wife to continue us—that is to my wife, myself, and Marie—in your good graces, and to tell you that Mr Travers has so acquitted himself in his office that he is in good odour not only with your people but with ours, and that we should wish his absence not to be long. I wish this not because I think you have any doubt of it, but because I think it my duty to commend him, and in order to pray you to exhort him to return as soon as he possibly can.

We have no great news at present, except that we have no great means on either side to do each other much harm unless by surprise, wherein it seems to me that our enemies are not the stronger; at all events they have not had much success so far. Nor considering how they have been handled on their way toward Brussels, and especially at Bouchain, do I think he will touch us for a long time. There are still at Bouchain 260 prisoners of quality, all noblemen or burghers. Disaster has fallen on Douay. They have sent a flag of truce with a roll of 800 citizens whom they miss [? *demandent*], of whom at least 400 were killed on the spot; among them is the company of young men, all of good family—so much so that the

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ransom of the survivors will amount to more than 100,000 florins, apart from the lords and gentlemen; and if the Governor soon receives the letters that are being sent him, they will not get out immediately.—Antwerp, 2 July, 1580.

P.S.—I added in the margin of my letter to Sir F. Walsingham a week ago that M. de Rassenghien was taken prisoner. A soldier from Bouchain assured me of it, but he took the Governor of Douay only for the Governor-General of Lille, Douay, and Orchies. Please let Sir F. Walsingham know this.

Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 34.]

July 2. **350.** COBHAM to the QUEEN.

Having heard from Mr Stafford your Majesty's pleasure that I should certify the king of your sending him to Monsieur with directions to communicate your mind first to his Highness as a matter more peculiarly pertaining to him, I 'procured' to have access to their Majesties. Which being on the same day granted, I repaired to 'St. Moro,' a house of Queen Mother's building about five miles from Paris, where they first brought me to her. I informed her how, having heard tell of her sickness, you had commanded me to visit her and show her grief at the indisposition of her health. Therefore, to satisfy you, I came to wait on her to receive from her own mouth the assurance of her recovery. She first lamented the cold, cough, and 'murre' wherewith she had been, and is yet, somewhat diseased; acknowledging with many gracious words the sundry friendly demonstrations you have shewn towards her, so far that nothing could be required, saving in one matter, that is the desired resolution of her son's suit, which they expected to fall out according to their wish. Therewith she said: 'You see, Ambassador, into what matters I ever fall,' and so enforced that purpose with many earnest words. I then declared how I was likewise commanded to let her know how it had seemed convenient to you to send Mr Stafford to Monsieur, with commission to impart certain affairs touching his own particular desires; wherein you wished he might be first satisfied, and subsequently their Majesties made privy thereto; hoping that they would like this manner of your proceeding with her son.

She seemed in countenance to be content with it, and saying she was pleased that the matter yet continued, since it appeared your Majesty liked to entertain the services of Monsieur, whereby she hoped to receive some comfortable fruit. With this she enquired whether the Prince of Condé was in England. I told her that I could not signify so much to her. She certified me that M. Mauvissière had written of it. His servant was come to the Court that morning, and she and the king with some others of the Council were in conference about the letters he brought; wherein I hear he had 'enlarged' the negotiations of Monseigneur passed there, and certified the manner, place, and company wherewith and whereat the Prince arrived.

Thence I was accompanied to the king, to whom, since he had likewise been sick, and was at that instant not thoroughly well, I performed the like 'offices of visitation' which I had used to the Queen.

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I 'consequently' imparted further to him, as I had done to his mother. He said he hoped that after his brother had been contented with the news which Mr Stafford brought, he would impart it to him; meanwhile he would rest with the desire he has had, and thinks himself bound to you for the continuance of your good demonstrations towards him and Monsieur. He required me to signify to you how he had been advertised that the Prince of Condé had arrived in England, with whom he hoped you would so deal that it might appear he should not receive further satisfaction than the strait amity between you might comport, nor that he should be animated to persist and enforce his manner of disobedient dealing.

I said I thought he might be assured that if the Prince of Condé happened to come into your realms you would proceed in like manner as with M. Bouchart, so that though the first appearance might move suspicion the consequent confident clear dealing would fortify a further goodwill between your Majesties, since you not only misliked the taking of arms, but left them to the king's mercy, in which sort only you would give such comfort to their cause as to mitigate his indignation against them and so obtain them grace, to persuade for a peace, and shew the fervent desire you have that his dominions were restored to an assured repose.

After I had made thus much of my dispatch to your Majesty, I received your further commands by a letter from Sir Francis Walsingham, upon occasion whereof I have declared to their Majesties, finding them in one chamber 'set' together, how for avoiding the opinions which sundry curious devisers would frame on the receiving of the Prince of Condé, you had commanded me to signify to them how you found the Prince's arrival very strange, being come into your realm without your foreknowledge. Therewith you had acquainted M. Mauvissière, sending for him to be present when the Prince first had access to your presence, that he might not only see what passed, but hear what was delivered in speech; whereby the cause of his repair and the favours he sought should not be hidden from their Majesties. And since, it seems, many grievous complaints are alleged, showing bad attempts moved and indignities offered to the person of the King of Navarre and the Prince, as also that those of the Religion have been 'streighted of their exercise' and in some places cruelly murdered, your Highness wished him to 'put in ure' the intention of his royal mind, professing the maintenance of the public peace; which might the more happily succeed if those were somewhat removed from his favour who under the cloak of his good service procured the expense of his treasure, the grieving of his ancient nobility, the impoverishing of his subjects, and with his own forces weakened his estate. But as I acknowledged his own wisdom to be such that all was better understood by him, I did not presume to deal in the particulars. Your intention was to show your desire for the appeasing of these troubles in France, wherein you could be content to employ yourself in such sort as might be agreeable to them; not meaning to interpose in their affairs otherwise than they shall like and embrace.

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I received many thankful words from them both for this manner of dealing. The king said you infinitely bound him therein; he desired that you might persuade the Prince to return to France, and that he might not receive means whereby he might be enabled to do otherwise.

My answer was that as you had openly received the Prince, so you would not suffer anything to pass more privately which might discontent them or 'annoy their quiet.' Now, however, that you had thus, as it might be said, shown yourself 'slow affected' towards the Prince and others of the Religion, it seems 'princely done' if they should make a new demonstration of grace upon this frank friendship shown by you, whereby the mutual amity would be better known to your subjects and those of France; and I besought the Queen Mother to help with her entreaty to the king. But they agreed in desiring that the Prince might be returned to Rochelle, and so to Saint-Jean d'Angely. I said he had power to move your Majesty any way herein; but it seemed that could not well be offered to the Prince, considering that all persons in misery are in some way to be succoured, and not suffered to return to the fire wherein they burnt. If they would make a new show of their especial grace I thought you would deal for their satisfaction so far as might be.

To this the king said that he had given his brother ample power to renew the pacifiction; yielding you thanks for your favours, counsels and offers, which he would 'enforce himself' to deserve.—Paris, 2 July 1580.

4 *pp.* *France IV.* 108.

July 2. **351.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

Since Mr Stafford's departure I have no further news from Monsieur's Court at Tours, other than that he remains there hearkening to the affairs of Flanders with the commissioners; of whom M. 'Langetus' is returned this way to Flanders. I could not learn any particulars from him, other than that his Highness was ready, upon their resolutions and the Queen's liking, to take the enterprise in hand; especially if he might see a perfect peace established in France. So his ministers give out that all his further proceedings depend on the Queen's pleasure. Sundry of his gentlemen sent hither lately have 'used courteous visitations' to me, they say by his order. There was a bruit spread of his being here; which, however, I find only a suspicion, both by some diligence which I used here and by what I have enquired from thence. Three hundred shot are gone from hence toward Cambray, to lie in garrison there by his order.

I suppose that the particulars of the defeat beside 'Bucheine,' where M. de Selles and others were taken prisoners, have long since been certified to you.

Yesterday M. d'Arques and la Valette, two of the king's minions, departed towards la Fère, having received 20,000 crowns apiece in money, besides certain pieces of cloth of silver and gold which the

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king gave them the night of their parting at Sr Diacetto's house. These favourites have bestowed a horse and armour, with 100 crowns apiece, on every gentlemen that goes in their company.

Some of the captains of the guards 'pretend' to repair to the siege, so that it is thought there will be much nobility, of courtiers and others.

The gentlemen of Picardy disliked at first to be commanded by Marshal Matignon, but they are now through these courtiers, coming better encouraged.

About 60 pieces of artillery for the battery have been sent from sundry places, and store of other munitions, but not above 2,000 foot are yet amassed over and above the king's guards and certain pioniers. The soldiers serve that way most unwillingly, the rather since in their opinion there is hope of some action in Flanders.

Those within la Fère are very well victualled and have sold much wheat and other victuals to buy wine.

A new supply of French gentlemen have come out of Flanders, bringing with them 200 shot under M. d'Argenlieu. Finding on the way 100 pioniers they took them and brought them to la Fère. It is judged to be a hard enterprise.

M. de Reume, one of the chiefs of the League in Picardy, has received such a repulse at Court in his suit that he has returned to his house much discontented, and has taken his son, who served the king, as a page.

M. Biron has gone to the siege of Bazas, which is not strong. The King of Navarre has left 800 shot there for the defence, seeking means to gather forces to 'levy' the siege, which he will hardly compass.

Ths failure of the surprise of Blaye upon Garonne has greatly discouraged those of the Religion thereabout. 'Count Thuraine' remains about Brieu le Gaillard [Brives-la-Gaillarde.]

The Governor of Lyons is preparing companies to march toward Dauphiné. In this sort France is afflicted and torn with these civil dissensions. The Earl of Westmoreland has lately been at 'Rohan' [Rouen], and returned hither the 25 ult. He is lodged at a banker's house, a Florentine called Mattya [ ] adjoining the house of Eliano Calvi, where is lodged Navaretto, a Spanish *contador*, who was sent by the Prince of Parma about affairs at Calais and 'Rohan'; he says, to provide money among those Spanish merchants by whom the Earl of Westmorland is entertained and succoured with money.

Dr. Goldwell, sometime Bishop of 'St. Asse,' and Dr. Morton, were come hither to repair into England, but upon secret warning have returned to Rheims, having seen over some young priests, who are spread abroad.

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The Bishop of Ross goes to be the Cardinal of Bourbon's suffragan at Rouen, where there has for a long time been none. He says he would live retiredly there in his devotions, hoping to receive a good turn from the Cardinal hereafter.

The Spanish king has not as yet entered Portugal.

Cardinal d'Este is retired to Venice, commanded from Rome by the Pope, for having received into his house one that had committed a murder, and refusing to deliver him at the Pope's command. This King has written to the Pope very earnestly that he will withdraw his ambassador from Rome if he continues in this dealing towards the Cardinal.—Paris, 2 July 1580.

2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 109.]

July 2. **352.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

With great grief I notify you of the miserable chance happened to Best; which passed in this way. John Wells having come by 6 o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, June 29, I caused Best to repair to 'St. Moro' where the Court is, to have audience granted to me; which he did, but they deferred me because the king had ridden out 'upon other occasions', so that Secretary Pinart wished him to return the next day. This Best determined to do, and spoke of his intention overnight. Next morning, about 4, a young fellow of mine went out of my house with a gentleman. When they had got so far only as the corner of Montpensier's house, they were suddenly assailed by four persons, and the gentleman was compassed round about, viewed, and spoken to. The young fellow came back and called to have the gate opened. The boy who had shut it, hearing him, cried in the court of my house that men had beset the house. With that some were awakened, and Best first went down 'on this sudden' in his shirt and nightgown, without any weapon, going to the gates; which they opened to see what was done to those who had gone out. They could not see the young fellow nor the gentleman: whereon Best spying some standing at the corner, said he would go to enquire what had happened. He was 'willed' to stay, for he was without weapons, his gown being girded-to with his girdle and a little gilt dagger thereat, saying that he would not go far [*sic*]. When he saw those at the corner stir, he went back, but they made fast towards him, he still retiring. One of the boys of the kitchen, who was lodged near the gate, went out to Best with a sword drawn, which Best took from his hand. Upon this, and the boy's calling for help at the gate, the others in the house who were lodged far within, rose; and in the mean time he defended himself with a sword. The boy who went to the gate brought out a halberd, but thus quickly being come near the house two of them discharged their dags, one shot of which passed into his body below the navel. This done, they fled, and Best returned into the house complaining that he was slain; and so being carried to a bed, he died within an hour. His speech failed him as soon as he was within the house; howbeit I caused him to be so dealt with that he recovered his speech and knowledge

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so far as to call on the help of God, desiring me and others to pray for him. And with that good remembrance and quietness of spirit he passed out of this mortal life; leaving to me great grief for the loss of a friend and servant whom I found daily more and more willing and loving to me. With this chance there are risen sundry opinions and conjectures, which I leave to God to do His good will.

I sent at once to the Court for audience that morning, and desired my messenger to tell Secretary Pinart thereof. The king straightway gave orders to M. Richelieu, *le Grand Prevost*, and to the *Prevost des Marchands*, to use all diligence to seek and apprehend the murderers. Meantime I sent for the Coroners to view the body, and the Commissary to follow those who had committed the act, employing my servants and other English gentlemen about it. It seemed that diligence was used therein. One of their scabbards was found and some trace of blood; it appeared one of them was hurt. But hitherto nothing else has been perceived.

M. Richelieu thinks that they were watching to murder one in the next house; but I see no ground for this, considering they stood so that they might very well discover my first men coming out of the house, and let them pass after speaking to them and thoroughly viewing them, desiring the one who had drawn his sword to put it up. They had nothing to say to them, but incontinently assaulted Best, pursuing him to the house with open faces and great boldness, divers being then stirring, and one or two meeting them as they went away. It passed on such a sudden, and so unlooked for, that every one was exceedingly amazed with the chance and grief.

It may be at this instant, having the enterprise of la Fère in hand against those of the Religion, and upon hearing tell of the Prince of Condé's repair into England, they may 'mistrust how' some one of the Religion resorted to the English ambassador secretly, whom they would be glad to have entrapped; for three or four mornings before there were some who in like sort from the same place assaulted one who came out of my house, viewing him, but doing no other harm. Therefore now, whether Best said anything afar off to provoke them, or was the person sought, does not clearly appear. It has been seen, they say, that both late in the evening, after my gates were shut, and early in the morning, there have been some walking not far from the house, as is now reported, so that doubts are cast, and divers opinions conceived of their watching in that place. I know not what to judge or seek herein, but refer to the judgement of the honourable and wise sort; wishing that the truth were known that no wrong might be done with further suspicions than truth imported.—Paris, 2 July, 1580.

2 *pp.* [*Ibid IV.* 110.]

July 3. **353.** Mauvissière to Burghley.

I have received your kind letter, and see from it that you do not find mine unacceptable. They are to avoid any importuning of you by word of mouth, if I were to speak to you as often as I should like. But I know you are always very busy in the service of the

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Queen and the public weal of the realm, while my leisure is plentiful, as of a man who for most of his time has nothing to do but admire the virtues of her Majesty, as the most rare princess of her sex in the world. I did not think that my letters to you deserved to be shown to her; it is too great favour to their author. May she accept my good will, and what little service I do to maintain a perfect amity between our Sovereigns. The real way is not to take the part of factious subjects against their lord; and I promise you, sir, the Queen has done what will turn to her great honour and profit in dismissing the Prince of Condé with no other aid and favour than advice to make peace, and seek the King's grace and withdraw himself from subjection to those who would cover faction with the cloak of religion. I am sure that you have not spared your prudent advice, which I shall follow by all the means I can think of, writing to their Majesties, and to Monsieur, who I am told has a singular desire to pacify things. If there be any default, it will be from the Huguenots, unless necessity force them to obey reason. You know what is the authority of monarchs, who will have neither master nor companion; and whenever it is wished to plant religion by force of arms, on whatever side it may be, at the cost of a neighbour's blood and life, God is not on that side. The body as you know can be tormented by blows and imprisonment, made to endure hardship, killed by hunger, heat or cold; but the spirit, in which are the faith and the belief, is not of this quality. It can endure no greater pain than to be urged to believe by force, and the noblest belief is that which proceeds from affection.

But pardon my pen, which has already taken some freedom of writing to you, honouring you, as I do, as my own father. And I will beg you in conclusion to kiss her Majesty's hand on my behalf, and beseech her at her convenience and without importuning her, to let me wait on her, on the recovery of her health; which I did not venture to desire when she was ill, though in a pleasant fancy I was always waiting on her, in the quality of ambassador, and of a private and loyal servant, as I am and ever will be to her. Thus I will make my confidence to you, as one of her most faithful councillors.

Counsel her then, I pray you, that the marriage between her and the king's brother is and will be peace for France and England, and all Christendom. He who gives her other counsel is neither a good Englishman nor a good Frenchman, nor impelled by the public weal. Wherewith I will conclude this letter, which calls for much more excuse than yours, which I have sent to the king for him to see the evidence of so great a councillor that the Prince of Condé has received no other favour here than good treatment, as a prince of France, and good advice from her Majesty to seek peace and the king's grace, to render him the obedience that is due; as I pray God he may do.—London, in my 'free prison,' this Sunday, 3 July, 1580.

I will add to this letter that the one thing which I so much dread is to anger her Majesty or arouse her suspicion by speaking

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of the Queen of Scots and her affairs, as it is not an agreeable subject to her. She is however so good and prudent, and of so noble nature, that she will always let herself be persuaded in matters of reason and truth, and not by artificial pleas for keeping the Queen of Scots always out of her favour, now more than ever the design of some persons, as she says. The said Queen has always been so willing to think this that it had made her believe in her liberation, and that at a time which seems to me unsuitable for it. I put her letters into your hands as an adviser, whom I have believed to be full of sincerity without passion, in the service of your mistress. You yourself presented the letters of the Queen of Scots to her. I have never importuned for an answer; but I have freely written to her how wrong she would be to employ one *sous* of her dowry in assisting the rebels and bad subjects of England, a thing of which she would clear herself, and prove the contrary, as you will see if you please, by the letters she writes to her Majesty. Of this I send you a copy that you may see it, and present the original to her, since this letter depends on the other which you have already handed to her. I send you also what she writes to me about it, that you may make such use of it as you please, and say a word, if you see a fit moment, about the journey to the baths for her health; for she says it is the only way to cure her, and that the Earl of Shrewsbury can very well answer for her actions and behaviour. I do not address myself to the Secretaries, for I find them by no means disposed to speak for the Queen of Scots, so I do not importune them. I will do the same by you if you do not like to take the trouble. But you can see better than I her Majesty's disposition towards the Queen of Scots, and judge what is reasonable, what not, what should be refused, what may be granted honourably and safely to both. I think too the Queen of Scots will adapt herself quietly to her present state if she could be assured that her enemies would have no power to hurt her, nor give her Majesty a bad opinion of her, and would be contented with anything.

Add. Endd. 3 *pp. Fr.* [*France IV.* 111.]

July 4. **354.** Burghley to Mauvissière.

I have communicated your last letter to her Majesty, and have given her that of the Queen of Scots. She has commanded me to let you know that though she has recovered her health she is thoroughly hoarse, which causes her so much trouble in speaking that she could not in words testify to her health. Therefore she would be vexed if you were to come before she is able out of her own mouth to assure you of her convalescence. And though she has not yet read the Queen of Scots' letter, you shall have the answer to it when you come, for she knows the contents very well from the summary I have given her. Next Wednesday, as I think, she will be very glad for you to come to Court. She says she sent my nephew Hoby to call on you from her.

For your sending my last letter into France, I am partly sorry, partly glad; sorry that my rude manner of writing should come to

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the notice of so great a king, glad that you could thereby take occasion to let him know that you knew that her Majesty would not favour the Prince of Condé on his coming hither. Her Majesty has thereby certainly deserved that the king should shew all the more favour to the Prince and the common cause because she has abstained from showing any. This I hope will proceed voluntarily from the king, and the effect will then be the more lasting.—From the Court, 4 July, 1580.

Draft, with corrections in Burghley's hand. Endd. with three Fr. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 112.]

July 5. **355.** Formation of an Artillery Depôt at Antwerp.

'Extract from the register of resolutions passed by the States-General of the Netherlands, 5 July, 1580.'

To write to those of Antwerp that his Excellency and the States have decided to place there an arsenal or store of artillery; for which shall be employed the five guns just come from Brussels, also three which Brussels is to provide, etc. Other depôts to be established at Ghent and Amsterdam. *A list follows: besides those mentioned are* Mechlin, one demi-cannon; Ghent, one cannon, two demi-cannon; Amsterdam, a cannon and a demi-culverin; Rotterdam, two demi-culverins; 51 pieces in all. Places not in a position to furnish artillery are expected to find cash, at the rate of 1,700 florins for a cannon, 1,200 for a demi-cannon, 1,200 for a culverin, 700 for a demi-culverin.

Copy. Endd. Flemish. 2 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 35.]

July 5. **356.** *Another copy in Fr. Endd.* 2 *pp.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 35*a*.]

July 5. **357.** Edward Stafford to [Walsingham].

I have sent to her Majesty an advertisement that I had from Monsieur of some of the rebels passing by this country accompanied by a treasurer of Spain and a secretary of the Pope's; and also of the order that Monsieur has taken here for the stay of all strangers till he know what they be, that if they are taken, they may be sent to the castle of Angers till his Majesty be advertised.

I have also written to the ambassador at Paris the effect of this advertisement, that he may enquire further of it, and by this bearer advertise you or his Majesty. For Monsieur has it from spies, whom he has continually at the Spanish ambassador's house at Paris, who saw these men there taking leave, with determination to embark at Nantes.

I promise you I linger here and will do so as long as I can, under cover of hunting and seeing fair houses hereabouts, to see if I can see anything burst out that is hatching; but I assure you, for the matter of the troubles, I see Monsieur so far from liking them that I rather find he will stir himself, if the king will not come to a

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reasonable peace, to bring him the sooner to it, than that he means in any way to continue the civil wars. He surely has a great intention still to the matter of the Low Countries, whereof he sees himself greatly hindered by these civil dissensions; at which he is not a little angry.

As for the Queen Mother's liking of the marriage, I neither find that the king nor she, what show soever she makes, likes it any other way than that they cannot choose; he desiring it so greatly as he seems daily to do.

This is as much as I can write to you of anything since my man's departure.—Tours, 5 July, 1510.

Endd. by L. Tomson. 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 113.]

July 7. **358.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

Since I last wrote by Mr Windebank, nothing has happened. As for Monsieur's affairs, and what passes in his Court, I suppose this bearer returns thence well instructed.

The king and Queen Mother hold their Court at 'St. Moro,' and the plague and other disease in Paris is such that it is thought the *Grand Conseil* will remove hence; but no place at present appointed.

It is desired to see whether there will be occasion for the king to repair to Compiégne, toward la Fère. It will be according as the pacification may be procured by Monsieur; or otherwise that the siege be advanced, which hitherto is not altogether in readiness, though companies are now daily marching thitherward.

Marshal Matignon lodges five leagues from la Fère. M. de Mouy and the other gentlemen make daily sallies on horseback.

It appears that Monsieur is treating with the king very favourably on behalf of the King of Navarre and the Prince.

The affairs are yet in deliberation 'in some staggering manner,' so that it breeds suspicion of an attempt towards the Low Countries.

The king seems to 'stomach' the partial proceedings of the Pope towards King Philip and the slender respect had in Rome of Frenchmen's dispatches and suits.

There was 'no counsel made of' the Queen's manner of receiving the Prince to her presence, and her friendly show towards his Majesty, with which they are well content, thinking it will be a means to peace.

There is no news from Spain, but that King Philip was expecting better means to bring the Portuguese to his dovotion by practice rather than by using force, and that some of the nobility had resorted to him.

The Earl of Westmorland has left Paris in company with the Spanish *contador* Navaretto, and had not returned this morning. Mr. Copley still remains here.—Paris, 7 July, 1580.

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P.S.—I have in my hands the names of the Cardinals, with their dispositions and manner of dealing in several countries, ready to send when you command.

1 *p.* [*France IV.* 114.]

July 8. **359.** "The copy of a letter dated at Lisbon the 8th of July last.'

On the 14th of last month Don Antonio was in 'Santaryne' in the company of the Pope's legate and the Bishop of Guarda and other gentlemen, being ready to build a fort in a place called Marvilla. The people rose in a mutiny, saying that since the Governors would deliver the Kingdom of Portugal to the Kingdom of Castile, rather than it should be so they would have his Highness for their king. He would not consent to it at first, but being desired and almost forced by the legate and other noblemen and burgesses who were present, he was chosen king within two days after, and sworn by those that were present with great rejoicing of all. So he left that town accompanied by 500 horse and foot, and as he came on his way was sworn king in every town, and so arrived in this city of Lisbon.

The Governors, who were at 'Centuvall' [*qu.* Setubal], understanding that Don Antonio was sworn king, began openly to show themselves on King Philip's side, and sent letters to Don John 'Teloe' (Tello), Governor of 'Bedlem,' that he should not permit but 'defend' the king's coming to Lisbon, which he did 'effectually,' sending seven companies of soldiers to the gates of the city. But as soon as the king arrived at the gate called the 'Mororia,' the soldiers who were in the gate turned down their pikes and received him with great joy, and likewise all the people that were in the city, though they were a little company by reason of the sickness; and so he was accompanied by all the people to the chief church of the city, and there received with great solemnity by the clergy. Thence he went to his palace by the river-side, and within four days assembled as much people as he could, and 'took his passage' to go to 'Centuval,' to take possession of the town and apprehend the Governors. Also he sent by sea four ships to stay their going by sea, but they went away before in a carvell that was there, and took ship in the night time from the lodging of one of them that was hard by the water-side; and they durst not go 'out of doors,' but went out of a window by ropes, and escaped with much ado, because the men of their guard rose against them, because they are 'tretors' how the [*sic*; *qu.* to] deliver their country into the Spaniard's hand. And so the four Governors escaped, that is to say Don John 'Mascarinius,' Francis 'De Sawe,' 'Dewgolopis' (surnamed the Devil), and Don John Teloe; and remained only the 'Archepiskte.' There went with them a great many gentlemen, Antonio of 'Caskallies,' the Earl of 'Lygnaris' the younger, 'Lewis Seaser,' Don Edward of Castelbranke, chief constable, 'Dewgolopis Desekira' and ten more. The Spanish ambassador came away by land with 20 men, and before he went he bribed the captain of the castle to suffer them to pass without danger.

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Don John Teloe, when he went to 'Sayntuvall' in the galley, gave leave to the oars to go away, that they might flee with more security; and so the Governors did steal away that night. But the next morning the Earl of Vimiosa, called Don Francis Portugal, made ready boats with soldiers to go to the galley and follow the Governors, and if possible apprehend them. But when they came to the galley, all the oars were gone, which was a great grief to him, because 'it' is a good 'Portingale,' and loves the king very well.

The king entered 'Saintuvale' with 8,000 horse and foot, and was received with great joy, and sworn king, and went into the castle; and leaving all in good order returned to this city three days ago and remains here with all the nobility of the realm. He has strengthened the river with a good navy, and the castles are all in good order. In two days he will go back to 'Santaryne' to make his soldiers ready to resist King Philip's camp, which is already in possession of divers towns in the 'shire of Alentegio' without resistance, because the Governors had by letter commanded them to submit without fighting; and because it was done suddenly and unknown to Don Antonio, he could not give order to the contrary, and so the king is determined to 'present the battle' to the enemy. God sent him victory, for he is a prince worthy to be beloved.

Note in Burghley's hand of the names mentioned in the letter. Endd. by his secretary. 3 *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 33.]

July 10. **360.** "A Memorial for matters of Council at Nonsuch."

It seems that the Prince of Orange and the States are disposed to commit themselves and their countries to the government of the Duke of Anjou, and he to be admitted by them, so far as they can confirm it, to be sovereign lord over them, with certain limitations.

It also seems that Monsieur is contented herewith, and that he will have the aid of the king, his brother; so that it is very probable the countries will be annexed to the Crown of France in time to come, notwithstanding any limitations to the contrary.

It is also likely that the Crown and realm of England which have of old been confederate with those countries for their mutual defence against France, will by this alteration be weakened, and for lack of the ancient league become subject to the power of France. Besides, by this 'adjunction' of the Low Countries to France, especially of the islands, as Holland, Zealand, and the other maritime countries, as Flanders and Brabant, England will be at the command of France for the usual traffic by sea, and will also become inferior to France in navigation and power by sea; whereas now England is known to be far superior to France. Besides these, many incommodities are like to ensue.

The question hereupon is: what is presently to be done by the Queen to prevent these perils? Before answer be made the following things are to be considered.

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On the part of France: her Majesty is in treaty with the French king and Monsieur for a marriage sought by Monsieur with herself, in which so much progress has been made, that it was only left for her Majesty to declare whether she would have certain commissioners to come from France to conclude the matter; and though she has delayed some time therein, she has not in the end rejected them, but has 'pretended' certain difficulties to Monsieur, to move him to forbear from sending the Commissioners in respect of what he might mislike here, and not of anything she 'shows' to mislike for herself. Whereupon Monsieur has, notwithstanding these difficulties, determined to send away the Commissioners, to be here August 15, and professes constantly to desire the marriage.

Besides, it is to be remembered that there is a great preparation of forces in France, partly on the king's side, to pursue the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé and their party, for religion; insomuch that the king has sent forces to besiege la Fère, where the Prince of Condé has left a force to keep it.

The King of Navarre also has an army to defend himself as he may.

Monsieur has also entertained great companies, on the plea of serving him for the cause of the Low Countries, where he already has in his possession the town and castle of Cambray, and has had Bouchain surrendered to him lately. Yet he certifies that as he has power from the King of Navarre to agree to peace for those of the Religion, so also he has authority from the king, his brother; so that by appearance that civil war 'may chance stay,' and he is more ready to 'follow his action' to recover the Low Countries.

On the part of the Low Countries: The Queen's credit is not so good as it has been with the Prince of Orange and the States, for she has forborne to give them such aid as they required; which if they had received they think they had prevailed in their actions, and if her Majesty had consented thereto, they would have committed their whole estate to her, to be their protector, or, if she would, to have the 'propriety' of their countries.

Besides this she has shown her unwillingness to favour their cause, in that she has not payment [*sic*] to Pallavicino and Spinola for money which they lent the States at her request and upon her bonds, for which she has the counterbonds of the States; but as it seems they either will not or cannot make payment to the merchants, so that there remains this difference between her Majesty and them both for those sums and others heretofore lent them.

On the part of the Malcontents in the Low Countries: There are a great number of noblemen combined together, offering their obedience to the king, and yet with the limitation that they are promised all the liberties they can justly demand and not to be governed by strangers, not to keep [*sic*] any strange forces among them other than they themselves shall require; being only bound to the obedience of the see of Rome for their religion, and to the king as their sovereign lord.

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It is to be noted that this party is very great, having almost all the noblemen of the Low Counties as heads of their faction against the Prince of Orange and three or four noblemen, not of any title; but in possession of great towns they are far inferior to the Prince. Yet considering they have the pay of the King of Spain, and may have help of strange forces, as Spaniards, Italians, or Almains, they are the more animated to hold on their course, and to 'keep war' against the Prince and his party; who therefore having no other aid but of themselves are moved to seek aid from the French king and his brother, which it seems they will not have without taking Monsieur for their lord or governor.

It is also to be remembered that the Duchess of Parma is coming to the Low Countries by direction of the King of Spain, and offers to give reasonable conditions of peace to all the countries; but the Prince's party are not ready to believe it, but rather fear to be 'abused' thereby, to stay them from receiving aid from Monsieur.

Upon all these different matters it is now to be considered by how many means it were meet for her Majesty to prevent the perils to the Crown of England already mentioned.

Before any special means can well be thought of and set down these things are to be observed as principles to be maintained.

First, the Prince of Orange and his party, professing their religion against the Pope, cannot and will not accept any conditions of accord with the King of Spain, nor will they submit to M. d'Anjou save with very great assurance of continuing free for ever in their religion; for upon that point almost only stands the difficulty of peace betwixt the king and them, and betwixt the Malcontents and them.

Now to proceed to show advice by sundry degrees.

If the Queen will yield to the Prince's demands for a substantial aiding of them with men and money, or either, as they shall require, it is likely they would choose her protection rather than that of France.

And it is very likely that the realm of England in Parliament would consent to the charge thereof, than [*sic*] for want of aiding them, to see those countries fall to the Crown of France.

If this course like her Majesty, it were necessary to send some trusty man secretly to the Prince of Orange: the same person to speak secretly with such special persons on the States' side as he may understand have been hardly disposed to yield to France. These might be dealt with to prolong their treaty with Monsieur by devising such difficulties as might stay his conclusion with them.

This 'party' is to understand what would be a reasonable aid to preserve them in their present state until further provision may be made to restore them to their liberties with security for their religion.

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It were also convenient to send one well-informed to the King of Spain 'to let him now, upon this extreme peril, understand the final loss of his Low Countries,' and to show him that hitherto her Majesty has used all good means, 'yea, by suffering them to be aided both with men and money,' only to keep his Low Countries from the possession of France, and has herself forborne to take possession of any part of them, as she might have done; but now seeing the matter brought to this extremity that her own Crown and realm will be a partaker in the king's loss, and considering that the mutual friendship and conversation that there has been for the benefit of her kingdom and those countries, will by this adjunction be turned into hatred and hostility, the king ought not to mislike that she does all she can to 'impeach' this defection to France, and therefore, till he may be more willing to accord them their desires, by which he may both end these civil wars, continue their sovereign, and enjoy his ancient revenues, her Majesty has by great advice of sundry her Estates determined to try if by giving them some aid she may dissuade their junction with France.

And that the king may see that her intention does not proceed from any particular regard of herself that might be hurtful to him, she prays him to consider how in this case she will directly offend the Duke of Anjou, to whom she thinks herself more bound in friendship for the love he has shown her, and still continues, to require her in marriage, with such honourable conditions as she can justly demand. If God should so direct her that she should take him for a husband, and he should first be made lord of the Low Countries, as unless he be hindered by her special means, it is evident he shortly may be, it may appear that she does not so much regard any private interest for him that may be her husband, as she does the public interest which her people have long had and which should continue for the mutual benefit of the king and his successors, her Majesty and her successors, and their countries and people. And to conclude this part concerning the King of Spain, he is to be pressed not to delay any longer, but with all speed for ending all these civil wars and the imminent danger of the loss of his countries to send ample commission thither, that the Prince of Orange and his party, who are ready to yield themselves to France, may have assurance of their 'estates' in the matter of religion, without which it is manifest they will not stay; and that being granted, the king may be assured of their obedience to him in all worldly duties, for more assurance whereof her Majesty will if it please him, bind herself to compel them to continue in the same.

It were also necessary to send with all speed to Monsieur, to remind him of his former promise to her Majesty that he would acquaint her from time to time with his proceedings towards the Low Countries; but because she understands by reports from thence that they have sent commissioners to treat with him, and the treaty is almost 'at a perfection,' whereby it is reported that he is to have some interest in the Low Countries, but in what sort she understands not; therefore, according to the sincere terms of friendship, she hopes he will, before any full conclusion herein, make her privy and 'be content therein to have her allowance,' for which purpose

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she now requests him to prolong the treaty and to advertise her of his proceedings. She cannot but let him understand that if their treaty results in the conclusion of marriage between him and her, as she has advertised him of some difficulties lately arisen to move him to forbear from concluding marriage (of which as it seems by his own letters he makes no such account, but persists in his purpose of sending commissioners to conclude the marriage), yet surely this one matter of his treaty with the Low Countries may carry with it a difficulty greater alone than all the former that have been mentioned, and may prove to be so much disliked by her people, of all sorts without exception of degree or religious profession, that 'without' the same be wisely and speedily provided, though the marriage should inwardly content both him and her, yet with such universal discontent of her whole realm, she could never 'be satisfied to think her marriage happy to her.' Therefore as he shall show himself constant in the pursuit of this marriage, for which she 'knowledgeth' herself bound more to him than to any person living, she requests him not only to advertise her how far he has proceeded in this treaty with the Low Countries, but also to forbear from concluding it till either by conference with his commissioners for the marriage, or for more speed, by some special person, it may be considered how far his plans for the marriage and for his action in the Low Countries, may concur to her just 'cause of liking.'

Further, if she intend to marry Monsieur, it were meet that the commissioners should come, and that being signified to him, he may be precisely required, if he mean to have the marriage take effect, to forbear concluding with the States till there has been a conference between her Majesty and him by his commissioners, on both 'actions' at once.

If her Majesty take the first course, by aiding the Prince of Orange, thereby to 'detorn' him from the French, because the cause is of great weight, 'and the burden and sequel thereof must belong to the whole body of the realm,' it were necessary, because Parliament cannot meet before August, that her Majesty might besides her ordinary Privy Council send for some special noblemen, and some chief men of the Lower House, to impart this matter beforehand; that it may not be said that so great a cause, belonging to the whole realm, is either taken in hand or left by the advice of a few.

Memo. in Burghley's hand, and endd. by him with date. 11 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 36.]

July 10. **361.** "The substance of the considerations."

The ways to stay the 'adjunction' to France of the Low Countries.

1. To dissuade Monsieur either wholly, or to forbear the conclusion until her Majesty's advice may be given.

2. To send to stay the Prince of Orange and the States.

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3. To persuade the King of Spain to grant them the conditions moved at the last 'treaty' at Collen.

4. To procure the Duchess of Parma, if she have power, by means of the most temperate among the Malcontents, to grant the States their requests.

Order how to proceed.

1. By a message to Monsieur declaring how much it will offend her and her whole realm, and, therefore, that he should forbear to conclude till her Majesty further imparts her meaning. If that do not move him, then, if she shall 'like of' marriage, to move him to send commissioners, who may treat both of marriage and of the other case.

2. The Prince must be assured of her Majesty's help to withstand his enemies until they obtain an assured peace from the king. In this it is needful to have the allowance of Parliament, in respect of the cost.

3. A special man to the King of Spain, to set forth the danger of the Low Countries, to show the just defence of her Majesty's actions for preserving them from defection to the French.

4. Another to deal 'obscurely' with some of the Malcontents, to show them the danger of their 'estate,' to see whether the Duchess of Parma has authority.

Memo. in Burghley's hand, endd. by him: 10 July, 1580. Memorial, L. Ch. L. Tres. L. Chamb. L. of Leicester. Mr Vich. Mr Sec. W. at Nonsuch. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 37.]

July 10. **362.** Walsingham to Davison.

Her Majesty having occasion to send to the Prince of Orange, and minding to use you, has willed me to send for you to come hither forthwith, where you will receive further directions. You are therefore to repair hither immediately. You will do well so to dispose of yourself, 'and other your things,' that you may 'be gone in post' with two servants only as soon as you have your instructions here.—Nonsuch, 10 July, 1580.

Add.: 'at his house in Wood Street.' *Endd.* ¼ *p.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 38.]

July 10. **363.** "Ways to prevent the coming of Monsieur into the Low Countries."

The ways, in my simple opinion, are chiefly three: either by continuing the troubles in France, or by 'travailing' with the Spanish king to yield to a peace, or else by breaking off the marriage, and the Queen to oppose the enterprise of the French and assist the States.

By continuing the troubles the means for attempting the Low Countries are taken away, and although peace follows, by the inconstancy of the French, who are suddenly at war and as soon at peace,

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time will yet be gained, which may bring forth some accident to hinder that enterprise another way; for *chi ha tempo ha vita*, and the States are at this time in no such extremity, the faction of the Malcontents being in some 'declination' and no Spanish or foreign forces to any purpose in those countries to press them to a sudden resolution for Monsieur. To protract the troubles in France will serve to 'impeach' the enterprise in the Low Countries, or, by a peace to be made, provide in some way to hinder it. The Queen should assure herself of the Churches in France, and of Duke Casimir, so that, though the Princes would yield to a pacification without good assurance, they may be bridled by the Churches and the Duke; who, once entered into France, will be able by the goodness of the country to feed them at least a whole year without pay, as he did last time, upon expectation of a full and good pay from the king. His credit among his countrymen is such that he may be backed secretly by the Queen; and an army once entered will be augmented by great numbers of gentlemen and others on this side the Loire, who now dare not stir.

The second way, by 'travailing' with the King of Spain to induce him to a peace—it is likely he will now rather than heretofore lend his ear to it; for he may be assured by the last enterprise of Monsieur and by his present intent in treating with the States, that there will be danger of losing it. For he will now see that his plot in dividing the people in the Low Countries, thereby to weaken and overthrow them 'each by other,' has in a sort failed, and that he has no forces in the country to withstand the French; and that the charges of an army to be 'dressed' in haste in the Low Countries will beggar him, considering the great charge he is at in Portugal, where he would be loth to 'take a foil,' being entered so far as to claim the Crown by force. It will be hard to end that war to his honour unless he lay hands on the Crown, which he can only do with length of time; to his own ruin perchance if that nation may be any way assisted from abroad. And though Spain be not able to deliver a puissant army into the Low Countries, yet it is likely that to divert the French he may be brought to give some ducats to lengthen the troubles in France.

The last way is breaking off the marriage, which on the sudden may seem too violent, and is a course that her Majesty will haply not be brought to. By opposing his enterprise openly, it must redound to her great charge to be continued; whereby she will not only exasperate Monsieur and the King, but also draw the King of Spain into a hard conceit of her doings. He hates in any sort to see her intermeddle in the Low Countries, though it tend to their safety and his own. Withal this course will be less honourable for her Majesty than any other.

So she is to employ ministers 'into' Germany, France, and Spain; to Duke Casimir, to the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé; to the King of Spain. Besides negotiating this peace, they may explore many things for the service of Ireland, deal for the merchants, and also do the voyage of Portugal, 'if it shall be considered with its circumstances.'

Endd. by Burghley: 10 July, 1580. Mr Wilks at Nonsuch. 2 *pp.*
[*Ibid. XIII.* 39.]

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364. "The heads of certain speeches delivered by her Majesty unto the Ambassador of Spain, the 10th of July, in the presence of certain of her Council."*

Her Majesty finding by advertisements received from divers places, matters with which she thought the king his master should be made acquainted, since they touched him no less in honour than they did her in safety, was moved to impart them to him, not so fully as she received them, being in themselves ample and many; but summarily and in few words, both to avoid tedious discourse, and in order that by easy insight into them, more speedy redress might ensue, in case the reports given out should not be found untrue.

Therefore she first told him of an intelligence she had received from sundry parts, that the king together with the Pope and other princes had entered into a confederacy, not only to dispossess her of the realm of Ireland, but to attempt something against the realm of England, as soon as his enterprise in Portugal is finished.

She was advertised that preparations for this were being made at a place called 'Farolle' not far from the Groyne, the charge of them being committed to a certain Irish bishop, who had amassed there great quantities of munitions, and had about February last sent some frigates to Ireland under some person of mark, to put the rebels there 'in comfort' of some aid to be sent from Spain this summer; all which preparations were 'coloured' to be made at the charges and solicitation [*Lat:* sub auctoritate et mandato] of the Pope and furthered by the king, as appears by attestations under public notaries' hands of some of the ports in those quarters.

Notwithstanding the probability of these reports, witnessed by the hand of the king's officers, she could not have been easily induced to credit them, if she had not last year actually seen something attempted; when James Fitzmorris accompanied by certain Spaniards made a descent into Ireland, by the king's order and maintenance, as was confessed [*Lat. adds:* cum ad supplicium duceretur] by one Captain Julian, a Spaniard, who accompanied him, and was taken in one of the rebels' castles, having seized it to the king's use. The king's privity to this assistance given to the rebels was further confirmed by a supplication exhibited by one B.C. [*Lat.* cuiusdam præfecti militum] in which he complains of default of reimbursement of such sums as he had disbursed in the levy of soldiers to accompany Fitzmorris, by virtue of the king's commission to that effect.

And as it might be objected that the king was no more to blame for assistance given to Fitzmorris than her Majesty for support given to them of Flanders, she declares it might well be answered in honour and truth that the cases were far different, if the following circumstances were considered.

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* *See* Span. Cal. 1580, No. 35.

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First, when the Low Countries were sundry times offered to her and the principal towns presented to be delivered into her hands, she utterly refused them [*Lat. adds:* spoliis opimis nolens se ornare optimi sui fratris Catholici Regis].

Secondly, when she heard of the French practices, and the disposition of the people of the country to incline that way, she sent to the king and his governors there 'welnere' a dozen of her ministers, to advise him to look to those practices, and meet them betimes.

Lastly, about two years ago she sent certain persons of quality into the Low Countries, on seeing clearly that France openly sought under colour of protectorship to possess himself [*sic*] of the countries, to dissuade them from assenting thereto; "by whose travail at that time the same was impeached and stayed."

If the king would show that in the case of Ireland he had used the like friendly offices towards her, he would be justified, and she would have no cause to find herself aggrieved. Her dealings in the Low Country causes never tended to any other purpose, for which she appeals to God and her own conscience, but to the preservation of the countries for him; whereas his towards Ireland manifestly show they were to a contrary end, as the proceeding therein too apparently bewrays.

Notwithstanding, she doubts not that through God's goodness and those means she has, she will be able, if either the king or the Pope or any of his confederates attempt anything against her, to defend herself, whatever traitorous rebels may slanderously report touching the alienation of her subjects' hearts from her. In the end she doubts not he will find them illdeserving of the pensions he bestows on them [*Lat.* in eos tantam pecuniarum summam male collocatam]; a matter with which she has at times with good cause found herself aggrieved as contrary to the leagues and amity between them, but could never get any redress, though it cannot be proved that any pension was ever given by her to any of his subjects.

In spite of all which unkind dealing, which might have alienated any other prince than herself, and caused them to take revenge, her Majesty having always in the course of all her actions 'laid the foundation' that neither private revenge, nor ambition, nor desire of increase of dominion could ever cause her to swerve from the line of justice, and having regard to the ancient amity between their predecessors, she would be loth to leave undone anything that might move a prince, who is not transported by passion, to condemn his own error in so unkindly requiting her friendly dealings; and to justify her, whose proceedings towards him, if they were thoroughly known, could not but be allowed even by her greatest enemies, if they respected the matter rather than the persons.

And since she would not willingly break off the course of her good offices towards him, and to make her sincerity more apparent, notwithstanding these unkind dealings, she cannot but let him know

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that she is informed that his subjects in the Low Countries are fully determined to give themselves over to the protection of France; and though she means to give what impediment she may, and stay them for a time she doubts that unless he yield to some speedy remedy, she will not be able to prevail. Therefore she would advise him rather to hard conditions, having regard to necessity, which has always overruled the greatest monarchs, than to hazard the loss of those countries, and thereby weaken himself and strengthen his enemy.

And in case he profits no more by this admonition than he has done in former times, she must plainly let him understand considering the great danger that will grow to her dominions in case the Low Countries are annexed to the Crown of France, she will be forced, against her liking to 'set in foot' and make herself a party.

Draft in writing of L. Tomson (one or two corrections by Walsingham), and endd. by him and L. Cave. $4\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 52.]

July 10. **365.** *Latin version of the above. Draft in writing of L. Tomson and endd. by him.* $3\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.* [*Ibid. I.* 52*a*.]

July 11. **366.** Walsingham to Cobham.

Since making up my packet, I have received the enclosed scroll from the Borders, whereby it appears that the Lord of Arbroth seeks to made his peace in Scotland without her Majesty's privity; which in my opinion you will do well to charge him with as of yourself, upon some knowledge that you may say is come to you of the matter, letting him understand that as by taking that course he will greatly wound his own reputation with the blame of ingratitude towards her Majesty, to whom he and his brother are so much bound, so she will be discouraged from hereafter embracing the protection of any of that nation in their extremity, when she sees that they seek only to make their profit of her favour, and in the end requite it with unthankful dealing. But if any such offer be made to him, you do not doubt but that she will very well like him to accept it [if] he do it [by he]r advice [and] privity; in hope that being restored to his country and called to a place wherein he may do good, he will by calling to mind how much he is bound to her, prove a good instrument to nourish and maintain the mutual amity between the two Crowns, especially wherein he shall see the same to be 'behovefull' for the King and his realm.

I have great cause to credit this advertisement, for one Gawen Hamilton, who is a great man with Lord Claude, came here two or three days since under colour of seeking relief at her Majesty's hands, which in the end proved to be to have a passport to go over into France to the Lord of Arbroth. He is this day to take his journey, which I verily judge to be about this matter. Wherefore you will do well to deal earnestly with the said lord either by speech or letter; letting him understand that he will greatly forget himself to betray a princess in this sort who has dealt so graciously

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with him and his house; the supporting of whom is the chief matter whereon they in Scotland ground their quarrel against her, and would so much the more aggravate his unthankfulness in case he deal so ill with her as to make his peace without her consent, especially as it is not likely she will be a hinderer but rather a furtherer of his good and preferment.—11 July 158[0].

Draft in hand of L. Tomson and endd. by him. 1¼ *pp.* [*France IV.* 115.]

July 11. **367.** Advices from Madrid.

Don Antonio against the will of the nobility is by the people proclaimed king in Lisbon, where the plague is great; whereupon the king's camp departed from 'Badeioys' and entered Portugal the 27th of June, towards Lisbon, to visit the new king, whose reign is not likely to last long; for besides the division among themselves they have no forces, arms, money, captains, nor practised soldiers.

These towns (with the 'contents of households' subscribed) have already yielded: Campo Mayor (1,000), 'Yelves' (6,000), Olivença (3,000), Ebora and University (16,000), 'Porta Alegro' (1,000), Yborla (1,000), Estremos (2,000), Villa Viciosa, the Duke of Braganza's chief house, town and castle, 'Morte More' [*qu.* Tomar], the strongest hold of Portugal, Braga (12,000), with many others of less importance.

The king's army:—Italians, 4,500; Almaynes, 3,500; horsemen, 2,500; footmen, 22,000; 'venturers' (well-furnished), 22,000; pioneers, 26,000; artillery, 50 pieces; carts, 24,000.

Cardinal Riario is come as legate, and is now at Alcalà on his way to the king.

One Clerke and 100 Englishmen, with a ship of his own, after two months' stay without 'entertainment,' is at last received.

Don Antonio sent a gentleman to the Duke of Alva, who refused to speak with him, but sent him to the king.

Endd. by Burghley's secretary (date in his own hand): The Spanish Army. From Mr Parry. 1¾ *pp.* [*Ibid. I.* 53.]

July 12. **368.** Cobham to the Queen.

Having been informed that the Bishop of Ross had lately caused to be printed in Latin at Rheims his book of the *Succession and Title of the Crown of England and Scotland*, with a *Genealogy*, I sought means to 'recover' some of them, that they might come to your sight, being a matter something touching your estate, as it seems to me. I send one of the books herewith that you may let me know your further commands concerning them. The Bishop lately sent some to the Pope, to the Duke of Florence and to Cardinal Granvelle. It may be also that sundry of your subjects will convey some of the books to their friends, not knowing your pleasure to the contrary.—Vanves besides Paris, 12 July 1580.

Endd. by L. Tomson. ¾ *p.* [*France IV.* 116.]

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July 12. **369.** COBHAM to the QUEEN.

I have been informed of Paulo Innocentio, born at Montalto nella Marea, and banished his country for murdering certain gentlemen in the Piazza at Rome, by whom their Majesties have been practised with to favour a conspiracy which certain noblemen and others, banished from Naples and the States of Rome, 'pretend.' But as there is in Paris one of your well-qualified subjects, Mr Bodleigh, who has had conference with him, and is well-informed of his proceedings, I have desired him to set down in writing his offers and the purposes of his accomplices and confederates; which I have sent herewith to Mr Secretary Walsingham inclosing a copy of what Paulo Innocentio 'treated' with their Majesties in this Court. Thanking the Almighty power for His divine grace in giving late recovery to your health 'whose sickness is a death to yours.'—Vanves, 12 July 1580.

½ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 117.]

July 12. **370.** COBHAM to [? BURGHLEY].

Although, my Lord, Monsieur has been hitherto by message an earnest solicitor for the surcease of arms, the king has not hearkened so thoroughly thereto that he can be 'framed' to condescend without marvellous hard conditions to the disadvantage of the King of Navarre and his accomplices. Therefore unless some unlooked-for assistance arises by some other means, or some shew of further friends, there will be small hope of pacification.

Marshals Montmorency and Biron, with their associates in Languedoc, intend to resist the forces of the King of Navarre and 'Viscount Thuraine.'

The Duke of Maine addresses himself towards Lyons to encounter the Protestants and Malcontents of Dauphiné and Provence.

In this sort they are 'drawn and travailed,' but now there appears no 'doubt' of reiters.

The King 'shows to be' marvellously pleased with her Majesty's handling and entertainment of the prince, and very glad of his short abode. God be his guide.

We hear from Spain that the king has entered Portugal, having taken certain towns.

The Duke of Florence 'pretends' to go next month with his wife to Venice, and Cardinal de Medicis comes from Rome to govern in his absence.

It is judged in Italy that the amity which the King of Spain has made with the King of Sweden is to great purpose for those seas.

I enclose a letter from Milan, from Captain Augustino Susarini; desiring to understand your pleasure before answering.—Vanves, 12 July 1580.

Endd. by L. Tomson. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 118.]

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July 12. **371.** COBHAM to [WALSINGHAM].

I have been for some months past informed of an Italian who had offered a practice to their Majesties here, and was very well hearkened to; but now that I hear they have by his overture acquainted themselves with some sure and great personages that are parties, it seems that he is 'licensed' and shifted hence. Whereon in conference with Mr Bodley I entered into some speech, knowing his good acquaintance with Italians; so that the said Italian, Paulo Innocentio, and he have had such conference together as you may perceive by the inclosed, with the circumstances of which I have written a few words to her Majesty. I think you may persuade Mr Bodleigh to negotiate with that party or do her Majesty any further service herein.—Vanves, 12 July 1580.

P.S.—Please consider the inclosed, directed to me 'by the name of' Thomas Taylor, and your opinion [*sic*] of the party who has subscribed thereto; and if it be for her Majesty's service, let me know whether I shall continue the trade with him. Also cause the inclosed to be sealed and sent, if you think good.

(*In another hand.*) I have just received a packet from Mr Stafford which I was requested to have conveyed to you, and now inclose.

1 *p.* [*Ibid IV.* 119.]

July 12. **372.** COBHAM to [WALSINGHAM].

I enclose *Julio Bussino's* [*cipher*; ? Busini] letter, in which it may easily be seen on what occasion Best's evil mischance proceeded; so that by this relation, as otherwise, I find that his assailants were some of those who are appointed daily and nightly to watch and look to that part of the Tournelles. The like is used at a little tower there by the water side, being a place suspected for the ease of going into or out of the city, and passing away without going through a gate. The party who discharged one of the pistols at Best is perfectly described, especially the young person who gave him his death, I mean, with a canvas doublet much worn, as is clearly specified in the enclosed. Howbeit, the *Grand Prevost* and the *Prevost Mareschal* will not 'understand thereof' but disguise it; and would have the deed to have been committed by Italians in revenge for Xanto Pisano who was slain in England—much contrary to the truth as I suppose by the circumstances. They have made certain examinations, but the clear way would be for them to cause those who watched at the corner of Montpensier's house to be examined.

I send herewith a book to Mr Secretary Wilson, another to my lord Treasurer, and a third to my lord of Leicester, in Latin, newly set forth by the Bishop of Ross; which I have willed this gentleman to 'betake' into your hands to be delivered as shall be thought good. I have directed one to her Majesty as you may see by my letter to her, supposing that the book will come into your hands. The said bishop delivered me the articles of the confederates which

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I sent you in my last, and 'would seem with oaths to me' that he purposes to do her Majesty service, so as to be relieved. Thereon he has with his hand given me his faith, whether falsely or truly will appear by trial, as her Majesty may command. I hear he is not plentifully dealt with. He assured me that neither the Earl of Westmorland nor Dakars are parties or privy to the conspiracies and setting up of that person in England which the Pope and King Philip are minded to compass; but that Morton, Goldwell and others, who are sent from Rome, are made instruments hereof. This may be published and 'informed me,' in opinion to save the Scottish Queen harmless. For the present he is gone to Rouen to stay, but I suppose upon occasion he might be brought to Paris. I have promised him this shall be kept secret; whether it be worth or no, God knows. I have not, nor purpose to enter further until I may receive her Majesty's commands; and beg that she may be made privy to all these particulars.

I find by private letters from my friends that her Majesty has been sick, but amended. God continue her in health, *aut perimus omnes*, and I must be the first, and in the worst place. Nevertheless in the mean time I have many crosses. God give me sufficient patience, and you comfort, to countervail the sorrow for the loss of your daughter.—Vanves, 12 July 1580.

Endd. by L. Tomson. 1½ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 120.]

July 12. **373.** Cobham to the Secretaries.

It seems that though Monsieur's mediation might be thought a sufficient means to make the king agree to a surcease of arms, to which his Highness by his agent, M. Marchaumont, has hitherto urged him, as also with daily messages he ceases not to intreat him, the preparations for war proceed so forwardly, that unless these last motions, which have been within these three days moved by his Highness and propounded by la Rocque from the King of Navarre, 'take place' in the king's mind, there will remain no likelihood of pacification until there fall out so many murders and evil events as will weary both parties. On the 9th they skirmished at la Fère, where three were slain on both sides; and the king's forces have approached the *faurbourgs*, whereon they have conceived in the Court a hope of the speedy taking of the town, if there do not grow some action elsewhere to cause the withdrawal of the siege. La Fère will hardly withstand an assault, considering how little artillery they have in the town.

It is advertised here that 200 Scots and some other small companies are marching from the Low Countries, with mind to put themselves into la Fère; but it is thought they will be too late.

The king proposes to move towards Chantilly or 'Gallyon,' because the plague increases in Paris and thereabout.

Marshals Montmorency and Biron, with the Seneschal of Rouergue, are trying to join their forces to defeat the King of Navarre in

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Languedoc. Turenne is marching to join his troops with the King of Navarre's, which are yet feeble. The Duke of Maine is to go to Lyons.

I enclose a letter from a gentlemen, advertising of certain great numbers of 'biefs' slain and 'powdered' at Rouen; which must serve for some enterprise more than ordinary.

The Bishop of Ross repaired yesterday to Rouen, to be suffragan there for the Cardinal of Bourbon.

There are sundry Englishmen who have heretofore been in Flanders, now lately retired to the seashore, 'drawing toward the air of England.'

The Earl of Westmorland having been the last week at Rheims has returned to Paris, and with him Mr Dakers. Mr Copley is yet in town. They were at the burial of Vargas, the Spanish agent, who died last week.

The Bishop of Ross has now published his book of the succession of England and Scotland. I send one to her Majesty. He has sent copies to the Pope, to the Duke of Florence by means of Diacetto, and to Cardinal Granvelle through Vargas's secretary. Paquier, M. Mauvissière's secretary, was dispatched with some the other day.

They certify from Spain by letters of June 26 that the King has entered Portugal, having taken Yelves, Villa Viciosa, and Ronces; but the Portugal ambassador does not believe it. He has 'made great means' to send much armour and weapons, which was granted by the king, but the king has changed his mind upon new occasions, so that the ambassador sues and resorts often to Court, to procure that some new munitions might be transported hence; howbeit he is but deafly heard. He expects daily the return of Barretto from Rome. Don Antonio increases much in the people's favour. They write further that the Spanish King has about 25,000 fighting men in his camp, with the Spaniards expected from Italy, who served in the Low Countries.

The 'Mores' of Andalusia had conspired to take the town of Seville, but the enterprise being discovered the king caused them to be spoiled and put to the sword, saving a few who are imprisoned.

They certify from Italy that the Turk has so earnestly sought peace with the Sophy that he has obtained his purpose. They think he has been persuaded to do this by some Christian princes.

The 23 galleys which last came brought from Spain the Cardinal 'Sesse,' a new ambassador for Rome, and the Duke Eric of Brunswick, by whom it is thought more Almaynes will be levied. The King of Spain has given him during his wife's life the estate which his mother-in-law had at Tortona in the Duchy of Milan, worth 15,000 crowns a year.

With those galleys returned sundry ships laden with biscuit and other munitions with 6,000 corselets and as many Milan harquebuses, to arm the *besonyos* of Spain. As yet no viceroy has been

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appointed, though the Duke of Terranova remains there. It is 'discovered' continually in Italy that these Spanish preparations are addressed against his Majesty's territories upon the first occasion that offers.

Mr George Farmer is imprisoned in Bologna by the Inquisition taken instead of another who was waited for.

It is written from Germany that the book called *Corpus doctrinæ* has been printed at 'Lipsia,' but not permitted to be sold, because the Elector Palatine has revoked his signature to the approval of it; whereon Dr Jacobus Andreæ was gone to Heidelberg to persuade him not to withdraw it.

Lately after Casimir had been at the 'baynes' of Purckfeldt [*qy.* Birkenfeld] he conferred with his colonels and rittmeisters at Frankenthal; but it is not known what will be done further.

The Duke of Tuscany goes next month to Venice, and Cardinal de Medicis comes to govern in his absence.—Vanves, 12 July 1580.

Add. Endd. 2¼ *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 121.]

July 13. **374.** Cobham to Wade.

It seems by your letter that you desire to return hither, but your causes are such as do not suffer your paces to be directed this way; else your tarrying seems too long to me.

The chief causes which pass through men's mouths and ears are the siege-preparations for la Fère, and Monsieur's dealing for the appeasing of these troubles; but with what mind God knows, to whom belongs the knowledge of the secrets of princes' hearts. Howbeit hitherto it seems to all appearance that he deals in favour of the King of Navarre, so that the best is construed of his meaning.

Since Mr Stafford's coming, they have conceived in this Court a further hope of the alliance. I trust at your coming I shall hear something of the disposition that way in those parts.

Vargas the Spanish agent is dead and the plague increases, so that for the present I find 'Vambe' is my safest refuge, because they die of the infection about my house in Paris, wherefore I again seek all means to dislodge myself.

Please bring or send me half-a-dozen of Francisco 'Puchi's' book published and printed in England, intituled *Informatione della religione christiana fondata su la divina e humana ragione*, etc.

Commend me to Mr Hopton and yourself.—Vanves, 13 July 1580.

P.S. (*Autograph.*)—I have received yours of the 2nd, by which I perceive my hap will not be to enjoy you. I shall be content if it be for your advancement. Let me hear further. You write nothing of what I spoke to you concerning the 'night' that is in these parts, or the Secretary's opinion of the strangeness between us. Your letter shall be delivered to Pizzovyn.

Add.: Mr William Waade at Mr Pope's house in Water Lane at London. *Endd. by L. Tomson.* 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 122.]

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July 12. **375.** Roger Bodenham to Wilson.

Days [*sic*] ago I wrote you, 'which I hope be come' to your hands. These few lines are only to advertise you that this country will be in great necessity this year, of wheat and barley and of all kind of 'wittaylis,' because the wheat has failed, and [*sic*] the great provision which is and continually will be made for the king's army. I have also written to Mr Controller of the same. If you please to send hither to me two or three ships laden with wheat or barley, there will be great gains in it. This is a time to gain a great piece of money; wherefore according to my duty and good will to serve your honours, being in these parts, I have thought good to advertise you hereof. The value of it, whatever it come to, shall be sent you in the same ship in the best commodities that this country yields. I can save it from the king's 'takers' here; which the merchants cannot do, as is well known.

The news now here is that the Duke of Alva has entered Portugal, and by this is near Setubal, which is within 5 or 6 leagues of 'Lixborne.' Yesterday night the fleet departed to meet him there; it is a port town. Divers towns have already surrendered to the king. The Duke of Medina Sidonia is at Ayamonte, keeping all that coast; and although Don Antonio be proclaimed King of Portugal in 'Lishebor' by a few of the worse sort of people, he cannot 'let' the king to go through with his purpose out of hand. It will be the greatest conquest that ever Spain made since the conquest of the Indias. This is without comparison for Spain.

A matter has happened here of late—it began at Seville, but it is now come to the mountains of Rondar. The Moriscos have risen again and have done great harm in all the fields near those hills and all the towns near them. 'Sheris' [Xeres] is in some doubt of them because they are many. It will trouble Spain more than Portugal can do. It is begun, but God knows how it will end, because they are desperately minded.—San Lucar, 12 July 1580.

Add. Endd. by Wilson. 1 *p.* [*Spain I.* 54.]

July 21. **376.** Randolph to Walsingham.

Whence this bearer comes, what he has heard or seen, I refer to his own report, I will only pray on his own behalf, for I know his charges have been greater than aught he has received, that it may rather be helped by your good means than that the burden thereof (for the desire I had to charge the good Prince as little as might be) should be upon me, which I am not able easily to bear. I crave also your favourable remembrance for myself in that charge I have been at; uneasy for me to bear, and very light for her Highness and greatness, whom I serve.—Maidstone, 21 July 1580.

Add. Endd. ¾ *p.* [*France IV.* 123.]

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July 15-22. **377.** The Affairs of Portugal.

(1) "Copy of a letter written by Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, brother to the Duke of Infantazgo, the 15th July 1580."

It is reported that Don Antonio has very few men of account about him; for it is in the advertisements that his party is very small.

It is said he bestows what he has very liberally on those that follow him, and has raised divers base persons to the degree of knighthood. His purpose was, if the King had marched in person, to have 'abidden' his coming in a strong castle he has at Santarem; but now that the Duke of Alva goes, he will await him in Lisbon, where he has gathered some men, though very few, discontented and not resolved to fight. He went lately to Setubal with three galleys, to relieve them with men and money; yet it is thought they will not abide the cannon.

The Duke of Alva was yesterday within five leagues of Setubal, and lays siege to it tomorrow. Men think it will soon yield, for none have been as yet found in Portugal that would be the first to offer themselves to the sword.

Don Antonio is very sad and heavy, which is not to be marvelled at, since he finds himself too weak to accomplish his designs; for though he be followed by the commons and some gentlemen, he wants both counsel and money, without which the war will go slowly forward.

On the 13th inst. there came hither to Badajoz a Portugal with letters from the Duke of Braganza to the king, and from the duchess to the queen. The purpose of them is thought to be for their coming hither, but the particulars are not known.

The 'delegate' came on the 10th, and was at first lodged in a monastery; but the king commanded the Marquis of Aurion to receive him.

We receive advertisements, even now at 9 oclock at night, that the Duke of Alva being encamped in the plain of Sustera, tidings came to him that on Tuesday the 12th inst. Don Antonio went to Setubal with some force by water; and that on Monday night 300 of the townsmen went to Alcaçar, and won back the artillery that Capt. Acosta had taken from them. With the loss of 11 Portugals they took two of our men prisoners and hurt 3 or 4; whereupon they of Alcaçar 'lifted up their lights' and cried *Rey Don Antonio*, taking arms against the company of Capt. Villagomez that was in garrison at the castle. Also that the Duke of Alva had sent the *tercio* of Lombardy and the companies of Don Martin de Acuña and Don Sancho Bravo to the rescue; but afterwards he understood that the Portugals had abandoned the place, for it was open, and thereupon altered his purpose. They were to remove from that place and go to Setubal on Thursday the 14th.

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(2) "Copy of a letter from Badajoz of the 22 July 1580."

The army came before Setubal on the 16th, and after the view taken of the places fit to lodge it in, and other necessary things, the siege was laid to the town. The passage towards the sea was to be guarded by the Prior Don Hernando, and Don Frances de Alava was appointed to plant the ordnance, which was performed about noon on the 17th. Then the Duke sent to acquaint them of the town with the cause of his coming, and summon them to resolve speedily what they purpose to do, before any piece were discharged against the town; for afterwards no place would be left for mercy, but they would all be put to the sword. Whereupon, looking to the imminent danger, they yielded immediately. There were besides the townsmen about 500 French and English within. In the end they left the town without ensigns or weapons, for such was the capitulation. This was done on the 18th. There were found in the town twenty pieces of ordnance beside corselets, pikes, and harquebuses, victuals and munition.

On the 19th the Duke of Alva sent an Italian 'gente' called Prospero to view a fort called Oton, standing upon a point in the water, wherein were 400 soldiers, most of them resolved rather to die than to abandon the 'piece.' At the planting of the ordnance against it, which was not done without some difficulty in respect of the situation of the place and because those within had three galleons to help them, Prospero and certain pioneers were slain. Nevertheless the ordnance was in the end planted, and the battery began on the 20th.

Even now arrived the Marquis of Sta Cruz, Don Juan de Cardona, and Don Alonso de Leyva, with the galleys of Spain, Naples, and Sicily. Two of the aforesaid galleons have surrendered to them. The Marquis received them, but those in the castle and in the other galleons, perceiving their departure, shot at them.

These news 'liked' the King so well when he received them, that he gave the bringer 100 crowns. The other galleon 'shrouded' itself under the castle; which was so battered that it is thought ere this to be beaten to the ground, and our fleet lies by it.

Don Antonio is at Lisbon, wanting all necessaries for the war. It is thought the townsmen of Lisbon will not fight when they see our army, and men think Don Antonio will therefore withdraw to Santarem.

The legate came today and was very well received.

(3) "Advertisements from Badajoz of 21st July 1580."

The army being lodged on the 15th within 3 leagues of Setubal, the Duke of Alva, foreseeing that the next day's journey would be great, sent Sancho Davila and the Prior Don Hernando forward at midnight with three *tercios* of Spaniards and one of Italians, four companies of men at arms, and one of 'ginets,' who come in sight of Setubal next day by sunrise. The Prior commanded the Italians to go forward and view the town and to take certain houses to lodge the duke in; which they performed without any resistance, and

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passed forward till they came to some waterpipes that served the town, and there stayed. The Prior marched towards them with the rest of the infantry and caused the pipes to be broken. He then sent a trumpet to the townsmen to summon them to yield; but they would not then hearken to it. Immediately afterwards came out of the town an English captain, who requested in the name of the townsmen that they might have a day's respite to decide. The Prior answered that he had no further commission than to receive the place if it would yield, and if it would not to use force. With this the Englishman departed; and immediately after came the Duke with the whole army, having passed by a castle called Palmela, wherein were three companies of foot and 40 horse. But for divers considerations he would not stay to force it till he had been before Setubal; where, seeing that the townsmen would not yield, he took his horse, and went to view where it was fittest to plant the battery. And having found a place fit for the purpose, he sent certain companies to 'win' it; where they began forthwith to draw their trenches and prepare to plant their ordnance. Meantime the English captain came out again, and told the Duke that the 'Corte' of Setubal requested respite till night; to which the Duke answered that if they abided the planting of the ordnance, he would not leave a man of them alive.

Copies. Endd. by L. Tomson. $4\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 34.]

July 22. **378.** The Archduke Matthias to the Estates.

'Exhibited by the Prince of Epinoy in the name of his Serenity to the Estates of Belgium assembled at Antwerp, 22 July 1580. In the presence of me (signed) Houfflin.'

For my not coming to the meeting of the States-General, but summoning hither you, their deputies, there are many reasons, and looking to the present state of affairs, not unimportant; which I pass over, and beg you to have me excused. It is, I doubt not, well known to the States how I came hither at the request of certain principal men and was afterwards accepted by all, with your consent, and how I have fulfilled all my promises in every article, and setting aside all private interests, even with the risk of my life, have adapted myself to the disordered affairs of the commonwealth. Owing to the misfortunes of the time I grieve that I have not up to now been supported with sufficient forces to make it possible for me to restore these fair regions to their ancient concord; though my earnest goodwill was never lacking.

But seeing that the States have now met to put the last hand to measures for the common safety of these afflicted provinces, it is not my business to prescribe a course to them, nor to set myself against what may be expedient for them. Still I would warn and entreat them not rashly to throw themselves into a foreign subjection and a change full of peril, to the neglect of their treaties with the Roman Empire and other ties of the highest kind, but to consider the favour and friendship shown them by my House of Austria, as a member whereof I beg the Estates that whatever intentions they may have towards me personally and my household, they will say

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plainly whither I can bestow my property and council. And I beg that they will in my name call them to mind, and will as soon as possible provide for the extreme need into which those about me have been thrown through not receiving payment of their promised due.

Lastly you will offer them my best wishes.

Copy. Endd. by Burghley (incorrectly). Lat. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 40.]

July 24. **379.** Thomas Stokes to Wilson.

My last was the 17th inst., since which time little speech has passed here worth writing to you, for at present all things are very still in these parts; but it is thought it will not continue so long, for the Malcontents this week passed muster near Mons of all their soldiers, both horse and foot, and have given them a month's pay. They have some enterprise in hand, for they have provided long bridges and scaling-ladders, so that it will shortly be seen where they will be.

This week Tournay was victualled with 140 waggons, and all other munition which they wanted was sent them.

The Scots that lie at Menin made this week a 'roode' [*qu.* raid] 7 great leagues beyond Lille, and have taken 500 head of cattle, 60 rich peasants prisoners, have burnt three rich villages, and returned in safety. It is feared this will cause the Malcontents to do the like here.

Those of Lille have sent three months' pay to the soldiers at Armentieres, which they have received; with further promise that if they will deliver the town into their hands they shall be paid the rest shortly. They have made answer that they will not go out nor deliver the town but by command of Count Egmont.

There is great hope here that the Baron de Selles will release M. de la Noue out of prison, one for another.

The Malcontents have some doubts of Valenciennes, for which cause they have sought to bring some soldiers into the town; but the commons perceiving it 'bent' themselves together, and took the keys of the gates into their own hands, and have taken all the magistrates prisoners. So there is great trouble in the town.

Since money begins to wax scant, the magistrates of this town and the 'Free' begin to sell all cloister-houses and lands belonging to the spirituality, and give all the religious people pensions during their lives; so that the Romish religion is no more used in this town.

By letters from Artois, great forces of French are gathering between la Fère and Cambray for the French king. Last Monday, the 18th, those of la Fère came out and made a great skirmish, and slew on the king's side about 200 soldiers.—Bruges, 24 July 1580.

Add. Endd.: Mr Stokes from Bridges. 1½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 41.]

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July 3-26. **380.** The Merchants Adventurers at Embden.

(1) The Emperor to the Count of East Friesland.

We learn that whereas the Hanse Towns have long enjoyed certain privileges in respect of the export of cloth from England 'and from thence were accustomed to transport the same into Dutchland, so as by these means both English cloth was in all places of the Dutch empire wont to be had and bought at good pennyworth, and also the trade and occupying of all kinds of wares and merchandise which served for England'; nevertheless certain malicious and envious citizens of London calling themselves adventurers have gone about to alter the ancient trade of the Hanse Towns, and have so contrived that the English councillors have cut off the privileges of the towns and hindered the free export of cloth, by putting on intolerably high tolls. Thus the Merchants Adventurers have got a monoply of the trade, and have by means of their combination gone so far that at present here in Embden, where certain privileges and residences have by you been granted to them, a pack of cloth which a few years ago could be bought for 50 or 60 pounds is now raised above 100; whereby there is a dearth of cloth, and the trade which 'the Empire's subjects both mediately and immediately were wont' to have with England is possessed wholly by the Adventurers.

As these innovations, being sought only by a few merchants for their own convenience, are very prejudicial to the Empire and tend to the manifest enhancing of English cloths, and therefore are in no sort to be tolerated; and as further the Constitutions of the Empire have plainly ordered that no subject or stranger ought to be suffered to use any such monopoly; and as it is not permitted to any magistrate to license it or to harbour such 'occupiers':

We could not forbear to signify the same to you, that you would have regard to the said innovations and grievances; and also earnestly to admonish you that you would not only from henceforth, in Emden or any other place in your dominions, not suffer the English merchants to use the said unlawful monopoly, deserving to be punished as against the Holy Empire's [*sic*] laws; but also that you would grant no further harbour or protection to such traders, but forthwith dispatch and remove them out of the Empire's dominions and your earldom of East Friesland, suffering the trade in cloth to remain as heretofore, according to the customs of the 'Steedes' of the Hanse.—Prague, 3 July 1580.
4½ *pp.*

(2) The Answer of the Court of East Friesland.

It is known to divers persons in the Empire that the 'Steedes' of the Hanse have heretofore had many privileges in the city of London, and have enjoyed them for many years. For my own part I do not 'envy' them those privileges, but would see nothing more willingly than they might be suffered always to enjoy them. I have never done anything to the contrary, nor given the 'Steedes' the least cause to complain of me. Notwithstanding,

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upon what grounds I know not, about 30 years ago the said privileges were 'taken in,' and the 'Steedes' declared to have lost them, the same being taken to be forfeited by 'some their abuse'; a matter which I refer to the Queen of England and the 'Steedes,' to debate the controversy between them, as the parties chiefly interested.

But touching the point that privileges and residence have been granted in Emden to the English merchants, as your Majesty and the rest of the Empire well know, it must be maintained by all men, that by the law of all nations, traffics, contracts and trades are permitted, and it is free for all strangers that are not your enemies to come and go in the Empire of the Dutch nation, to seek their lawful gain and use their trades and 'marchandizing,' and so for the inhabitants of the Empire in England and elsewhere.

Seeing then that the Merchants Adventurers are not declared enemies to your Majesty or the Empire, and are suffered to exercise their trade in all places, Frankfort, Strasburg, 'Augusta,' Nuremberg, Collen, Lubeck, Hamburg, and briefly in all other cities either mediately or immediately subject to the Empire and also belonging to the Hanse; and further as the Queen of England first in the time of our mother and afterwards in 1576 entreated us to grant harbour to the English nation, therefore in 1576, even as it was by the law of nations free before, so was residence for certain years granted them in my city of Emden, to exercise their lawful trade, whereby cities and countries are wont to be increased. The like was also of late years granted to the English nation at Hamburg without any innovation or prejudice to their constitution with the other 'steedes' of the Hanse, which however is now 'restrained.'

What then is open to all men I cannot think unlawful. I was the more easily persuaded to yield thereto, because England is not far from this earldom, which lies on the frontier of the Empire, and therefore it behoves me and my country not a little that good amity should be maintained between us and so near a neighbour, not to any prejudice of the Empire, but for its benefit. If now the English nation should after an injurious and uncomely manner be put off, and it should be thought convenient that in any part of the Empire that should be refused to the English which is open to all other strangers, I beseech your Majesty to think 'what good neighbourhood such a matter would procure,' and whether the English nation would not take such a prohibition and banishment for a great injury, and perhaps take occasion to deal in like manner with the subjects of the Empire in England.

As for its being thought that their residence tends to a monoply, and an unlawful trade, I refer that to your consideration, for the following reasons. It is undeniable that all the subjects of the Empire, of 'Augusta,' Nuremberg, Misnia, Swevia, Bavaria, 'Saxon,' and the rest are permitted at London to buy cloths and such other wares as are there to be had; and the transport of them is free for all men in England upon such customs and duties as are

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there required. So at this day it remains free for the 'Steedes' of the Hanse to buy cloths at London and ship them out at their pleasure, on paying the same customs as other strangers; and in like sort it is free for all nations as much as for the English to sell English cloths at Emden, and for all men to buy it of Englishmen or others at their pleasure. Now whether whatever is free to all, and like this does not tend to the private commodity of one or a few persons, nor 'goes upon' any one sort of wares, be a monopoly or a 'monopolish' trade, I refer most humbly to your consideration, 'and the title in the Law of monopoly which declares whether it be or no.' It was never my meaning to grant to the English or any others any trade but what the law permits for all men; and in fact there is no such 'monopolish' trade used at Emden; for which I can refer to any who understand these doings.

But the grief and offence proceeds from the fact that the merchants of the Hanse in London, who are termed Easterlings or Stilliard men, from whom this strife comes, had heretofore liberty, by virtue of their privileges, to buy English cloth and ship it out of England upon a small toll, otherwise than other nations do. It is at present free for them to do the same; but upon higher tolls than in the time of their privileges.

Further, they had liberties and privileges more than any other nation, when they gave only a noble upon every cloth, and other strangers, as 'Norremberges, Auspurrgerrs' and others who were not under Hanse, had to give two nobles. All which privileges they of the Hanse would fain enjoy at present; which the Queen of England will not permit, 'pretending' that they have forfeited their privileges, which they will not 'yield unto.' The variance is about this point, and not concerning any monopoly, seeing that it is free for them of the Hanse to buy cloth in London like other strangers or the citizens of London, paying such duties as other strangers do. But their drift seems rather to be, under colour of complaining of these monopolies, to bring it to pass that the Holy Empire should assist the 'Steedes' of the Hanse to recover their privileges in England and maintain them therein against the English nation. Whether this be meet or no, I refer to the consideration of your Majesty and the Electors.

Whether English cloths were sold 'better cheap' by the English than by the citizens of the Hanse Towns, I let that remain to itself; and yet although they of the Hanse were heretofore more privileged in England than others, and therefore might sell cheaper, it is certain that divers servants and factors of Electors and lords of the Empire have for some years bought their livery cloths here of English merchants, whereby I suppose that they buy them cheaper of the Englishmen than of them of the Hanse. The Landgraves of Hesse have lately had 600 cloths for liveries brought from England to Emden.

So I can assure your Majesty that whatever has been 'begonne' and granted by me to the English, touching privileges or residence, I have not done it to establish any monopoly contrary to the

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decrees of the Empire, but only granted what is by the law of nations free to all men, and for the best commodity of the members and subjects of the Empire.

If your Majesty is not herewith satisfied, the necessity of the cause requires that your pleasure should be first signified to the Queen in England, and to the merchants of London, who have sought these privileges at my hands. And I doubt not, when it has been heard what they can allege for themselves, they can deliver to you more ample information and answer the complaints of the "Steedes'; for I mean not to intermeddle in other men's causes, which do not appertain to myself, but rather desire to show both parties such friendship as a neighbour ought. And so whatever I have herein declared in answer to your Majesty, I hope it may be understood with acknowledgement of my bounden duty.—Embden, 26 July 1580.

11½ *pp. Translations, with corrections and alterations in the hand of Chr. Hoddesdon. Stitched. Endd.* [*Hanse Towns I.* 61.]

July. **381.** [The Queen] to the Governors of Portugal.

Letter of credence, dated Oatlands, the July 1880, for an envoy to be sent with enquiries as to the state of things in Portugal, and offers of any assistance that may be needed. Name of envoy left in blank and no signature. *Apparently never sent.*

Add. Broadsheet. Spanish. 9ll. [*Portugal I.* 35.]

July. **382.** [The Queen] to the Duke of Braganza.

A similar document. [*Ibid. I.* 36.]

Aug. [?] **383.** "Articles drawn up for the Prince of Orange and the States General as a basis, if the provinces so please, upon which to negotiate with the Duke of Anjou."

1. The ancient alliances of the House of Burgundy, and above all that with the realm of England, shall remain unchanged by the present treaty, and the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of Aug. 1578 shall remain in force respecting them.

2. The King of France shall declare the King of Spain his enemy and begin war upon him by sea and land, or give his brother the means of doing so while this war lasts.

3. The realm of France and these countries shall remain allies for ever, against all by whom either shall be attacked; it being always understood that these countries shall never be united to the Crown of France, but remain under their ancient laws.

4. His Highness shall promise to maintain religion and the *religionsvrede* as they are at present, especially in Brabant, Flanders, Guelders, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, Drenthe and Twenthe, and that no change or innovation shall be made by him.

5. Holland and Zealand shall remain as they are, as regards religion.

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6. His Highness shall allow no one to be called in question or otherwise molested for religion's sake, even though he exercise it outside of those provinces, but shall take all alike under his protection.

7. For his Council of State he shall have those whom the provinces appoint, with not more than one or two French, by consent of the provinces.

8. When here he shall take the chief officers of his household from the people of the country; for the others he may take whom he likes, so long as the greatest part of his gentlemen are of this country.

9. When the time shall fall out for appointing governors to the provinces three shall be nominated by the people of the province, of whom his Highness shall choose one.

10. All foreign troops, French or others, shall be bound to depart when the provinces shall require.

11. These countries shall remain the property of his Highness and the lawful heirs male of his body; failing whom, it shall be in the power of the Estates to elect another. Provided always that the alliances between France, England, and these countries shall remain in their entirety.

12. In the event of his Highness having two sons the Estates may take the younger, if the elder succeeds to the Crown of France.

13. His Highness shall maintain the ancient privileges, franchises, usages, etc. of the countries, including the Union of Utrecht.

14. His Highness shall ratify all that has been heretofore ordained by the Archduke and the States.

15. The Royal domains shall be put into the possession of his Highness in the state in which they at present are, to be at his disposal, with power to put in such tenants as he pleases, being natives of the country. He is not to levy or assess money from any other source without the consent of the States.

16. While the war lasts the States shall furnish him 2,400,000 florins yearly, and he is to carry on the war as shall be found best for the good of the country; and this sum shall be paid and the garrisons and forces both horse and foot maintained by the provinces.

17. The allotment of the payment to be as the countries shall agree.

18. In his absence he shall put in command of the French troops some person acceptable to the States.

19. He may not put any Frenchmen or foreigners to garrison any fortress without the consent of the province in which it is.

20. Places may however be appointed by the provinces where soldiers may refresh themselves or the companies winter in case of need.

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21. He may make no treaty with the King of Spain or the disunited provinces save with the consent of the provinces that have received him; provided that all such provinces and places as shall come over to the side of the generality shall be embraced in this treaty with the others.

22. As for places taken by force, his Highness shall with the advice of the States take such order as may seem convenient.

23. His Highness shall assemble the States-General once in every year to take order, according to the circumstances, concerning the good of the country, and the maintenance of its privileges; besides that the Estates, general or particular, in pursuance of their ancient privileges shall have power to meet whenever they think fit.

24. His Highness shall reside here; and if in case of urgent necessity he is absent for a time, he shall depute (*commettra*) some one in his place acceptable to and recognised by the States.

25. In the event of his contravening this treaty in any point it shall be in the State's power to take another prince, according to the terms of the Joyous Entry of Brabant.

26. Lastly, whereas the Archduke of Austria having been called to these parts has faithfully acquitted himself according to his promises, the provinces shall advise with his Highness or one on his part by what means satisfaction may best be given to the said Archduke. *? Enclosure in No.* 399.

Copy. Endd. Fr. 2½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 42.] (*Given in a somewhat different form by Renon de France, Vol. II. p.* 541.)

384. "Suggestions by the magistrates of Ghent, and the four Members of Flanders to clear up certain points in the treaty of alliance with the Duke of Anjou for the greater security of these countries."

In article I touching the alliances mentioned in the agreement of August 1578, in which the King of Navarre is named—it may seem expedient to name him expressly, and add at the end of the article some words comprising the King of Navarre in such alliances as defender of the religion.

For greater clearness it would be well to couch Article II as follows: That the King of France shall be bound to maintain an effective peace with his subjects of the Religion, and shall declare the King of Spain his enemy and commence war on him by sea and land, or give his brother means to make it while this war lasts; and give full security that according to his solemn promises to the King of Navarre and his predecessors he will aid him to recover his kingdom from the King of Spain; and likewise furnish him with a notable sum of money, and every year while the war lasts, 1,000,000 francs and otherwise aid him by all convenient and necessary means.

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The 6th Article for the greater security of religion it would be well to couch as follows: His Highness shall not permit any one to be called in question or otherwise molested on account of religion, when he practises it secretly in his own house, or outside these provinces publicly; and shall take good heed that no war arise on account of religion, to the point of opposing it wherever it shall occur within the limits of his authority, nay, even in the realm of France. And the States shall be bound to aid him in suppressing any enterprise opposed to the said religion, but in no way doing it harm.

To Article IX it will be well to add: Provided always that the Prince of Orange shall be retained as his Highness's lieutenant-general throughout these Low Countries.

In Article XI the King of Navarre should be included by name, and the clause should run: 'the alliances between France, England, and the King of Navarre, and these countries shall' etc.

To Article XXII and [*qy.* XXI] should be added: Both as regards religion and otherwise.

The 25th [24th] Article might be couched thus: If in case of urgent necessity he needs to be absent, the Prince of Orange, as his lieutenant-general, shall take his place.

Mem. that after this 25th Article it will be well to insert the following:

That the parties named in this present alliance may not treat for reconciliation with the King of Spain without the express consent of the Estates.

And in order to maintain more closely the alliance between the Low Countries and the realm of France, and for the greater safety and freedom of commerce his Highness shall obtain from the King his brother leave and liberty for merchants and all sorts and conditions of men from these countries when under his obedience freely and in all security to haunt and frequent the aforesaid realm of France, buying all kinds of goods and freely taking them out of the said country without being obliged to warehouse (*estapler*) them in any place whatsoever of that realm or to pay any dues whether of transit or exit; and it shall not be lawful to impose any duty prejudicial to this liberty. In the event of an inhabitant of this country dying in France, no *aubain* shall be required, but the property left by him shall belong to his heirs without deduction, though they be naturalised in France. Reciprocally all French persons shall be allowed to traffic in the Low Countries on the same terms.

Further, they request that his Highness will promptly declare his resolution on those points without reference or delay; which would be very prejudicial to them. For their part they declare that they will accept no conditions or limitations other than those above-stated.

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Mem. that for the general good of the country and county of Flanders it is necessary to continue the government of it by the Prince of Orange in person, and that he be admitted to the government before any decision is taken on the proposed treaty with the Duke of Anjou, to the end that there be no need to make provision under the 9th Article.

Copy. Fr. 2½ *pp.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 43.]

Aug. 1. **385.** "Advertisements from Badajoz of the 1 of August 1580."

On the 28th of last month the Duke of Alva took ship in the port of Setubal with most of the army, to go towards the castle of Cascaes. We since understand that on the 30th they landed a little this side of the castle, whither certain Portuguese harquebusiers and horsemen came to withstand their landing; but the Duke caused some musketeers to be first set ashore, who put the Portugals to flight with the loss of some of their men, but very few of ours. And so all the army landed safely, marching directly towards the castle, which it is thought surrendered the same day, and remained in the custody of Don Antonio da Castro, to whom it now appertains. The army goes on to the castle of San Juan, before which ordnance is already planted, and the trenches drawn. They advertise from Setubal that they were expecting the galleys to come for the rest of the men and artillery.

Copy. Endd. ¾ *p.* [*Portugal I.* 37.]

Aug. 1. **386.** Cobham to Burghley.

After being here a whole week, Mr Stafford has today had his last audience. The King first let him understand in good language that he intends to assist his brother all manner of ways towards the finishing of the marriage; and thereupon had agreed with him to appoint 'Charles Monsieur' one of the Prince of Condé's brethren, brought up with the Cardinal of Bourbon, about 14 years of age, of the *robe longue*, Marshal de Cossé and M. Pibrac to be commissioners, and would 'assign' them to be in England about Sep. 8 at the furthest.

When the King had 'passed' this much, I informed him that as long as this civil dissension and war against the professors of religion continued, her Majesty's subjects were 'amused' therewith; on which the Queen thought the Commission coming would not serve to 'enlarge' a further entire amity by marriage or otherwise unless first the troubles were removed by a new pacification negotiated by Monsieur as one not distrusted by them of the Religion. She wished his Majesty would condescend to some end that way, through his brother's means, otherwise I alleged many discommodities which would 'apparently' ensue to the realm by these intestine wars; as that his high designs were everywhere impeached; for he could not leave France burning in these seditions, and his native soil disordered, to pass into any other country, with content, until he had settled the public peace. Therefore the Queen hoped that

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on consideration those princes and others of the Religion could be contented for the better avoiding of bloodshed that la Fère and other towns which were sanctuaries for their refuge in misery should be delivered to his Highness till assurance could be given them.

The King said he had made pacification which he sought to have maintained, but they had broken it; as for example the Prince of Condé was sworn, in the secret articles whereby he bound himself not to enter his government till seven years were past.

I answered that in all contracts both parties are 'obliged,' so that if one do not accomplish his part the other is set at liberty. His Majesty I suppose had knowledge whether all assurances were performed to the Prince and those of the Religion. Otherwise, at the Prince's being at Saint Jean d'Angely, there were some who amassed troops and had laid ambushes to entrap him, being 'set up in a corner' far from his own territories and houses, which were very evil dealt with. Whereon driven by necessity he did but fly from one place to another; where he carried himself dutifully till the privy preparations of the League in Picardy threatened him many ways, which constrained him, since he could enjoy no town-house or place of repose in France, to seek refuge of foreign princes, so that his fault seems to be in giving place to his enemies and flying from injuries. And notwithstanding that his case was highly to be pitied, the Queen had shown him small countenance, thereby discouraged him and hazarded her credit among the Protestants; having promised him that she would treat with Monsieur to procure peace to their contentment. Whereon the Prince had assured her he would not seek to interrupt her negotiation, nor 'pretend' to bring forces into France.

But since neither Monsieur's earnest suit for the repose of the realm nor her Majesty's desire may take effect, she could not any longer retain him from providing such assistance as he could.

To this the King said that for his part he was ready to have received the Prince into his favour, so as he had 'domayned' himself accordingly; but if he seeks to trouble any further the repose of his realm, he doubted not but to shew him with his forces and his sword to have in consideration the state God had given him, and the duty he owes to him, being his prince.

I pointed out that it was supposed he held the lives of his subjects dear and wished their preservation rather than otherwise; which was only to be done by entertaining peace.

He said it was what he required, so that they restored his towns and observed the Edicts of pacification.

I shewed that these troubles hindered in many ways the advancement of Monsieur. He said that 'he would do for his brother so he hoped he regarded his honour.'

Lastly I besought him to 'make show' whereby they of the Religion might in some sort find good of the Queen's entreaty.

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The King said he would read the letter and make a contented answer, and meantime the King of Navarre and they of the Religion should send deputies to his brother.

This is the summary of what passed, and the King's resolution after a long hour's debating earnestly of the cause; his Majesty sweating and showing some earnestness. He accounts to take la Fère in a fortnight.

If anything happen, I will advertise it by Mr Stafford, who has taken his leave and awaits the King's letters.

I send inclosed the name of the principal at la Fère, and a letter which M. Simier sent me the other day.—Paris, 1 Aug. 1580.

Appended is the following list of names: Marshal Matignon, *General du Camp*; M. de Puygaillard, *Maréchal du Camp*; the Duke of Aumale, M. de Crevecœur, M. Beauvais-Nangy, colonel; M. d'O, M. d'Arques, la Valette, colonel; M. de Perillac, colonel.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. 3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 124.]

Aug. 1. **387.** Cobham to the Secretaries.

Having had audience of the King this afternoon, first he declared to Mr Stafford how he desired to satisfy his brother's mind at all points, for his further advancement towards this marriage; perceiving how he liked that the Prince of Condé's brother, Marshal de Cossé, and M. Pibrac should be appointed commissioners, he had agreed thereto, meaning them to be in England about Sep. 7.

I then declared the principal points contained in your letter of the 27th ult. First I shewed him how the Queen was certified and it has also been published everywhere, that the siege of la Fère continued, and appointments were made for five or six camps in sundry quarters of this realm, so that small hope appeared of any fruit to grow 'on' the intreaty which Monsieur earnestly made for the renewing of the peace. Whereby she and all others who were of the Religion might clearly perceive that no remedy can be found which may help their extremity, but that all means are used to distress those principal persons, and suppress religion. This has stirred much jealousy in the hearts of her Majesty's subjects, whereon she conceives that the sending of commissioners would not be to such purpose as otherwise was wished for the bringing to pass of an assured alliance between the two realms; since it is feared that his Highness cannot, though he had power given him by his Majesty, procure the means to frame a peace, inasmuch as the dutiful offers of those princes were not accepted. Therefore the Queen trusted that his Majesty would so far look into the matter with his own judgement, that he might not be transported with the counsels of those who under colour of being his good servants raised by sinister means such doubts that the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were driven to enter into places and 'accompany' themselves for their safeguard; furnishing themselves with his Majesty's subjects only, acknowledging their duty and obedience,

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as may be sufficiently demonstrated to him, and having submitted themselves to the mediation of Monsieur to whose consideration they had 'betaken' their honour, lives and estates, forces and towns. Wherefore the Queen has thought him the most indifferent person to deal for them with his Majesty, being most assured to him, and not mistrusted by them for his virtuous carriage to them of the Religion.

But as she understood those of la Fère to be fiercely besieged and brought into imminent peril, which seems generally to be prepared for them of the Religion, she had not only thought good to write to his Majesty in this letter, but had appointed us to unfold thus much to him; the rather since she had promised the Prince of Condé that she would earnestly entreat him to seek to make a pacification within a short time, and had also received a promise from the Prince not to bring any foreign forces into France, or otherwise by any means impeach the negotiations intended by Monsieur.

But now since she had been informed how slowly the King hearkened to the peace, and that the professors of Religion were threatened with utter peril, she could not in honour any longer challenge the Prince's promise nor stay him from using all possible means whereby he may relieve himself and those that appertain to him.

The King entered into discourse of the desire he had to the continuance of the peace, alleging that he had made two pacifications, and the last especially he caused to be called his peace. He was ready to receive those subjects to his arms who would come to him and not continue their rebellion. He had for the better satisfaction of those of the Religion granted their exercises in divers bailiwicks; so that in no prince's State were both religions more freely exercised than in France.

I replied that his mind was understood to be such; but there were who would not have place for their ambitions if there were no devices to raise troubles, by whom perhaps these princes have been 'put in an evil opinion' and so removed far from his presence. But if he would [*sic*] with his judgement weigh how the King of Navarre, who is known to be a prince of high birth, wisely instructed, and of a ripe judgement, would not lose his Majesty's good opinion, venture his estates, consume his revenues, and endanger his person to be lawfully slain by the meanest that comes into the field under pretence of being the King's soldier, if more than ordinary occasions had not moved him and extreme despair of his life had not forced him thereto. Wherefore it was held that the King's will was not clearly obeyed by some governors, nor his justice truly executed. Since their affairs pass in this sort, he should understand that it is but putting themselves in safeguard against their enemies who were cloaked under the colour of doing him service.

But he said that since the pacification they have taken divers of his towns, which the Queen would not suffer, nor any other prince. If these were restored and the pacification observed, his brother had power to confirm and establish the peace.

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To which my answer was, that Monsieur sending to Marshal Biron to know whether he would 'discern' himself and hearken to some order, he promised to follow his will. Whereon Monsieur sent also to the King of Navarre to use no more hostility, which was obeyed; which done, he commanded Biron to do the like. He said it might not be done except he received commission from the King, so that during the time of this treaty, Biron gathered his forces; whereon the King of Navarre, fearing lest he might be found weaker than his enemy in the field entered into Cahors for succour, which he uses no otherwise than Biron treats those of Bordeaux. But whatever has passed, Condé and the King of Navarre were content to refer to his Highness, and yield those towns to him.

The King said they were his own; therefore he should look to have them as other princes had. And though he was, under God, an absolute king and not bound to yield account to any, yet he would in this 'particular manner' enlarge his mind and causes to her Majesty, seeing her desires 'pretended' to be honourable and full of amity.

I pointed out that while he amused himself in besieging la Fère he stayed the progress of his brother's design, which might bring not only towns but states; and requested him to consider these things, seeing that Monsieur is become a means and her Majesty a solicitor to him for those of the Religion, whom she has abandoned in respect of the amity with him. Therefore she now hoped that upon the cause of the open demonstration shown at the Prince's being in England, he would take occasion to make it known how the entreaty of the Queen of England might bring them of the Religion some relief.

The King concluded that he could not further answer me; but was content that the King of Navarre and those of the Religion should send their deputies to his brother, and he would read the Queen's letter and answer it.

"So perceiving that his Majesty did sweat, and the humour of his watery eyes somewhat drop," which troubled him in beginning to read the Queen's letter, so that he could not continue the reading of it for that time, Mr Stafford took his leave, and I also departed.

Thence we went to the Queen Mother, giving her to understand what I had 'passed' with the king, but more briefly and chiefly alleging to her the impediments that these civil dissensions were to Monsieur's design, which she cannot but be glad to see go forward, and 'were to be accounted on' before the honour which may be had in winning such towns as are the King's, and in France, being only in the hands of a few gentlemen who put themselves into them for safety.

She somewhat inveighed against those of the Religion; but she considered and promised to ask the King to hearken to a pacification. She 'shewed to be' more willing than the King; but when I touched that point, how they of the Religion could be content to give those towns so much required by the King into his Highness' hands, she said the King had shown to trust his brother sufficiently,

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and had given him many towns and sufficient patrimony. I requested her to think of the demonstration which the Queen made at the Prince's being in England, which the King might requite by showing some favour to them of the Religion.

She said the King was beholden to her Majesty, and all should be done that might be done; and that if la Fère were won, peace would shortly be made. This was the best language and satisfaction I could obtain.

The King holds himself assured that la Fère will be taken about the middle of this month, which causes this stiff standing on those terms. As yet no gentleman of account has been slain on either side, but yesterday they began the battery.

I send the names of the 'chieftains' in the king's camp, and a note of the Edicts which the King ratified last week in the Court of Parliament, with a 'brief' of the principal points touched by him and the Chancellor in their orations. I enclose also the last occurrents from Portugal, and a letter from la Fère.

The Duke of Savoy has lent the Christian King 80,000 crowns, to be delivered to the Duke of Maine at Lyons for the war in those parts, and disbursed by Bandini the banker at Lyons.

The King yesterday dispatched letters to the gentlemen of Guyenne and Languedoc, to repair to Marshal Biron.—Paris, 1 Aug. 1580.

P.S.—On the receipt of M. Simier's packet I sent my man with it.

The Marquis of Elbeuf goes to Monsieur within two days, and his Highness, it is thought, removes towards Bourges. Mr Stafford departs for England on the 3rd or 4th, having sent his man immediately after our audience, which I did not know till he was on the point of departure.

Add. Endd. 5 *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 125.]

Aug. 2. **388.** Stafford to [Walsingham].

I have sent her Majesty the names of the Commissioners. They are, the Prince of Condé's brother, the youngest; Pibrac joined with him for counsel; Marshal de Cossé for Monsieur. The King did not name Simier, but I think Monsieur means him to be joined with them. They desire 'day,' because of the preparations of so great personages, till the end of this month or beginning of next; which I told them would I thought be very acceptable, because in that time a peace might be concluded and brought by them, which, as I told the King, would be the best prologue to bring in a treaty of marriage.

The speech for the peace the ambassador delivered as his charge, therefore I leave it to him to report it to you. I tarry but for the King's letters, which he commanded me to stay for. I hope to be shortly at home, when I will discourse plainly with your Honour at

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large. Meantime I crave pardon for dispatching this bearer away in haste, that her Majesty may not think much of my being long without sending.—Paris, 2 Aug. 1580.

Endd. with date by L. Tomson. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 126.]

Aug. 2. **389.** The Queen Mother to the Queen.

Lettres de C. de M. vii. 277 (where it is wrongly dated 15th).

I know not how to begin to tell you how pleased I was when I heard by the present bearer, Mr Stafford, your decision, and that it was no more parley or delay; wishing that the King, my son, and his brother should at once send commissioners to finish a matter so much desired by me, namely the effecting of this happy marriage; for I cannot deem it other, since God makes me continue to desire it, whatever obstacles may at times have seemed likely to break it off, when they have been interposed in this negotiation, which has lasted so long that I was much afraid I should never see the end of it, wishing as I did to see myself honoured with such a daughter, which pray God to complete the happiness by seeing you soon a mother. Pray excuse this; my happiness carries me away to say more than I ought as yet, and to think that as God gives me the grace to see what I so desire accomplished, He will not give me one good fortune only but will accompany it with a fair lineage which I hope to see from you two.—Saint-Mort [*sic*] del-Fuses [*sic*], 2 Aug. 1580.

Holograph. Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 127.]

Aug. 2. **390.** *Contemporary copy of the above, not strictly accurate, and dated Aug.* 3. *Endd. Fr.* ½ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 127*a*.]

Aug. 3. **391.** The French King to the Queen.

Is it possible that tongue or paper can express the extreme joy with which my senses are ravished, joy, I say, the greatest and most ineffable that can be? Although then you know it well enough, I will say it in this letter, the happiness which I see prepared for my brother, who is my second self, of being worthy of acceptance by you, if so it be that his good fortune lead him to such felicity by the result effected by the Commissioners, which I pray God may be so to your contentment, that I may see the success of it for us all, myself and those who depend on it will remain for ever your affectionate.—Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, 3 Aug. 1580.

Contemporary copy. Endd. Fr. ½ *p.* [*France IV.* 128.]

Aug. 5. **392.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

On the 3rd inst. the Lord of Arbroth came to me to learn the Queen's further pleasure. I told him how she meant to confer with the Lord Claude at large, after which he should be further advertised concerning his affairs. Meantime his brother's sickness was some hindrance, so that such expedition could not be used as was desired.

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Notwithstanding I showed him that you, to whom I had always hitherto commended his cause, had let me know that the Queen was secretly advertised he received some pension from the Scottish Queen. He confessed to me that his urgent necessity did constrain him to receive her pension, which is so miserable that he 'condemns her to be ungrateful' having heretofore employed all his forces and ventured his life and estate in her service, which he protests never to do again, desiring to depend wholly on the Queen, so that he receive such means of entertainment that he may live honourably till through her mediation his estate may be restored; being willing to serve her in any country where he may live with safety of his conscience, respect whereof has made him refuse rich pensions from the greatest Princes in Christendom. In this mind he will continue till he receives her resolution, thanking her not only for her gracious dealing for him toward the Scottish king, which he perceived by the copy of her letter now shown him by me, but also for the honourable entertainment which his brother Lord Claude had lately received from her.

As yet he remains in the Bishop of Glasgow's house, but with no great satisfaction; though at his first arrival he was friendly received and courteously entertained, yet he has since offered to remove thence 'upon that' the Catholics importuned him with persuasions to incline to papistry, which vexes his mind and conscience. Howbeit the bishop as yet treats him so well, that till further comfort come from her Majesty, his want persuades him to stay; besides that the Bishop is his kinsman.

Lastly with great oaths and deep promises he assured me that he would serve the Queen above all the Princes of Christendom, chiefly for satisfaction of his conscience; next as acknowledging that she has best means to restore him to his estate, which will be employed in her service.

This is as much as I 'passed' with Lord Hamilton. It seems that he would have the Queen to have in suspicion the proceedings of the new Earl of Lennox; but I said that unless he can intercept the Earl's letters, he will hardly discredit him; which he thinks good to seek after.—Paris, 5 Aug. 1580.

1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 129.]

Aug. 6. **393.** Rossel to Walsingham.

Mr Secretary Gilpin was regretting that he had not for some time written you any account of what had happened, as his custom was. I told him that I thought his correspondence and that of other people was more acceptable to you than mine, seeing that to several of my letters I had had no answer; which made me think that either my advices were not believed, or my letters had failed to be delivered. I do not know what course to take in this business of the invitation hither of Monsieur; fearing to be out of favour with both parties if I furthered the negotiation which I have been secretly working to delay, pending any appearance on your side of furthering it.

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You know the predicament that affairs are in. In a moment they have been thrown into such confusion that it seemed a case rather of resolve than of good deliberation; the change of feeling on the subject as sudden as the resolve. Those of Friesland, Guelders and Utrecht are willing to back the plan of those of Holland; those of Brussels seem the most awkward (*difficultueux*) of all. Today the deputies have started to assemble the crafts (*guldes*), and the ambassador des Pruneaux is going off afresh, in great anxiety to see the deputies who are to go into France delayed. Several incidents of the war which continues in France make the hope of succour from Monsieur grow cold, according to the advices we have that he had declared war against all who wish to hinder the peace for which he is working in France. Another thing which helps the delay is the meeting of an Imperial Diet (*journée*) to be held at Nuremberg, where it is promised that some great matter will be brought forward in favour of this State. But I fear it will be the usual thing and no more. Your advice would tell me what line I should do wisely to take in this matter, so I will say no more, but tell you how our war stands.

In Friesland affairs go pretty well, and we hope that the arrival of Mr Norris with the other troops will free 'Delvesel' [*qy.* Delfzyl] from siege, with the help of 50 ships of war which are there to attack two forts at the mouth of the harbour. On the land side our people are within two leagues of the enemy, resolved to fight.

The Malcontents have stayed for the last fortnight about Bouchain and Valenciennes, to enable the peasants of their party to get in their wheat, making war meanwhile on the territory of Cambrai. They have burnt several villages in both directions, and wish as it seems to besiege Bouchain, according to our information and some intercepted letters. They are getting up 18 guns, which in my opinion will not be enough to batter the place, strong and well-provided as it is with defenders and a resolute chief. He showed me lately his resources for a defence of three months, during which the enemy will receive considerable inconvenience. It is thought that the Malcontents have some intelligence with those of the holy league who are before la Fère, in the event of their attacking Bouchain.

On our side we are studying to surprise some towns. I hope we shall soon attack two, if they stick obstinately before Bouchain, and that in this way they will be constrained to make new plans. His Excellency starts on Wednesday for Ghent to right the misunderstanding there and fill up the post of Grand Bailiff. The Prince of Epinoy wanted the governorship of Flanders together with the post of general for the war which has been offered him, but which he has neither accepted nor refused. He has left Antwerp, pretty dissatisfied, as some say, at not having been promptly admitted to that government.

You will have heard of Don Antonio's election to the Crown of Portugal, while the Duke of Braganza with others of the nobility and clergy have withdrawn to take the King of Spain's side. Just as here, the nobles are for the King, and the people for Don Antonio.

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We hear that 12 French captains have been sent to Portugal with good store of arms. The Duke of Alva is carrying on the campaign and the King is gone back to Castile.

M. du Plessis is urgently begging on behalf of the King of Navarre for ships to use against the French papists and the Spaniards. The merchants and those of Zealand object, but commissioners are appointed by the States to discuss it with him; though they do not mean to avow them in the event of their letting some go to sea.—Antwerp, 6 Aug. 1580.

Add. Endd. Fr. 2½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 44.]

Aug. 7. **394.** GILPIN to WALSINGHAM.

Since my last I have diligently solicited for the States' resolution, M. Ymans not arriving till Tuesday last. His help has not been wanting, together with 'theirs of this town,' who have committed the reporting of their advice to their pensionary Van der Werke; but hitherto time served him not, for the agreement with the merchants about their impost was not finished, those of Holland not having yet sent their confirmation, though it is daily expected. Meanwhile, seeing the 'longues' and delay, in all their dealings, I sued for audience, which was granted me this morning. After I had shown them the discontentment that her Majesty was justly caused to conceive by their not answering her letters nor satisfying the contents of them, I requested them to give me some assured answer to avoid all further inconvenience which might ensue through their default; for the discharge of my duty I could no longer write so uncertainly. Whereupon I was willed to depart into the next chamber, where the pensionary of 'Bridges' brought me word that they had appointed him with Van der Werke to deal with the merchants to find means for providing so much money monthly as would 'answer' the interest. This was all the answer I could have of them at that time. Afterwards conferring with 'the abovesaid thereto committed,' they promised to do their utmost to procure such a resolution as might be to the liking of those interested; for the compassing of which no diligence 'has (nor shall) on my part be wanting.' I beg that their 'longues' be not imputed to any want of carefulness or endeavour in me. I assure you I have lost no time, but according to my duty, postponing often both the Company's and my own private business, have continually, yet without using too much 'importunacy,' followed the cause. M. Ymans requested me to remember his humble commendations, desiring to be excused for not answering you this week. The very grief that the States had not resolved to 'answer' her Majesty's desire caused him to forbear, trusting to have better occasion of writing by the next.

I received your packet this week, and delivered the inclosures as directed. If there are any answers you shall receive them herewith.

The Commissioners appointed to be sent to Monsieur are not yet dispatched, but will, it is thought, depart before the Prince goes into Flanders on Wednesday and Thursday next, to settle some better order, and establish the provincial Council, of which Meetkerke is chosen President.

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M. Ymans, who 'should' come into England, it is thought will be dispatched at the same time; though he himself fears it will be longer, so long are the States in their resolutions.

The Malcontents who were mustered last week at Mons are said to be near Bouchain, with show of intent to besiege it.

There are of late arrived at Cambray 600 fresh Frenchmen, with some horse, and 200 at Bouchain. Since their arrival they have ranged into the Malcontents' quarters, spoiling and firing the country.

Those of Courtray presented themselves this week before Meenen, purposing to surprise the town by scaling; but those that kept it being vigilant issued forth, overthrowing 40 or 50, and taking some prisoners, with which loss they returned. For further revenge of this bravado the soldiers of Meenen and Nynove have burnt and spoiled to the very gates of Lille, which has put the commons in some discontent against the magistrates.

The enemy lying in Brabant have this week sent letters to the villages round this town threatening that if they do not weekly bring to a place assigned certain large contributions of money they will set fire to their houses; to prevent which, and hinder further harm, horsemen shall be placed thereabouts and maintained at the charge of the country. Moreover the Prince has himself been to view the situation, having 'laid the platt' and given order for making forts upon the passages, where the horsemen shall be placed to keep them.

From Friesland we hear that on the 30th ult. all the States' men were together within two miles [*sic*] from the enemy, who then lay between 'Delphesile' and Groningen, with full intent to fight with him; so that news of good success is now daily expected for the States, whose forces being greater, and of better men, hope to drive the enemy to some extremity. Those of Holland have sent into the Ems about 30 [*sic*] ships great and small, to beat the enemy out of the fort that hinders entrance into Delfzyl.

The Count of 'Ronenborgh' (or M. de Ville) wrote this week to the three towns of Campen, Deventer, and Zwol, and the Ommelanden of Groningen, to send their deputies to Lingen, that he might declare to them what he had in commission from the king, who offered his pardon and grace, with large conditions, to their contentment, as he hoped, if they would forsake the general States and be reconciled. But they would not condescend or hearken thereto, and so sent back word, sending his letter to the States.

The sale of the abbeys and spiritual goods lately begun in Flanders brings in so much money that other provinces will follow the like course.

From France the news is that the King goes forward with the siege of la Fère, where the Dukes of Guise and Aumale are in person.

In Provence the Protestants prosper, and the Duke du Mayne should be sent thither by the King, but for want of money.

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M. d'Anjou is for certain said to have protested that he will declare himself an enemy to all that will not conform to peace and quietness. The King has sent 10 or 12 captains from Bordeaux to the aid of the 'Portingalls;' among them one of the 'Straccies;' and I hear that the Prince had news within these two days that the King of France would declare war against the King of Spain if he did not withdraw his troops from Portugal, where the news is that Don Antonio is proclaimed king, and certain of the late King's councillors having intelligence with the Spaniard were discovered, and fled into Andalusia. Don Antonio has got into his hands all his predecessor's treasures, which are said to be very great. Their forces are said to be about 40,000 men; though indeed but few of them are men of war. The King of Spain's strength by land is said to consist of 24,000 foot, some thousands of horse, and 6,000 carts. The want of provisions in his camp is thought very great, and the country that he passes through poor and needy. At the entry of his army into Portugal a town was taken, the keeping of which he committed to Sancho d'Avila with 300 soldiers; whom the Portingalls have since all murdered, and it is not known what is become of d'Avila. The Portingalls have taken two ships coming from Peru.

This is the Portugal news which we have received this week. I would not omit to send them, though I think you there are more particularly advertised. From Italy or Germany we hear nothing. —Antwerp, 7 Aug. 1580.

Add. Endd. 3 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 45.]

Aug. 9. **395.** COBHAM to WALSINGHAM.

Having received the Queen's command in your last letter, to inform the King of her desire to see his realm reduced to some repose, I made large declaration thereof, and besides 'used some replies' to his answers. It seems however that he is bent to have restitution made of those chief towns now in the hands of them of the Religion, and will not consent that his brother may be taken to be an indifferent person or made known to be more trusted by the Protestants than he; so that the towns must be directly delivered to the King himself.

But I then lastly 'inferred' to his Majesty how the Queen by showing such partial amity and respect to him as not to vouchsafe to the Prince of Condé a 'comfortable countenance' or relief, being a prince professing her own religion, had thereby much discouraged the Protestants; and therefore hoped that upon the just consideration of this he would make them perceive that her desire for the speedy framing of a peace much moved him to stay the sharp proceeding against them.

To this he answered that when he had read and considered the Queen's letter he would let me know his further pleasure.

I therefore sent yesterday to Secretary Pinart to be informed of his Majesty's pleasure, and received this morning a letter in answer from the Secretary, which I inclose herewith.

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Now today the messenger I sent to Monsieur with the Queen's packet is returned with letters for her Majesty, which I inclose; and send you the copies of my letter to Monsieur, and to M. Simier.

On the 5th inst. Colonel Strozzi went hence towards Monsieur, accompanied, as it were secretly, by M. Chassincourt, the King of Navarre's agent. I am advertised that Strozzi has commission to inform his Highness of the King's disposition to have an end of these civil troubles, with a request for his advice and assistance to turn these wars on to the Spanish king, by whom he had been injured in divers ways; as first, in 'detaining' the ancient right of the Crown of France in sundry estates of the Low Countries, and the just title of the Duchy of Milan, besides moving and corrupting sundry of the King's principal subjects, as lately Marshal Bellegarde and others, so that he thought it was time to put from them the evil hour and employ their forces elsewhere. He is to deal with his Highness with offer of the king's aid for the advancement of his enterprises in the Low Countries. Further he has to persuade the King of Navarre to address his forces towards Navarre with promise that the King will give him means to recover his claim that way.

In like sort M. de Chassincourt is sent secretly with many 'purposes' to that effect, more particularly from the Queen Mother, who said to him not three days before his departure that she had to break her mind to him, with confidence that she knew him to be an assured servant of the King of Navarre, assuring him that she and her son felt the injuries which the Spanish king burdened them with, having first poisoned her daughter, and 'doth continue' to withhold her son-in-law's right, giving great pensions to principal persons within the realm, and to some of the Religion, whereby the troubles of France might continue; and lastly seeks to take from her her right in Portugal, which she is determined not to part from so easily. But she 'appointed' to confer with him hereon another time more at large, which at his dispatch she did in flat terms, if it proceed.

With these [*sic*] merchandise Strozzi and Chassincourt are on their way, having at Orleans overtaken Francisco Baretto, the Portugal ambassador, who has been here and at Rome, and is now returning; to whom Strozzi has commission to deliver 400 harquebusiers and two French captains, well appointed with vessels to conduct him from Nantes to Portugal. In his company goes Captain Pietro Paolo Tosinghi, Florentine, with six other captains and two engineers.

There were delivered to Strozzi before he went 8,000 crowns to accomplish thus much and also to make some preparations at Nantes for more shipping if they of Portugal require it; and that he should then go himself with some 5,000 or 6,000 footmen. Meantime he is to make an arrest of vessels along the coasts of Guyenne and Britanny, and the King has promised that the same order shall be taken in Normandy. Whereon the Portugal ambassadors are encouraged, the rather upon this advertisement which has come from Rochelle of the good success against King

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Philip; but as yet it is not held for certain. Howbeit, when the King received the news, the Queen Mother shewed open rejoicing. I enclose the copy of this advertisement.

I am informed that the said Portugal ambassador will be 'cheered' at Sinanceau [Chenonceau], a house of the Queen Mother's, where I hear that Mousieur would be about today. The Portugal ambassadors trust that there will be the like stay of ships in England and Flanders.

I have heard tell that the Queen may be sent to from hence to borrow some of her ships, if the enterprise of Portugal grows into terms convenient for them to present. The Pope's nuncio being advertised of this is discontented and works to the contrary. He has obtained a summary of all the affairs which Mr Stafford 'passed' with Monsieur, and lately with the King, by means, as I am given to understand, of Cardinal Birague.

Notwithstanding that posts pass with packets and messengers parleying of peace, they so far enter daily towards the furtherance of the civil war in sundry quarters, and the House of Guise are noted very 'politiquely' to separate themselves in divers parts, the better to win credit without envy. The Duke keeps the Court, and is at hand in all secret conference with Queen Mother, except at comings of ambassadors; and in all open shews seem to be a cipher, and to 'bear no part of the tragedy.' He has Marshal d'Aumont at his devotion, to march with him to defend his government of Champagne. The Duke of Maine is chief of the enterprise against those of the Religion in Dauphiné and Provence, who have abandoned their towns that are not strong and have retired their forces into a few of the strongest; the rather because those of the commonalty have shrunk from them. The Duke is specially commanded by the King to take a castle which Captain Anselme has surprised. Anselme had received 8,000 crowns of Antonio Sutello, a Spanish Secretary of State of the Duchy of Milan.

The Duke of Aumale is at la Fère, as one that governs indeed all that actions and those of the League in Picardy, though Matignon is there as a Marshal of France, commanding by virtue of his office. The Marquis of Elbeuf went the other day to his Highness, at whose devotion he professes to be, which is not altogether liked by all; for some doubt that unless Monsieur stay the 'pretended' course, the Marquis may be made lieutenant for the siege of 'Montacut'; though the 'name' is still given to the Count of Lude, and to M. Hunaudaye, lieutenant-general in Basse Bretagne.

Sundry troops have been turned back who were coming this way for the siege of la Fère, and will now be addressed towards 'Montacut,' if peace does not alter the determinations.

M. de Grandmont is slain with a culverin shot from la Fère. His death is lamented, having gone thither against his will at the King's express command.

The Duke of Ferrara lends 150,000 crowns to the Crown of France.

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The King has commanded, in an order set forth by the Governors of Paris, that all soldiers, strangers, and vagabonds shall depart hence immediately.

They advertise from Germany that the diet is appointed only for the Emperor and the Electors. It is expected besides that the Emperor will seek by favour of the Electors that some order may be taken in the affairs of the Low Countries, that the establishing also of the Lutheran profession by the book of *Corpus Doctrinae* will be procured, and a time assigned for an Imperial Diet. Means will likewise be propounded for the delivery of Hans Frederick of Saxony, for it is alleged by the Landgrave and other princes of Germany that he ought to be released by the laws of the Empire, which proceeding displeases the Elector of Saxony. It is discovered that the Duke of Saxony will underhand procure the King of Denmark to be chosen King of the Romans, whereby he will be the stronger, having married the King's sister. The Elector of Saxony has procured a marriage between his eldest son and the daughter of the Elector of Brandenburg, having made a new friendship and alliance with sundry princes his neighbours. One of the causes of his journey to Denmark was to stir up the nobles of that realm to consent to take the King's son to be their sovereign if this King should decease during his son's minority, for he doubts lest according to the custom of that kingdom they will rather choose the Duke of 'Holst,' the King's brother; being a man able to govern them, and the eldest of the line after the King.

The Duke of Saxony has caused his lodging to be 'taken up' in Nuremburg and prepared 'something strongly,' and the wells cleared. It is said he doubts there is some secret evil meaning towards him. His subjects have 'lamented of' the grievous taxation he has imposed on them. One of his chief treasurers has slain himself in great desperation.

There is no apparent preparation for any Reiters to be levied by Duke Casimir, nor by the last letters from thence was it known for certain where the Prince of Condé was, save that they heard he was in Flanders.

Hans Frederick 'van Wormes' continues his levy for this king, appointing his *rendezvous* at Metz.

The King has written to the Swiss alleging his just provocation to war against his rebels, and requiring their assistance.

The Pope has made Cardinal Sforza his Vicar-general for all the Estates of the Church, an authority rarely given, by virtue of which he has power to do all supreme justice; but he is now appointed chiefly to suppress the insolence of the *Banditi*. He has for his guard 50 Swiss, 200 horsemen, 400 foot. The *Banditi* in Bologna have committed some excess, apparelling themselves in the night time in priests' garments; whereon the Pope has sent Cardinal Cæsius to repress the disorder.

The King is gone to Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and the Queen Mother to a house of hers called Monceaux, to remain a sevennight.

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The Cardinal of Bourbon fearing that the Pope would 'take indignation' of sending 'Charles Monsieur' into England, requests that the youngest son of the Prince of Condé, called the Count of Soissons, may go commissioner in his stead.

I inclose a description of the situation of la Fère, and the order of the camp, which was made and delivered to me.—Paris, 9 Aug. 1580.

Add. Endd. 5 *pp.* [*France IV.* 130.]

Enclosed in the above:

Aug. 7. **396.** Pinart to Cobham.

I have acquainted the King with what you wrote to me. He says he desires nothing so much as the repose of his realm, pursuant to the powers he has given his brother to that end, and begs you to write on his behalf to the Queen of England (as he is also sending orders to M. de Mauvissière), to let her know this.

This is the answer to your letter; and I will only add that I sent by the bearer of it the passport for which you asked; good night. —Saint-Maur, 7 Aug. 1580.

Holograph. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 131.]

Aug. 11. **397.** Sussex to Burghley.

I heard last night of my cousin Stafford's coming to London, and this morning I spoke with him at Westminster. He is dispatched only with the marriage causes, and has been eight days on the way.

Strozzi is 'depeched' from the King to Monsieur and so to the King of Navarre for the pacification, and it is hoped he will be very willing to do good offices. The King has licensed the 'deputs' to come to treat with Monsieur for peace, and no battery is yet laid to la Fère. Pinart wrote to Monsieur's agent that the commissioners would be in England as he thought by the last of this month. They are those that were named. What dealings some here are using underhand in France you may understand from himself. He is departed to the Court this morning, and I think you will shortly be sent for.

I send the letters I received from Monsieur Simier. I will be at the Court tomorrow. The French ambassador has received letters, whereupon he requests audience. The substance is that the King and Queen Mother 'follow hard' the marriage, and will make peace or do every other thing in reasonable sort that may content the Queen. All the fear is that we should not mean so directly here as they do there, which is gathered upon the practices 'known that' some use there.

No full answer is yet come 'of' her Majesty's last letter, and therefore surely—though I think they would do 'every' they can do to please the Queen if they were assured of the marriage, and because some underhand dealings give them a 'suspect' thereof—I fear they do *cretizare cum cretensibus*.

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These are the generals of all I understand; you shall when I see you hear the particulars, which are too long to write.—Thursday.

Holograph. Add. Endd. by Burghley: 12 Aug. 1580. Lord Chamberlain, Mr Stafford's arrival. 2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 132.]

June 22–Aug. 11.

398. "The charges of Edward Stafford, esquire, for his transportations, post-horses, passage, and carriage of letters, being employed in her Majesty's affairs in France from the 22nd of June to the 11th of August 1580."

Imprimis, to him that I sent to 'Dovor' to provide me a ship		50*s.*
For carriage of my stuff to the sea-side		12*s.*
To the ferry-boat for setting me to the ship		12*s.*
For my passage	£6	
To him that I sent before to Paris	£9	
To him that I sent before to 'Towers'	£12	
To Stallenger that came first to England	£21	
The second dispatch from Towers	£21	
To him that I sent to Paris for money upon my stay, for his posting and charges and back again	£24	
To Stallenger, for his last dispatch from Towers	£21	
To him that I sent before to Paris from Towers	£12	
To him that I sent from Paris to Towers, for his posting and charges, and back again	£24	
To him that I sent from Paris into England	£12	
To him that I sent before to provide a ship	£12	
For my passage from 'Callis'	£9	
To them that carried my stuff to the ship		20*s.*
To the ferry-boat at Callis		20*s.*
To the ferry-boat that set me a-land at Dover		12*s.*
For carriage of my stuff ashore		12*s.*
For my man that I sent before to London	£3	
For my post-horses from London to Dover: 9 horses at 2*s.* 6*d.* the horse; 5 posts	£5	12*s.* 6*d.*
To the guides and mounters	£3	
From Callis to Paris, 20 posts	£22	10*s.*
To the guides and mounters	£3	
From Paris to Orleans: 13 horses, 12 posts	£19	10*s.*
To the guides and mounters		40*s.*
From Orleans to Towers; 12 posts	£19	10*s.*
To the guides and mounters		40*s.*
For other post-horses from Towers to 'Burgeuel,' 5 posts	£8	2*s.* 6*d.*
To the guides and mounters		20*s.*
Back again from thence to Towers	£8	2*s.* 6*d.*
Guides and mounters		20*s.*
From Towers to Orleans back again	£19	10*s.*
Guides and mounters		40*s.*
Orleans to Paris	£19	10*s.*
Guides and mounters		40*s.*
Paris to Callis	£22	10*s.*
Guides and mounters	£3	
Dover to London	£5	12. 6.
Guides and mounters		20.
For my charges going and coming	£153	

Sum total of the expenses contained in this account £516 8*s.* whereof in Diet £153; Postings £220 12*s.*; Sending letters £75; Transport £67 16*s.*

Whereof received in prest at his going, being 22 June last £100. And there yet remains to pay on this account £416 8*s.*

Endd. 1¾ *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 133.]

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Aug. 13. **399.** Thomas Cotton to Leicester.

Enclosed I send the articles of this last agreement for the treaty with Monsieur. His ambassador, M. de 'Prenoies,' is to depart on the 23rd; with him M. Sainte-Aldegonde as chief commissioner, which by his sufficiency he well deserves.

The wars have continued 'in terms so long and cold' that there is 'scarce speech for' Friesland. Some say certain companies have been defeated; but no certainty, and I do not believe it.

The French in garrison at Ninoven attempted the surprise of Enghien, and part that entered the 'rampior' were slain for lack of seconding, to the discredit of the leaders; the place not taken.

For Germany there is no speech of any preparation of men, other [*qy.* than] the Diet holds at 'Norringeborge.'

The Prince of Orange went 'for' Ghent on the 11th. At Mechlin there has been and still is some mutiny among the soldiers for money.—13 August.

P.S.—The Malcontents in Artois have propounded to the Prince of Parma, that unless the King prepare a camp royal (if the States and Monsieur agree, as 'in all likely' they will), they can no longer maintain the war but must make terms, considering the sea is shut up on one side, and France environs them on the other. The Prince answered, the King would beware 'how to' make war with the King of Spain. Duke Matthias wrote last week to the States desiring to know what they meant to do with him, and that they would remember not to misuse the House of Austria. Also to give order for satisfying the gentlemen that followed them.

Add. Endd. 3 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 46.]

Aug. 17. **400.** The Duke of Anjou to Cobham.

I am sending a courier to the Queen of England, whom I pray you to furnish with a letter of commendation, and to beg her from me that the deputies may set out without delay to her Majesty, to treat of our marriage, which is the sole consideration that has moved me to seek the acceleration of their journey. If you get any news sooner than I do, I should be glad if you would impart it to me.—Le Plessis, 17 Aug. 1580.

P.S.—I have also to send you the dispatch for the Queen, promising myself that I shall have a speedy reply, and praying you to use diligence thereto. I was greatly pleased with what M. la Fin said to me from you.

Add. Endd. Fr. 1½ *p.* [*France IV.* 134.]

Aug. 18. **401.** A Report on Papists.

The Earl of Westmorland, riding from Paris to Rheims, and lodging at the Swan there, sent for Dr Webbe and Mr Bayllye to sup with him. At supper, Dr Webbe demanded of the earl to what

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end the King of Spain had prepared his great army. To whom the earl answered—'and took bread and did eat it'—that the army was prepared for England and Ireland; for which cause he with other Englishmen that had the King's pension were sent for into Spain. Also he said that the King was staying only for 35,000 Italians from Italy; but he wished that Portugal had been 'on a fire' so that the King had not meddled with it, for had not that fallen out so unluckily, he would have seen England in short time, and Dr Saunders have lacked no help in Ireland.

Also he would often say 'and if' he had been as malicious as she (meaning the Queen) he might have been in his own ere this time.

Also he said he would never come into England but to the end it should be Catholic; and on that condition he would willingly lose his life in the last battle to seal up the peace withal.

Moreover he said they might all curse the Earl of Leicester, for he being one of the chief of their conspiracy craved pardon and disclosed all their 'pretence'; so that their company durst not come in to them, but left him and the Earl of Northumberland in the lurch.

Besides he said that the Earl of Leicester sent one over to kill him and Lord Copley, but he hoped to see the day to meet him in the field, when he may be revenged on him and lend him a lance in his breast for his labour.

The names of priests.

1. Wilson, about London or at Mr Gage's.
2. Blackwell, in London.
3. Short, otherwise Stalie, in Holborn.
4. Bennett, in London.
5. Nicolson, in London, or at Mr Bennett's in Essex.
6. Appleton, in Essex at my lady Pawlett's at Boxley.
7. Vivian, at Mr Martyn's of Long Melford in Suffolk.
8. Ford, otherwise Harwood, at the Yeats' of Lyford in Berkshire.
9. Stamp, about Sir George Pecham's or my lady Tregonion's in Hampshire, or very near thereabout.
10. Scott, about Kent.
11. Corry, otherwise Pawle, in Hampshire with Mr Carrell.
12. Norris, with Mr Gylbarte, and Mr Garves Parpoint, and Mr Gifford.
13. Clifton, about Buckinghamshire.
14. Eake [?], about 'Lankyshire.'
15. Martyn Aray, about Hampshire.
16. Mr Fytton, dwelling about Windsor, has one who goes in a blue coat and is named in the house nothing but Richard; his other name I know not.
17. Johnson, lying at the 'Spittle' with Mr Hare; and this Hare is he who conveys over to Rheims and Douay at least £400 every year.

Endd.: 18 Aug. 1580. A report made by A. B. late servant to the E. of West. [*France IV.* 135.]

Aug. 19. **402.** Dr. Ruy Lopez to Leicester.

Being here in Walsingham's house, I thought it well to let you know what the ambassador asks of her Majesty, beseeching to be a means with her for her consent, seeing that it is a matter so necessary for the defence of our realm of Portugal. As the King

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Don Antonio says, it will ever be devoted with all its might to the service of this realm against all others, and there will remain a league which will never be broken. Wherefore I pray you herein to show yourself a true Portuguese, and I promise to be not only, as I am, your doctor and servant, but your slave. The work in hand is to make that realm free and this secure. The ambassador begs that you will arrange for the Queen to see him (if it were secretly with me alone), that he may tell her what he thinks.—Barn Elms, 19 Aug. 1580.

Enclosed:

These are the things that the King of Portugal asks of the Queen of England.

1. Twelve ships well equipped with artillery, men and munitions.

2. Two thousand harquebusiers with their officers, who will all be paid in Portugal from the day of leaving England till their return.

3. As much bronze ordnance of all sorts as the Queen may be willing to direct; the realm being in great need of it.

4. A thousand quintals of gunpowder.

5. Two thousand quintals of iron balls of every sort.

Payment will be made in Portugal, in coin, jewels, or specie as the Queen shall please.

I, the ambassador of Don Antonio, have written and signed this with my own hand: John Rodriguez de Sousa.

Add. (*Seal*). *Endd.* *Ital.* 1 *p.* + ¾ *p.* [*Portugal I.* 38.]

Aug. 20. **403.** Cobham to the Secretaries.

Though the peace has been so thoroughly 'travailed in' that some of it might have been justly conceived, and lately the rather that the King sent the King of Navarre's agent to Monsieur in company with M. Strozzi, yet all this has brought forth no further fruits but that *adhuc est messis in herbis*. However since the King's last dispatch to Monsieur, and Chassincourt's departure, his Highness sent Captain la Sale to the King of Navarre with the King's intention; wherein were good offers, which I partly signified in my last. But it seems these evil chances hinder the furtherance of the desired public repose, for Captain la Sale was murdered by the way and the packet lost. Therefore the King now purposes to send Chassincourt to the King of Navarre, which would further the 'effecting' of the peace, because he is accounted to be a faithful dealer, and agreeable to all parties. If la Fère is not taken with great facility it is thought peace will be the willinglier hearkened to.

Those in that town made a sally on the 12th inst. at 10 o'clock at night, 'about the defence of their ravelins,' and slew sundry captains.

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The King continues the preparations of his sundry arms, on which a great part of the money which is to be levied by means of these eight new edicts will be speedily spent.

Marshal Biron has been compelled to retire and to separate his forces; they fall sick of the *coqueluche* so fast about Bordeaux.

The Marquis de 'Montecho,' eldest son to Don Alfonso d'Este, uncle to the Duke of Ferrara, is contracted to Mlle Anne de Vaudemont, the Queen regnant's sister; which is as yet kept secret. Their alliance has been procured by the Cardinal of Este, since neither the present Duke of Ferrara, having now had two or three wives, nor any other of that House has children, and the young Marquis is accounted heir to Ferrara.

The Duke of Savoy is married privately to the Marchesa di Pianezza, the daughter of the late Duke's chancellor. She has had three children by the Duke. The Bishop of Turin and M. de Signy, general of the Duke's galleys and kinsman to the lady, were present at the marriage.

The Duke of Nevers is gone towards Piedmont to confer with the Duke about this marriage, for after the decease of the Prince of Piedmont, the children of the Duke of Nevers are in expectation of that duchy.

Though the Duke of Savoy offered to lend this King money, it is not accepted; but the Duke of Maine, what with 'laying jewels to gage' and delivering of bonds, has obtained by earnest intreaty, and partly by constraint, 80,000 crowns among the merchants in Lyons, whence he is not yet gone.

Duke Montmorency has dispersed his companies for the great infection in those parts, and is retired with his wife and children to a small place beside Pézenas, within 6 leagues of Montpellier, where they are dying much of the plague.

M. Châtillon remains for the most part at Sommier near Lodux in Gévaudan, within 12 leagues of Montmorency.

Turenne is in Lauraguais with 200 horse and 600 harquebusiers, within 12 leagues of Toulouse. Count Rochefoucault is at Saint-Jean d'Angely with 200 good horse, gentlemen of the Religion from Poitou, and 600 shot, purposing to make towards the King of Navarre, though M. de Rufec has put himself in the field to hinder his passage over the Garonne. No other towns are as yet besieged.

They suspect that the Prince of Condé is preparing some sudden rescue for the frontiers and Sedan for the relief of la Fère, but there is no sign of it.

The French Consul left Lisbon about the 10th ult., and has come here with letters of credit from Don Antonio for their Majesties. He has given out that their new king is well accompanied by the nobility, and has been presented by the clergy with jewels and plate from the monasteries and churches; and that the Duke of Braganza receiving a loving letter from Don Antonio by a friar has since

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been disposed to repair to the Court. Whereon he has sent his cousin, Don Diego de Lancastre, to assure the King's favour to him, with determination presently to repair to him himself; having been afflicted with the loss of a son and two daughters, deceased of the plague.

I send the names of the new King's Councillors. And as the French Consul assures people here that an ambassador has lately passed to her Majesty I do not enlarge on those affairs at present.

They have advertisement in this Court that 1,000 Scots are preparing to pass into Portugal. But they certify from Spain that the King's army having taken Setubal are approaching Lisbon, assuring themselves that the conquest is in their hands.

A Spanish courier has passed into Italy with great diligence, carrying letters from Badajos of July 22, with commissions to make new levies in Italy; and so goes from Milan to Florence and Naples.

After the Spanish companies lately departed from the Low Countries had mutinied for three days in the *Contado* [*qy.* Comtat Venaissin] they were appeased and satisfied with eight pays (sent from Florence), whereas there were due to them thirteen. Whereon they departed to Finale, to be embarked in the 25 galleys.

I inclose a letter from a friend of mine, who writes from Nantes, showing the state of those parts. I also send the residue of the Edicts published.—Paris, 20 Aug. 1580.

Add. Endd.: from Sir Henry Cobham to Mr Secretary Wilson and myself. 3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 136.]

Aug. 23. **404.** Thomas Cotton to Burghley.

I trust you remain in good opinion of me; and whereas I am 'grown in good acquaintance' with one here who is thought to understand very secretly the passages here, and is employed in them, he is willing to 'certify' to you, that you may be secretly 'kept unto' them. And after proof of such service done and allowed by you, that you will be a means for some recompense for him as I have heard men of like service have had. Please let me know your pleasure herein. I send herewith a discourse of his written to me, with a copy of a letter sent by his 'Altezza' to the Estates.

The commissioners sent by the Estates to the Duke of Anjou required to have full authority to conclude all things touching their commission; but as I am secretly told they must either return before, or have larger commission.—23 Aug.

Add. Endd.: Mr Tho. Cotton from Antwerp. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 47.]

Aug. 24. **405.** Cobham to the Secretaries.

I was appointed today to have audience of their Majesties, but the King was gone to Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where he takes great delight, and therefore I was directed to Queen Mother.

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I declared how the Queen was certified of the continuance of these civil troubles, and that those of the Religion were annoyed and persecuted, to her grief and that of her best subjects, who were moved therewith, and were loath to see the cause of the marriage so far advanced as to be treated of towards a conclusion by commissioners of that high quality while the war continued against the Protestants of this realm; which stirred up divers suspicions, reviving the remembrance of some matters past and executed with great terrors not long since in these parts.

At my first coming to her presence she excused the King's departure, and said that he had requested her to hear my negotiations.

Wherewith incontinently she broke off my speech, and in an earnest manner said this showed that the Queen meant to defer this treaty, and therefore desired she would speak as plainly as they did, and let them know her mind, whereby they 'might enter to make' some other assured amity, for this might breed great inconvenience, more particularly to her; pleading her age, and thus to see her son remain in hope of marriage and never to marry, as also that thereby the King of Spain was suffered to increase his greatness, which she said 'imported' the Queen more than any other.

To this I answered that in respect of the principal cause which had persuaded her to condescend to marriage, her Majesty desired expedition, not only in respect of satisfying her husband with the hope of issue, which by protracting the time would 'quail,' but also to satisfy the expectation of her subjects, who coveted it with extreme desire only to see and obey her husband, who would be a second person, being so well contented with her quiet government.

She said the King had that morning sent Secretary Villeroy to require Monsieur to 'bring the peace to an end,' as also to learn from him the difficulties, in order that the King might make the doubts become more clear and easy to be accorded. And that they of the Religion had slain Captain de la Salle, who had been dispatched by her son to the King of Navarre.

I besought her to 'be informed' of these accidents without partiality, for it might rather prove to be those who would be accounted Catholics that committed the murder, since the place where it was done was not commanded by those of the Religion.

She affirmed assuredly, as before, and would have named a captain belonging to the King of Navarre, but she had forgotten his name.

I also pointed out that by all means I understood that the King of Navarre had shown great unwillingness to take arms, but was compelled thereto by show of imminent peril to himself and those of the Religion.

Seeing she had a mind thus earnestly bent towards peace, it might do great good if she would send to the Queen of Navarre, since she is one that has much power over her husband, known to be a great lady in those parts and respected in those governments.

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The Queen said she doubted not that she did her part in procuring the peace. It seemed to me that she answered that 'motion' somewhat heavily and with a few staggering words.

I then gave her to understand that the King had honoured my Queen greatly in naming the Prince of Condé's brother to be one of the commissioners; but as the affairs that were to be treated on were such as required that all the commissioners should be of ripe years and expert judgement, it seemed to the Queen that his age was too tender to work on those causes. Wherefore she requested that some other convenient personage might in the mean time be thought of, to be named when the affair is reduced to such terms that it shall seem good to have commissioners sent.

She said there was Marshal Cossé, a person of sufficient experience, and M. Pibrac; and I said those were thought to be sufficient persons.

She could not tell, she said, how to find a prince of the Blood otherwise proper for that purpose; for the Duke of Montpensier was aged and feeble, and the Prince Dauphin was loath to go so far from his father. She lastly mentioned that Simier was appointed to the commission.

I said the King had not, so far as I remembered, named him at first, but I since heard his pleasure was to have him one; and now I understand there is a 'bruit delivered' of him.

She said he was parted from her son and was no more with him. Howbeit Monsieur had written nothing of it to her, but that on Villeroy's return she would be advertised of the peace and all other things from thence; and that the King purposed next week to go, on the way to the 'Baynes' of Bourbon-Lancy, to 'Fontaine-bell'-eau' with the young Queen, and thence to Orleans, and so to Blois, to hear oftener from his brother, and to be in a more commodious place and nearer for negotiating the pacification. At his return next Friday the 26th she would let him know what I had conferred with her, and wished I should resort to him. So I assured her 'to' follow her advice and obey her commands; parting thus in humble sort from her.

Now I have been informed in this sort of the 'course' of M. Simier's disgrace and loss of Monsieur's favour. First, since his being last in Paris, Monsieur has shown somewhat less liking to him; which grew from the mislike of the 'good countenances, and certain conferences which he passed with their Majesties' and other most assured principal persons of this Court, when the quarrel first began between Baligny and him; at which time Queen Mother speciálly 'tendered' Simier, commanding 'il Signor Strossi' to accompany him, and by all means special order was given for his safety. This being signified to Monsieur, diminished his entire favour towards Simier; and further impression had been made on him of this jealousy through the intelligence sent from the Court and other parties on this side.

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Further, before this last taking of arms, the King and Queen of Navarre wrote earnestly to Monsieur to send Simier with intreaty to repair to them, that they might deliberate with him by word of mouth of affairs which they would not speak to any but him for the service of the Duke his master.

He excused to Monsieur, and to the King and Queen of Navarre, his staying from taking that journey upon him, pointing out that the King would too much mislike his voyage that way the rather because he was so lately returned from England, which might breed too much diffidence towards him; declared that he would become less able to serve Monsieur after the King had so deeply conceived evil of him. Whereon the King and Queen of Navarre sent for Fervaques, by whose messages all those affairs have partly passed.

Upon this refusal of Simier made to the Queen of Navarre, and his strangeness, being given and recommended by her to Monsieur, she has taken indignation against him; and 'it is doubted that a great part of this storm proceeds against him from that coast.' And by experience, they say, it is found how her credit displaced Count de Saint-Aignan, la Bordesiére, M. d'Arpenty and M. de Soury.

Further, it is conceived that he has been a hindrance to the better intelligence which would otherwise have passed between Monsieur and the King of Navarre, and has as they say charged those of the Religion with taking arms without the knowledge of his Highness to their prejudice, nothing 'favouring' their cause to Monsieur. So that as I am given to understand Monsieur conceived such displeasure against him that he desired to have him further from his presence; whereon Baligny, being in the palace on the 9th inst. talking with . . . broker [?] received a letter in which his Highness wrote that upon sight of it he should repair to him, which he did a few days after.

At his coming, Monsieur welcomed him in his cabinet with good acceptance and some conference, which was marked; and next day Baligny sent M. de Meure [*qy.* la Meure] to Simier, to tell him that Baligny was waiting for him in an appointed place with rapier and dagger to talk with him about some 'causes,' and if he would take a friend, he [Meure] would second Baligny.

On this Simier sent for Fervaques, who promised to come at once, but being in his Highness' cabinet when the message was 'done' to him, either by his means or otherwise the matter was discovered to Monsieur and consequently the quarrel was for that time stayed. And since 'by some shows' it appeared to Simier that this was a 'platform' to affront him, he found means to get at night out of his lodgings within the Court, accompanied by some of his most assured friends, and so departed to the Abbey of Bourgueil and thence to Angiers. But Monsieur sent for him from thence and desired him to do no further in that government, with command that since he had departed without seeing him or taking leave of him, he 'licensed' him, and wished him not to repair thereafter to his presence.

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The Queen Mother let me know that Baligny was at Court this morning, and she asked him how it chanced that he had renewed quarrel with Simier. He said that at his going to Monsieur he had not thought of challenging him, but afterwards upon advertisement from his friends, he found he had occasion to talk with him.

The same day a gentleman came and spoke openly to Baligny in the Court, saying that Simier was an honourable gentleman, and he would find him so, and assuredly he would fight him.

I hear that Baligny will within two days take his journey to his Highness, who it is thought is at present with the Duke of Montpensier.

Baligny's wife came to the Court last week, and among other conference declared to the King how this quarrel between her husband and Simier had lately passed. The King, in the sight of everybody, 'shewed to have' no great contentment in her speeches, and gave her no great pleasant countenance nor gracious answer, but after her parting said to some about him how little pleasure he had received in the rehearsal of her husband's quarrels, and that it seemed to him a very indecent and unwomanly part for a wife to be a meddler and reporter of 'those kind of' causes. It is mistrusted that some have discovered how Simier is assured to their Majesties more than his Duke would have it.

The cause being so far beyond most people's opinion and expectation that sundry conjectures and suspicions are arisen thereon, and it is held that the King has expressly sent Villeroy to salve this displeasure towards Simier, as also to complain that Saint-Luc has been received by his Highness and entertained in his Court in some sort.

The King of Navarre having been advertised that M. de Ruffec and M. de Bourdeille are making head in Xaintonge against Count Rochefoucault has advised him not to venture any battle as yet.

The Viscount of Camillac has lately 'reysed' some castles about Aurillac in Auvergne, in the hope that Marshal Montmorency will join him.

The King has discovered that Monsieur has very small means to annoy him, although he has written to some of his friends that if it might not be otherwise he would employ his own person to make the peace, as also that there are divers which 'linger of' and show themselves most unwilling to become of any party, such is the misery of this state. And surely unless it please God to stir the Queen to the consideration of the dangers which threaten those of the Religion, without doubt there will be little appearance of persons and people who will stick to God and His glory, but [*sic*] thoroughly apply themselves to the world, seeing princes so entirely bent by all means to force the minds of men to forget God and follow their opinions.

It seems that they are willing to disorder this whole state, whereby they may the easier reduce it to their designed order.

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Meantime they are content to see Portugal and Flanders lost for any honourable or royal care they perform, more than a shew of aid. The King of Spain advances his affairs in Portugal, where their own 'opinion of ability' and their disunion and lack of resolution will be a great part of their ruin; whereby the King of Spain's small forces, together with his great corruptions, will prevail. Yet those here have sent away Don Francisco Baretto, who was sent hither from the Governors, and embarked him in two ships with 300 soldiers. They left Nantes about the 16th; but it is thought this help will be too late and too little.

How far these affairs, passing in this sort, import her Majesty, 'it is thought they are sufficiently considered on.'

Strozzi has shown himself forward in promoting these preparations, and has written to a friend of his to wish me to solicit the affairs of Portugal to her Majesty. Please inform her of the particulars herein.—Paris, 24 Aug. 1580.

P.S.—I inclose the ordinary advertisements from sundry parts, received from Italy.

6 *pp.* [*France IV.* 137.]

Aug. 24. **406.** STAFFORD to BURGHLEY.

I thank you for your honourable dealing on my account. I can offer nothing more assured than my service to you and yours while I live. I hope, though the matter go not forward as, if it be for her Majesty's good, I pray it may, my faithful travail is never a whit less to be accounted of in deed, though perchance not to her Majesty's judgement and opinion.

The ambassador was at the Court on Monday. I saw him yesterday, and he told me that he never in all his life found the Queen in words more fervent nor constant. But he says she does not deceive him, for he trusts nothing that she says till he see it done; but he says he is content to be deceived 'with company,' and that it is you, my Lord Chamberlain, and myself that deceive him, and he is content to be deceived by us, because he desires a good success to the matter and therefore hopes for it. He is advertised, he says, that la Fère is upon the point to yield for want of money, a thing which I promise you I have always 'doubted.' He 'assures' that if they yield they will find the King, for the Queen's intercession, very favourable to them. I hear the Prince of Condé is very ill content, not with the Queen, but for many promises from home, which he saw when he was here they were not able to perform. I wish I 'were lept' thither for a day, and hither again for another. 'I do so much presume of his love to me that he would utter his stomach to me,' which if he did, her Majesty should for my duty's sake not be ignorant of it; though perchance her ill-hap would cause her to make as little account of it as of other true things I have told her. —Highgate, 24 Aug.

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P.S.—Lord 'Shephylde' is in the country with Lord Arundel. Neither my wife nor I can hear or spy anything like a slipping back in him, and for his wife she is when she is here very 'reformable' and comes dutifully and devoutly to service, and is besides of such behaviour that we have great hope of her. My wife desires her humble duty to you and my lady.

Add. Endd. by Burghley. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 138.]

Aug. 25. **407.** (1) Ban and proscription made by the King's Majesty in respect of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, as chief disturber of the estate of Christendom, and specially of these Low Countries, whereby all men are authorised to fall on him and put him out of the world as a public pest; with a reward to whoso shall do it or aid in it.—Published in the town of Mons, 25 Aug. 1580. Printed by his Majesty's express command, 1580. Douay: Jan Bogaert, sworn printer.

MS. copy of the proscription of the Prince of Orange. 'Done in our town of Maestricht, 15 March 1580. By order of his Majesty (signed) Verreyken.'

(2) *Copy of the Prince of Parma's letter to the Governors, etc. of the provinces, directing the publication of the above.*—Mons, 15 June 1580 (Signed) Alexander, (counter-signed) Verreyken.

Endd. in L. Tomson's hand: Proscription against the Prince of Orange, 1580. *Walsingham's mark. Fr.* ½ *p. and* 11½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 48.]

Aug. 30. **408.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

I have in my other letter told you of what has lately passed, and only mention these further details in order that her Majesty may be persuaded to give such further occasion to the Portuguese that by her gracious dealing they may think themselves entirely bound, and thereby conceive the better of Religion; for more followed Christ for the miracle he showed of the loaves, which filled their eyes and belly, than for all the hopes and joys through the preaching and assurance of everlasting life. Therefore the worldly comfort often entices weak spirits to make account of gifts, and to hearken after their voices who give them succour and benefit. And surely here is small hope for them of Flanders, little comfortable amity to be hoped for the English, and less good toward themselves, but by afflictions to bring them to heaven, or end many of their lives miserably.

It is sure that the King will be strong in the field, though not able to continue; and they of themselves soon wax weary of any enterprise; so the less extremities are 'doubted.'

Captain Anselm having lain in ambush in hope to surprise the castle of Dorn, and given an overthrow to la Valette the elder in the Marquisate of Saluces, and for some other new troubles, the

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ambassador of Savoy lamented to the King that his duke was sorry those disorders could be no better appeased, having done his best to frame all things to the King's will.

The King said he thanked the duke, but he liked to give order himself in his own dominions; however, this trouble and all the rest should shortly be remedied; which the ambassador noted and it was marked by others.

'Mal Donato' was repairing to Monsieur to procure a passport for a Spanish ambassador who was to be sent here; but was persuaded to stay.

The said 'Donato' and Capello the banker in Paris are managing a practice in Antwerp against the Prince of Orange by means of Flemings who resort hither.

The King of Spain has sent ships, among whom I hear there is gone one Clark, an Englishman, to take the Portugal fleet coming from the Indies.

Some of the Religion hope that Viscount Turenne will succeed to the place of favour about Monsieur. 'It were to good' if it might so fall out. Some thought Saint-Luc would; but I hear he is returned to Bourges [Brouage].

The Lord of Arbrothe is out of town with the Bishop of Glasgow.

I thank you for the comfort you sent in your last letter, and I pray God I may have the better means to do Him and her Majesty more agreeable service. I have in most dutiful manner 'taken acknowledgment of' her gracious speeches in my behalf.--Paris, 26 Aug. 1580.

P.S.—I thought it well to send back M. Simier's letters, for I could not hear of any certain place where he is. Besides, I suppose they contain matter touching Monsieur's causes; so I return them herewith to her Majesty, seeing mishap has befallen him, as I learn both from his own friends and otherwise.

1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 139.]

Aug. 30. **409.** Walsingham to Burghley.

Yesterday we received letters from France, from her Majesty's ambassador, which I had thought to have sent to you; but doubting that she might in some respect 'have use' of them, it made me stay the sending of them. The effectual points were the following.

First, that Queen Mother did not like the stay of the Commissioners, interpreting it to be but a delay; and therefore prayed her Majesty to deal clearly in the action, that in case she have no liking to deal in the marriage they might proceed to treat for some further degree of amity, being a thing most necessary for both Crowns in respect of the greatness that the Crown of Spain is grown to.

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That the treaty for peace being committed to the duke her son's hands, there is likelihood that it will take effect; and that it may be performed with more expedition the King meant to go presently towards Blaye, where, being nearer to his brother, the intelligence between them might pass with the more speed.

That Simier seems to be altogether in disgrace with his master, upon suspicion that he was 'too inward' with the King and Queen Mother, and that the Queen of Navarre has been a principal instrument in setting this matter forward.

That Baligny, the Bishop of Valence's son, and Simier are shortly to come to the combat, Baligny being, it is thought, encouraged thereto by the duke, as he had secret conference with him in his cabinet.

That the King of Spain prevails greatly in Portugal, and that the succours sent from France are only 400 soldiers and certain expert captains.

These are the chief points in the ambassador's letters.

Her Majesty seeing by these letters that the King of Spain prevails in Portugal, and seeing a disposition in the French king in spite of Queen Mother's speech to prosecute the war against those of the Religion, has put on a disposition to proceed in her marriage, and has therefore caused me to qualify the former message sent to Queen Mother, letting her know that the cause why she wished the Commissioners to stay until a peace was concluded was because she was advertised that this was likely to take effect out of hand; which if it had come to pass before the coming of the Commissioners would have wrought great satisfaction in her subjects here. Her meaning was not that in case no peace should be concluded the Commissioners should not come at all. What Queen Mother will do upon this qualification time will show. Her Majesty has written an 'effectual' letter to the Duke in favour of Simier. She is greatly perplexed that he should be by practice divided from so faithful a servant.

Last night her Majesty had secret conference with the gentleman sent from Don Antonio; but what passed between them, I know not.

By the inclosed you will see that the speech given out touching the taking of la Fère is vain, and that the winning of that town will be a matter of great difficulty. The town of Paris by the increase of the plague is become almost desolate.—The Court, 30 Aug. 1580.

P.S.—I find now that her Majesty would like your return to Court.

Add. Endd. by Burghley. 3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 140.]

Aug. 30. **410.** Walsingham to Cobham.

Her Majesty understands from your letter sent by my servant Burnham that in your last audience you signified to Queen Mother that her Highness thought it fit the Commissioners should not come till peace were concluded; and also that though she thought herself

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greatly honoured by the choice that had been made of the Prince of Condé's brother to be sent hither as one of them, being a prince of the King's own blood; yet in respect of his youth and the quality of the matter to be treated of, she desired that some personage of good calling, accompanied by more years, might be thought of. Whereunto Queen Mother in some earnest manner answered, to the first, that she thought your message delivered to her in that behalf to be but a delay, and therefore desired to understand her Majesty's mind more plainly in the matter, in order that some straighter kind of amity might at least be treated of to avoid the inconvenience which might follow if that cause were suffered to hang longer in suspense; and to the second, that she could not find any other prince of the blood to send, for the Duke of Montpensier was aged and feeble and the Prince Dauphin his son was loath to leave him, being in that state; alleging Marshal de Cossé and Pibrac to be men of sufficient experience.

Her Majesty would therefore have you signify to her, touching the stay of the Commissioners, that being informed by their ambassador resident here that the King himself desired nothing more than peace, and that Monsieur, to whom by assent of both parties the treaty was committed, was in good hope of concluding it, she conceived so great expectation of its conclusion that she most assuredly believed it would have been done out of hand. Therefore knowing how great satisfaction it would work in her subjects' hearts to have the peace concluded before the Commissioners came, she thought it not amiss to request their stay for a time; not with any such resolution as that if peace did not follow they should not come at all. Touching the Prince of Condé's brother, you should let her understand (as, if it had not been by me mistaken, would have been written to you in my last) that she can be content that he should come if he be accompanied by some well-qualified personage of more years and good understanding. Such an one might be old Lansac, Carrouges, or some such other of the King's Privy Council, of *robe courte*; for the world expects that a matter of such consequence should be handled by persons of wisdom and gravity.

As for the Marshal and Pibrac, she takes the Marshal to be chosen for Monsieur, and not for the King, and desires therefore that another may be chosen for the King, to accompany the Prince's brother. She prays her to interpret her message in such honourable sort as princes, knit in that amity they are, ought to do one of another.

Thus much you are to say to Queen Mother; and since her Majesty has written nothing to Monsieur touching the Commissioners' coming or at least touching the hard interpretation made of the message delivered by you, you shall by letter acquaint him with this qualification of the former message, and further let him understand that immediately after she hears from him, which she hopes to do shortly, he shall know more of her intention touching this matter.

Her Majesty was at first offended with the returning of the packet ordered to be sent to Simier; but after I had debated the matter with her at some length, she rested satisfied. Now she

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would have you inclose the greater packet sent you herewith, in a letter of your own and direct it to Monsieur, and that the gentleman who carries it should deliver it into his own hands. The triangle is her letter to yourself; which her pleasure is, after you have perused it, you should seal up and return to her by the next. She would have you advertise her by the same whether the Commissioners appointed to repair hither made any preparation for the voyage, as was given out here, and whether they had received any sums of money by the King's order towards their preparation as the ambassador reports. There is some doubt of this, as you do not advertise any thing in that behalf.

Draft. Endd. by L. Tomson: M. to Sir H. Cobham, August 30, 1580. 4¼ *pp.* [*France IV.* 141.]

Aug. 31. **411.** Cobham to the Secretaries.

After the King's return from St. Germain's I was admitted to his presence the 29th of the last month [*sic*]. I declared to him the Queen's zealous desire to see France returned to their accustomed quietness, that she might hear tell that his Majesty joyfully governed without civil troubles. She wished this the rather, because the troubles seemed to be an impeachment of other design more advantageous to him; as also that the Queen's best subjects 'did much muse' to hear tell how those of the Religion were besieged and 'encumbered' in other parts of the realm, which raised many doubts in their minds, conceived because the Queen showed a liking for the person, birth, and virtue of his Highness more than she had ever seemed to do to any other prince. Notwithstanding her whole realm well understood that to satisfy their desire for succession she was thereon only moved to condescend to marriage, which was wished for with the enjoyment of the Religion; but these wars brought some peril to remembrance. Wherefore the Queen greatly desired he would command the peace to be made, because hitherto it has been discoursed on and negotiated; the wars being still advanced throughout the realm of France, to the great danger and extreme threatening of the Protestants.

The King said, for himself he had determined to have the pacification renewed and established, so that his subjects would do their parts. He had sent Secretary Villeroy to his brother to clear the difficulties and understand the stay, since in the meantime he was losing his best subjects, which he was driven to do for the maintenance of his honour.

I further informed him that the Queen for the respects aforesaid and for the happy performance of that alliance which seemed to be devised as a means to the establishment of a perfect amity between the Crowns of France and England, now requested that the Commissioners might not hasten their coming until the negotiations for peace were advanced, according to the endeavours of Monsieur, authorised by his Majesty.

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The King said the peace might be dealt in while the Commissioners were also bringing this other good work to pass; and although they were ready, having the money assigned for the purpose, yet as the Queen thought their stay convenient, they should await her further pleasure.

I further signified her opinion as to the age of the Prince of Condé's brother, which the King said he would seek to alter; though he did not find it easy to send another of his blood, for his elder brother being to be preferred to benefices it was feared the Pope would not like the journey, which would be a hindrance to his being employed 'toward' England. I pointed out how the Queen thought herself much honoured by the appointment of a prince of the blood, and so left it to his further pleasure.

He said he thought she would be sorry to hear that Portugal stood in such evil terms. I said it concerned both their states, and she had offered to concur with him in these causes 'in all manner of sorts.' He said it was necessary to consider thereon, and his mother would deal that way.—Paris, last of August, 1580.

1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 142.]

? End of Aug.

412. "Representations to the King and Queen Mother on the State of Portugal."

Your Majesties ought not to abandon your intention of aiding the King of Portugal for the news of the capture of Lisbon; rather you should use more diligence, that the realm be not lost.

Nor need you give it up from fear lest Portugal be lost already. For Lisbon is not all the kingdom, nor the key of it; only a town very difficult to hold, and in itself of no defensive strength. If the King of Spain wishes to keep it, his whole army must remain there inactive. It has no walls or fort where he could leave a garrison to keep it in subjection, nor is it possible to erect one owing to the inconvenience of the situation. It will take 20,000 men to guard it, and he has not more than 15,000 all told.

If the King of Portugal has had some of his people routed as they say, it is not all the kingdom; only those whom he could hastily get together in the city, not having time to do more.

While the King of Spain's army is occupied in guarding Lisbon, the King of Portugal will be at the other towns which remain to him, which are many and strong. Here he will collect his forces from all his provinces, and with the succours which you will send him, will easily retake Lisbon and drive the Spaniards from his country.

If the King of Portugal had been slain, there would have been some reason for not sending the promised succours, as things would be desperate (*déplorées*); but as he is in one of his strongest towns, and has plenty of people who take his part yet upright, and has all the towns and ports at his devotion, except Lisbon, there is good appearance of resources, if the succours are hastened, and he

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gives the King of Spain no leisure to establish himself; whose violent proceeding is in truth formidable to many, and disagreeable to all. If they can see any appearance of succour, they will take fresh courage.

Guyenne, Normandy and other provinces, even Paris, have ere now been occupied by the English, and the King of France called in mockery the King of Bourges. Yet in course of time the French re-established their true King and drove out the English, who nevertheless seemed to have a firm footing.

Even if all Portugal had been seized by Spain, and the King slain, neither of which events is likely to happen for some time, your Majesties ought, for the benefit of this Crown, and to prevent the King of Spain from becoming so great, to give M. Strozzi the means to go at least to the Azores and the Portuguese Indies in order to take possession of them and defend them against the King of Spain while he is occupied in this new conquest, as a counterpoise to so great a power; otherwise, if leisure is left him to seize them, he will care little for France, and may do it much harm.

If the King of Portugal, being left without the support that you have promised him, finds himself unable to maintain his position, he will in desperation go off to Barbary and hand over his strongholds there to the Moors, whence they will easily be able to pass into Spain, to the shame of France and ruin of Christendom.

Another consideration which should induce you more boldly to support the King of Portugal is that M. Strozzi is the person employed in the matter. Being a foreigner, and known to be a courageous and enterprising man, you will be able at your ease to disavow him if the fear of an enterprise against the King of Spain chills your ardour; though his powers are not so great as we make them out. Or you might let it be undertaken in his own name by Monseigneur, as an interested party, having been offered by you to the Estates of Portugal to be their King; to which the most part, nay the whole, of the realm was well inclined, but for their affection and duty towards their native prince, Don Antonio.

And provided you assure M. Strozzi secretly that you approve his undertaking it, and secretly provide him with the means (for better concealment fitting him out once for all) he will also be content that you should thenceforward make such outward show of disapproval as you please. In this way you will discharge your promise, will succour a neighbour and friend, binding him and his realm for ever to you and your posterity, without any need to fear vengeance on the part of the King of Spain, both because he will ostensibly have no just cause, and because this course of action will give him enough to do to attend to his own affairs.

Moreover, if anyone thinks that the King of Spain is not aware of Don Francisco Baretti's visit to the Court, and of the hopes held out to him, he is much mistaken. He has too many friends in France, even at Court, to be ignorant of it; and notably of the fact that Strozzi accompanied him to Nantes, had him well entertained

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by the way at Chenonceau, by order of the Queen, got him a ship, supplied him with all the men he could, kept back a good number of vessels in virtue of the King's commission, and lastly obtained money from André Ruys, who is a Spaniard and must have told the King his master. So that it is a double mistake to believe that if nothing further is done, the King of Spain will abate aught of any illwill he may have conceived against you; for he will on the contrary grow more insolent, when he sees that fear is the only cause of holding back. And inasmuch as he will recognise that it has seized us at the report of a single piece of good fortune which he has had in Portugal, what will it be when he has got everything and the Indies, and reduced the Low Countries to his obedience, which will be easy for him if he is let do it; aye, and to take England afterwards?

In short, your Majesties may take it as certain that he will not lack pretexts for making war on you as soon as he sees it convenient The more you temporise with him, the more you further it; and you need not respect him so much, since for his part he has not respected the agreement of '59, when the King of Portugal was called by the late King Henry a brother in arms and allied with France, nor had regard to your Majesty's rights and claims when you had been admitted to assert them. Of which he was not ignorant; but as a disturber of the peace of all Christendom he entered by force of arms into Portugal, to which you have much more claim (*action*) than he. Your Majesties ought not to omit to send succour there, nor fear that it may be unable to enter Portugal, even though Lisbon be taken; inasmuch as on this side Lisbon the King still has several good ports, as Tosquia, Porto, la Perdriguera, Mandego, Viana, Huero, Camigna, and others, where a landing may be made.

If M. Strozzi thinks it better not to enter the kingdom in arms, he might keep with his force 50 miles off the coast of Portugal, and send a small vessel under cover of selling corn, with some experienced men in her to see the state of affairs; by whose report his proceeding should be guided. If he should find from them that it would be better he should not land, he can go to the Azores where he will be well received, and strengthen himself there. He will stop the King of Spain's traffic with the Indies, and secure Brazil, Guinea, Cape Verde, San Tome, Camigna, and all the Indies, the islands lying on the route to those places.

I beg your Majesties not to think I am speaking for any harm the Spaniards have ever done me, nor for any good I have had or hope to have from the Portuguese; but solely from my affection to your service, and the loyalty which I owe you.

To this is appended:

A list of the towns and seaports devoted to Don Antonio as yet untaken by the Spaniards, together with provinces, territories, and foreign possessions:—("the Viceroy of India is a great friend of the King, and an enemy to the Spaniards, has a larger army there than the Kings of Spain and Portugal together could make, and

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many kings in those parts are his friends and allies, and will be much annoyed if the Spaniards take possession of the Portuguese, and will resist them with all their power")—with reflexions similar to those in the memorial. "If the King of Spain has almost lost the Low Countries, where he has rights, how will he conquer Portugal?"

Copy, probably made in the English Embassy at Paris. Endd. Fr. $5\frac{1}{2} + 5$ *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 39.]

Sept. 5. **413.** COBHAM to the SECRETARIES.

The King had left Saint-Maur before the receipt of your last letter and the ambassadors have not as yet any certain lodging assigned them, for being first 'harbenged' at Moret they were since appointed to Melun, which is a town nothing to their liking.

Therefore I could not so readily repair to their Majesties, being still in Paris. Howbeit I set forward today towards Melun, hoping next day to be admitted to the presence, when I shall deliver the Queen's pleasure now last revealed.

When my servant was at Monsieur's Court on the 8th ult., there appeared no preparation for the setting forth of Marshal de Cossé and M. Simier; nor have I heard that M. Pibrac was 'addressing' himself for the journey. Money was appointed by the King's order for the journey, which remains in readiness waiting further directions from her Majesty.

After Villeroy has communicated with his Highness, he has commission as I hear to treat with the Duke of Montpensier for the appeasing of the alleged quarrel between him and the Duke of Nevers, whom the King would willingly 'retire' to Court, if the Duke of Montpensier were satisfied.

Some have been informed that Villeroy was to pass from his Highness to the King of Navarre, but there appears no certainty of it yet.

Letters are come today, how the Commissioners have been received by his Highness at Tours, and that by mischance part of the town has been burnt.

The King of Navarre has lately had good success against Biron upon the occasion of a practice which that Marshal's lieutenant had managed with three gentlemen of the Religion for the surprise of Cahors, seeking to corrupt them and get their 'consarts' and good wills thereto. These three gentlemen had 10,000 crowns promised them, of which Marshal Biron delivered beforehand 4,000 to one of them, upon promise that at a day appointed they would keep a gate open for the Marshal's company to enter at, which was accomplished. But in the mean time the King of Navarre was made privy to it by those gentlemen, whereon Viscount Turenne was appointed to approach with his forces. He used such diligence that he brought a stronger garrison into the town in the night and stayed in the field himself not far from Cahors, awaiting the enterprise.

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So Marshal Biron's lieutenant, finding the gate open early, according to promise, and the countersign given answered by those gentlemen, approached speedily and caused many of his band to enter. When they of the town had suffered as many to enter as they thought good, they closed the gate and kept back the rest, taking and executing those that were come in; and made a sally at another gate. Upon that, Marshal Biron came to the rescue with his horsemen, and the Viscount charged him unlooked-for, and the Catholics were put to flight, and to the sword.

The King of Navarre lay in ambush, ready to receive Biron at his retreat, so that it is written the chief Catholic nobility of Languedoc are slain and taken; but no certain word whither [whether?] Biron is escaped.

Count Rochefoucault had joined the King of Navarre before this, so that they have an army in the field reasonably appointed.

The Duke of Maine left Lyons Aug. 23, marching towards Dauphiné; being well accompanied with gentlemen. Two days after M. Mandelot, governor of Lyons and those parts, followed.

It is thought there will be in that camp 8,000 fighting men, French, with the Switzers, of whom it is thought there are 400 horse, gentlemen and others, and 400 [*qy.* 0] Italians are expected from Avignon. They have about 10 cannons and other field pieces, with provisions and victuals sufficient by their computation for three months. The *rendezvous* is appointed at Romans, where the soldiers are to receive their first pay. Their design is to besiege a fort on the river of Liseres [l'Isère] which cannot be done without dividing their camp on both sides of the river, so that Lesdiguières, one of the 'principal' for the Protestants in Dauphiné, will be strong enough to assail one part of the camp. If that purpose do not hold, the Duke will try to besiege Livron, unless he find it too strong.

The money to pay these companies of the King was much exacted or borrowed perforce of the merchants; some part is levied on the walled towns and Catholic gentlemen of Dauphiné.

In the Marquisate of Saluces they are again in some trouble, because certain of the captains being ill-satisfied have revolted against the King, and are 'nourished' by the ministers of the Catholic King; of whom they have received 20,000 crowns, by the means or consent of the Duke of Savoy.

Captain Anselme and Lesdiguières are confederated, as I saw by a letter from Lesdiguières which was intercepted and sent to the King.

The last news from Spain was that the Duke of Alva had marched to before Coimbra and 'El Porto.'

Señor Tassis is coming hither from Spain as ambassador ligier. His staff and some of his company are landed at Nantes. He passed by here since my coming. I suppose he is sufficiently known to you to have been the master of the posts in Flanders, and *maître-d'hôtel* to Don John of Austria.

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M. de Pierrecourt, brother to M. de Mellivrey [Meilleraie] is appointed to be sent into Portugal. Bernardino de Mendoza 'certified hither' that the Irish rebels had reached the gates of Dublin and failed of their purpose; also that the rebels were strong and had good intelligence. The contrary is now understood here.—Villeneuve [-Saint-Georges ?], 5 Sept. 1580.

Add. Endd. 3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 143.]

Sept. 5. **414.** Cobham to Walsingham.

Having received the enclosed from your servant Mr Champernon I send it, that his course may be known to you.

And having received this other from Pallavicino in which he requests me to deal with certain persons belonging to the Pope, I thought good to acquaint you herewith, the rather that he sent me a letter enclosed with his, from her Majesty addressed to Cardinal Sforza. But as I had no order from you, I delivered it again to Calvi, who brought it.

I cannot as yet hear any more of M. Simier and those causes.—Villeneuve, 5 Sept. 1580.

Add. Endd. ½ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 144.]

Sept. 5. **415.** The Duke of Anjou to Walsingham.

I was so busy when I dispatched M. de Buy to the Queen that I had not leisure to write with my own hand, as I should have liked to all my friends. Esteeming you of their number I beg you to employ your good offices with her Majesty to keep me in her good graces, assuring you, as I asked Mr Stafford to assure you, that you will never have a better friend than I. I have given the same charge to M. de Buy, my chamberlain and counsellor, to whom I pray you to give credit as to myself.—Plessis-les-Tours, 5 Sept. 1580. (*Signed*) François.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson: From Monsieur, by De Buy. *Fr.* ½ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 145.]

Sept. 5. **416.** Thomas Stoker to Walsingham and Wilson.

Enclosed I send a copy of the Prince d'Epinoy's letter to the 4 Members of Flanders,* which I got this morning. Also this morning news is come to the lords of this town that on the 1st inst. the Malcontents began to batter Bouchain 'with the cannon,' so that it is much feared if they be not speedily rescued they cannot continue long; for the Malcontents have sent for more men from their towns in Artois and 'Henogo.' The Viscount of Ghent and M. la Motte, who are the only commanders of that camp, have sworn

* *See* Cecil Papers, Vol. II., p. 323.

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they will not go from it till they have it; so that by report they lose no time, and the States' camp make small haste forward, so far as I can learn. God send better government amongst them.—Bruges, 5 Sep. 1580.

Add. Endd. ⅔ *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 49.]

Sept. 8. **417.** The King of Denmark to the Queen.

Your ambassador John Rogers has delivered to us your two letters, of different dates and contents, written from Oatlands. In the earlier, dated Aug. 6, you inform us of our unanimous election into the Order of the Garter at a Chapter held on the previous April 24. The later, dated the 11th of the same month, testifies your constancy in promoting the matter of religion. In these affairs, pertaining both to our mutual friendship and to the common advantage of the Church and Christian commonwealth, and also in the setting forth of various private business, your ambassador has so demeaned himself as to earn our praises. Thus when he stated that by your wish he was going to travel into Poland and Sweden, and then return to us, we could not but answer your letters by this gentleman, our servant.

And to begin with the business of religion. We were very glad that our letter of June 23 [*sic*] last, from Colding, was not disagreeable to you. Now we heartily pray that the counsels you have adopted may first tend to the glory of God and the establishment of concord among all who believe in Christ, His Son, and also turn out happily for the Defender of the Faith herself, and the Christian commonwealth. As we have before testified, we for our part persevere sincerely in the doctrine professed by our Churches and schools: and ascribe it to God's blessing and our own good fortune, that among all the dissensions of recent years, we have been enabled to enjoy peace. Nor do we doubt that His blessing will be with us, to preserve the pure religion bequeathed to us as a treasure by our late father, and hand it on to our posterity. While praising elegant learning and subtle wit as peculiar ornaments in accomplished men, we allow to no theologian license for any innovation or disputation contrary to the ordinance of our Churches once received and approved. If the same had been attended to elsewhere we should today have perhaps less disturbance in pious Churches. If we can do anything towards establishing agreement among the reformed Churches, we shall not disappoint your expectation. So we should not be refusing your request that we would send an envoy of our own with Daniel Rogers to the Electors Palatine and of Saxony, were we not sure that the latter, our dear cousin and gossip, would without our intervention in reply to your request declare himself in such wise as to leave you nothing to desire.

In reply to your later [*sic*] letter, we profess that we have been highly gratified by the good opinion the Knights of the Garter have formed of us, and the addresses [? *elogia*] reminding us of the virtues that adorn a Christian king, and we thank you and them most heartily for our election. And so far are we from feeling any

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annoyance at the delay in the announcement of it, that we think it a mark of the honour in which we are held by our brethren of the order, that they should have so kindly told us of it already. If you or they wish for any communication from us in respect of our reception into the order, we will take care that by no declaration of ours, but by actual fact they may understand that we are for good reasons most desirous in that way to confirm our friendship with yourself, and feel the warmest affection for the members of the order.—Friderichsburg; the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, 8 Sep. 1580.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Lat. 3½ *pp.* [*Denmark I.* 9.]

Sept. 9. **418.** Cobham to [?] Walsingham.

I trust I have in all points satisfied her Majesty's commands signified to me by your last dispatch: but the gentlemen I sent sevennights past to his Highness is not yet returned.

I received a letter today from Mr Menteth that Casimir has his army in readiness, consisting of 10,000 horse and 8,000 foot, who were ready to march, having their 'handtrechtghelt' paid them. But I do not hear this confirmed by other means.

The King of Navarre has written to M. Chassincourt that there is 'means to grow to a peace,' and to have an interview with Monsieur; but many doubt whether the King of Navarre will like this, or find it convenient for him.

The packet which I received by the last, directed to M. Chassincourt or M. Montigny, is safely delivered.

I found M. Lansac very courteous to me at my coming to the Court upon any occasion; and it seems he could be willing to be employed for the advancement of good intelligence between these two realms.

I have surely not forgotten to certify any matter which her Majesty committed to me, but have written it in clear sort with such truth as it has been delivered to me. Howbeit, the framing of matters to be better or worse belongs only to the Almighty and to those to whom power and authority is given.

I wrote to you in a former letter the cause of M. Simier's disgrace, or at least the means whereby it has been wrought, as it is conceived here. Also I sent by Henry Adams, since his parting with Monsieur, a letter of his Highness, in which I suppose he signified the cause to her Majesty, 'or I wish he had done it.' I do not perceive that the King means to pass much further as yet.

In my last dispatch I wrote to her Majesty of an Italian woman who is famous, and would repair into England to show her cunning for the preservation of beauty: but I could be glad her Majesty would command her, and all such, further off.—Melun, 9 Sept. 1580.

P.S.—M. Pinart, upon the making-up of this letter, has sent me this packet, directed to Mme de Mauvissière, requesting me earnestly to see it safely delivered and commending it to you.

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If I thought ear would be given or consideration had, I might write something of my charges; but I fear there is neither remembrance of my days and years spent, nor yet feeling of my case. "*Frugality*; else I may die, or some quarrel picked to my service, and so the reward, wittily" [*remainder missing*].

Add. & endt. gone. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 146.]

Sept. 9. **419.** COBHAM to the SECRETARIES.

If you please, you may advertise the Queen that on the 7th inst. I signified to Queen Mother at Fontainebleau that she could not be satisfied till she sent me her commands whereby her Majesty might be informed of the occasion which moved her to request the Christian King that the commissioners should not hasten their journey so soon as was 'assigned'; making such request upon the hope she had conceived that peace was to be concluded, as M. Mauvissière had assured her, alleging the likelihood of it on the ground that the King had given power to his Highness to accomplish it and the King of Navarre had remitted all his 'estate' into Monsieur's hand. So that their wills being thus bent as the Queen my mistress had been advertised, she conceived that the peace of France had been before this restored by his Highness's mediation; which honour she wished might have happened to him with all expedition, having always a special regard to assist the advancement of his design; not intending in any sort that although peace should not be concluded the commissioners should not come; but that she makes high account of Monsieur's good will, which he daily continues.

Whereto the Queen said that the King's will was bent to the peace. He had lately 'employed' Secretary Villeroy to her son, to advance the negotiation, and in like manner the King of Navarre had sent his secretary la Marsilière; but with such demands as she said displeased Monsieur and are not liked by the King. But if they would be obedient subjects, the King could support the use of religion for the satisfaction of their consciences.

I 'returned to say to her': Madame, by the judgement of the wise sort, the King of Navarre was to desire the repose of France in many respects, since through the civil wars he decayed his estate, hourly endangered his person, and daily lost his dear friends,—sustaining infinite other indignities and extremities. As for those of the Religion they were in some points to be esteemed more complete in their obedience than the Catholics, since they did not admit any other supremacy or jurisdiction than their natural prince immediately under God.

She said I meant the Pope, which was matter of conscience, as our ministers; smiling therewith.

I said, without her further leave I would not proceed in that dispute; but it seemed the Pope did not shew that respect which appertained to her in the cause of Portugal, as it seemed he had engaged the Portuguese to the King of Spain.

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She said he did her that wrong, which could not well content her, but he had not power to do harm to them if they themselves had not been slack in demanding aid and providing for the case according to the need they now find. She added that it behoved the Queen to think thereon. I answered that the Queen had long since made demonstration to her and her son of her meaning that way.

Then I signified that her Majesty was well content with the presence of the Prince of Condé's brother; but because in that treaty matters of high consideration were to be managed, she requested that some of the *robe courte* of the King's privy council, like M. Lansac or Carouges, might be sent in his company from the King; for she understood that Marshal Cossé was appointed by Monsieur.

She promised to deal with the King therein. His mind she knew was bent to satisfy her Majesty, and she was glad the treaty of marriage continued. She will not lose her hope of it until the end. Herewith she 'excused' that the King did not give me audience that day, saying he had taken some little medicine. Since that time she has also been a little indisposed, keeping her bed the next day somewhat long.

I hear that Monsieur remains as yet at Plessis, where it is said the Marquis of Elbeuf and Count Brissac are like to become in great favour. Last week when Villeroy and la Marsilière were with him, there came also a gentleman from the Prince of Condé to deal about the affairs of la Fère; which was that the Prince could be content it should be delivered to Monsieur on some conditions. La Marsilière continued eight days in Monsieur's Court, bringing with him the answer to the dispatch with which Captain la Salle was sent to the King of Navarre, and slain by the way about St. Basille, as I mentioned in my former letter. Marsilière brought certain articles from the King of Navarre, on which he conferred with Villeroy in Monsieur's presence. I am informed they entered into an appointment for a place of meeting between his Highness and the King and Queen of Navarre, with which message M. 'Don Martin' is sent to the King to Clérac; so that it seems some further likelihood of a peace to be concluded otherwise than (as before) it pleased Queen Mother to remember and say to me.

The King of Navarre had with him the gentlemen and forces of Saintonge, and was removed to Clerac on the Garonne [*sic*]. Their affairs in Languedoc continue in good estate, the King of Navarre having retaken la Comette [la Calmette] and defeated the succours which Saint-Jaille had brought thither. M. la Rocque is looked for presently at this Court, on the King of Navarre's affairs.

The morning before my audience M. d'O came to Court with reports of matters at la Fère.

Notwithstanding the Duke of Maine's forces, Lesdiguières has taken Montélimart, and scours the country with his *camp volant*.

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The Duke of Savoy is deceased, as I certified in my last dispatch, through excessive bleeding at his nose, which continued at times 'in extremity' by the space of 7 or 8 days, as I am informed. Through his death it is thought the affairs of Captain Anselme will somewhat quail in the Marquisate of Saluces.

The ravelin at la Fère was assaulted; it was 'enterprised' upon an intelligence given from within, that there were but 15 guarding it, whereby they were encouraged to assail it, and lost 30 gentlemen thereon; for they had intrenched themselves, and lay hidden therein, whereby the enemy was repulsed. Howbeit, the day of my last audience, M. Lansac told me the ravelin was taken, and that good news was brought, how there was assured hope that the King might have the town within 8 days. I asked him, if by force or by composition. He said the King's arms were always ready to receive his subjects who yielded to his mercy.

An invention was made of barrels, which were thrown into the ditches with long poles passed through them, and faggots, to frame a bridge; but the measure fell short, and the invention failed.

Though the ravelin be taken, there is between it and the town a deep and broad ditch, and within, trenches. Moreover they have made a fort in the middle of the town, which commands those places with small shot.

M. de Pienys' [Piennes] son is slain at la Fère.

The Marquis de Trent, of the House of Foix, kinsman to the King of Navarre, is slain by his enemy Saint-Ermy, upon a private quarrel.

They die of the plague in the King's camp.

Capello the banker has given out in Paris that the King of Spain peaceably commands all Portugal, and would have persuaded the last messenger I sent to England to stay till next morning, to write these Spanish news.

M. la Noue is said to be removed to a place called Charlemont; 'and that' the Spanish King had sent command to have him executed. Howbeit, some certify he is conveyed to Milan. The enemy continues about 'Bouquehain' [*qy.* Bouchain].

The plague increases in Paris and the villages about.—The 9th of September from Melun, whence I depart towards Moret, since Queen Mother of her grace has now at last appointed the ambassadors' lodgings to be there.

Add. and endt. gone. 4 *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 147.]

Sept. 10. **420.** COBHAM to WALSINGHAM.

Immediately after the departure of Peter Browne, the gentleman whom I sent to Monsieur's Court arrived with letters from him. I have enclosed them in a letter to her Majesty, and addressed them

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to Paris, to Mr Waad; to be by him sent after Peter Browne, and 'not overtaking him,' to send it by the 'first best' means he can, directing it to you.—Melun, 10 Sep. 1580.

P.S.—There are men levying about Tours, to be employed, as they say, to raise the siege of 'Bouquehain.'

Add. Endd. ½ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 148.]

Sept. 10. **421.** [Walsingham?] to [Cobham.]

I have received yours of the 5th inst. and enclosed therewith one to you from an Italian gentlewoman. Having acquainted her Majesty with the contents of it, she made answer that she neither knew the woman nor remembered any such matter as she seems to challenge, and therefore would have you persuade her that she will do well to forbear her coming; and if notwithstanding she seems resolute to repair hither, let her plainly know that her Majesty has received secret intelligence that an Italian gentlewoman was about this time coming over hither for some evil purposes. Wherefore though her Highness cannot particularly suspect her, yet as princes are commonly jealous in like cases, you know her coming will not be grateful here. Yet her Majesty would not have you descend to these particulars with her, unless you find that she cannot by other means be diverted from her purpose.

I have not forgotten to acquaint her Majesty both with Monsieur's letter to yourself and with the copy of yours to him. In the former she noted as a principal point his opinion that the commissioners should not come for any other cause but to treat of the marriage. She marvels not a little that she has not heard from him for so long.

In Scotland things stand but in hard terms. D'Aubigny has already got the castle of Dumbarton into his hands, and has lately dispatched one Montbrun into France; both to advertise the King of it, and, as it is thought, to lay some plot for the disquieting of both these realms; wherein it is doubted he will want no advice there. I pray you therefore be careful and vigilant to discover what you may in this matter. Mr Bowes is dispatched into Scotland, both to abase d'Aubigny's credit by all possible means and to procure the delivery of the castle into the hands of some other well-affected person.—At the Court, 10 Sep. 1580.

Copy. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 149.]

Sept. 11 **422.** Proclamation by Joos Vander Beke, 'sworn exploiter or executor and sergeant-of-arms of the King's Provincial Council of Holland, Zealand and Friesland,' that at the instance of Gheleyn Bowens, for himself and Jan Jans as guardian of his wife and of the orphans of Lenen Bowens, of Flushing, plaintiffs by force of letters executorial upon sentence of 'condemnation and conditional namptsation' by the said Council, dated June 22 last, and after due summons in the King's name to the procurator general and advocate fiscal of the said Council, and to the 'lords of the

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reckoning' in Holland, being found in default for non-payment, and like intimation to Michiel Adolphs, receiver of the demeans of the town of Flushing, he has 'laid in arrest' the said town, with all low, mean, and high jurisdiction, etc. which town with all thereto appertaining the aforesaid exploiter will sell by decree, 'with three Sundays and market-days outcry and proclamation successively following,' in order to recover the three years' rents fallen due, with the charges of the execution, etc.—Flushing, 11 Sep. 1580.

Translation, apparently made in Holland. Endd. by Burghley's Secretary. 2¼ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 50.]

Sept. 12. **423.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

Since my last I have received advertisement that not only the commissioners for Flanders are very 'well seen' and received of his Highness, but also his gentlemen 'show to make' preparations to address themselves for that voyage. Among the rest M. de Rochepot prepares to pass with his regiment of 2,000 foot, to take his way towards Cambrai; coming too late to the succour of 'Bouquehain,' which is lost and great part of it burnt, as they certify from Cambray.

M. la Roche of Brittany is gone hence to serve his Highness. I had with him some conference of these affairs in which he seems forward. The other captains of Monsieur's Court are seeking soldiers.

Peace is there held to be agreed on, and to be speedily concluded, 'with an open determination of foreign wars.' This is the present motion of the planets in these parts, which are subject to sudden changes.

The King of Navarre has signified his will to be bent to obey his Majesty, and has declared that he is not so feeble as they reported him to be. His succours out of Germany were in readiness to march.

Marshal Biron is returned to Agen, not being able to keep the field against the King of Navarre. M. 'Don Martin' is returned from him, with a message as I hear very agreeable to his Highness. So it is secretly spoken, I know not with what truth, that is now meeting his Majesty with good news at Monceaulx, whither the King and Queen Mother, with the Cardinal of Bourbon passed in their 'caroche' through this town this afternoon, with a small train. If this interview happens and 'follows,' I shall not fail to advertise it. But the meeting of these princes was first desired to have been at Blois, whither the King intends to pass, according to 'determination of removes' in this Court.

A bruit came yesterday that the ravelin is again taken by those within la Fère. The Prince of Condé having sent two lackeys, one has got into la Fère; the other was stopped and brought to Court.

The Duke of Nevers remains at Liége and the baths thereabout.

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M. d'Escars' second son has lost his life at the siege of la Fère.

I am informed that a messenger is coming to the King with presents of horses from the Grand Signor.

I enclose herewith advertisements from Italy.

The Court of Retz is appointed by the King to visit the Duke of Savoy; whose late-deceased father has committed him to the keeping of the Lords of 'Bearn,' as I am informed.—Melun, 12 Sep. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 150.]

Sept. 13. **424.** Cobham to [? Walsingham].

The advertisements lately come from Spain are that on the 25th ult. the Duke of Alva fought with Don Antonio, King of Portugal. The Portuguese were overthrown and Don Antonio being hurt in the neck fled to Santarem. The same day the Duke took Lisbon, where he has left as governor Don Hernando, Grand Prior, his bastard son. At the same time the Spaniards took their ships in the port of Lisbon.

They also write that the Duke of Braganza has not 'intermeddled' himself on any side. So the affairs of Portugal are very miserable.

I thought good not to leave this unadvertised; though I think you otherwise receive the like with more particulars.

I am in a place where I cannot be advertised as at Paris; beside that 'those kind of persons' cannot without great difficulty and 'charge' follow the Court. I stayed from repairing to Moret, because this place is yet nearer the Court; the King being at present at Monceaux, not determining to go to Moret till his return, which I think will be in two or three days.—Melun, 13 Sept. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 151.]

Sept. 17. **425.** Rossel to Walsingham.

In my last, of the 11th inst., I made no pertinent answer as to the forgetfulness and unworthiness of those who direct the state, called the Estates. By the disunion implied in the term, they are all particular Estates, who have managed their provinces in their private interest, ay, from the day they first met as States-General. This is what has brought us into this unhappiness and reduced us to extremities, to the discontent not only of our most remote but of our most neighbouring friends. I remember (*qy. suis raccord*) to have written to you that if my suggestion had been followed they would long ago have decided to send to her Majesty to represent to her the pregnant causes which urged those of the Union to accept and invite M. d'Alençon; indeed would have elected personages to do this. But they excused themselves from

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this duty, for the little satisfaction they had given her Majesty, both in her private matter of money and other duties; wherefore they could expect from her only ill-regard and small welcome. Nevertheless when they had by persuasions reached the point of sending M. Ymans and others, their faculties failed just when each was to have joined and contributed; whereupon they are on the point of forming a new union of Flanders, Holland, and Zealand, as I have already written. That is the position to which we have come.

On this subject some clever wit has composed a dialogue discoursed in it of all the actions and conduct of this state, no less pertinently than if it had been a live man could have done it. The discourse is copious, and has not yet been seen. I will take steps to have it copied, hoping that if you are in any way satisfied with it, I may take pains to report various notable proceedings, if I were seconded by your people here, who I perceive act on their own account, to gain advantage from my advices, as I have remarked.

In this extremity, and awaiting the favours of M. d'Alençon, all divisions and discontents are increasing, not only in the disunion of the provinces, but in a popular murmur against those in office (*ceux qui ministrent*) and especially against his Excellency, who is losing all his credit with the people, since what befel at Bouchain; with such bitterness that fearing the edict and proclamation made against his person by the King in the reconciled provinces, he does not leave his house, where he is sick of the fever. He has obtained a new body-guard of 100 horse, which will soon be ready, to return to Ghent, and raise a small flying camp to harass the enemy if he besieges Oudenarde or Menin, as it seems likely he is going to do.

You will have been informed that they are sending to give full powers to the Commissioners in France, whereas before they were limited. This is due to what happened at Bouchain, and also to the fact that they foresee the small progress made by their ambassadors. It is true that his Excellency says he has had letters to the effect that the King of France has gone as far as Orleans to be nearer to his brother, so that he may the more easily confer with him. But I hear that his reason for going to Orleans is the severity with which the plague prevails at Paris; which is such that a painter who was taking the King's portrait in the morning died in the evening, which so terrified him that he hurried to Orleans. On this there is a current rumour that he is dead.

We have assured news that the Malcontents have lost more than they have gained by the capture of Bouchain, because three hours after our people had gone out with bag and baggage, fire was set to the munitions, and made such cruel progress (*exploit*) that the greater part of the town was overthrown and burnt, and several officers and many men killed.

La Fère lately underwent a furious assault, which makes us think that there is little hope of peace in France.

You know about affairs in Portugal, that the King of Spain is in Lisbon. If it is so, we can look to God only, not to our own powers and resources.—Antwerp, 17 Sep. 1580.

Add. Endd. Fr. 2½ *pp.* [*Hol. and Fl. XIII.* 51.]

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Sept. 17. **426.** GILPIN to WALSINGHAM.

But for my duty towards you, the States answer to my continual soliciting being so little altered and continuing so slender, that I am almost loath and ashamed to trouble you with the recital of it, I would have passed this week in silence.

I pressed them earnestly, as 'per' my last was signified, for an answer in writing, which was delivered to me this morning; with a further declaration that Brabant having resolved, as I wrote you, effectual letters had been written both by them and in private by his Excellency, to the other provinces, viz., Flanders (whence there is no fear of opposition), Holland, and Zealand, together with copies of all her Majesty's letters touching the cause of Pallavicino and Spinola; and for speedier answer, special posts sent with them, so that they trust to make some small determination shortly. Before which I see no appearance of M. Ymans' going over, though never so much by them wished; for until such time he utterly refuses to take that charge upon him. Of his honest carefulness herein I cannot sufficiently advertise, to whom those of this town may be joined. What the States' answer, given me in writing, is, will appear by the enclosed. And so awaiting your pleasure 'unto my former,' with resolution the while by all means of suit to forward their answer to some good effect, I forbear to trouble you longer on this point.

The enclosed were sent me to see conveyed to you.

The news of the fire 'chanced' at Bouchain, after 'surrendry' of it, is confirmed; and thereto since added that the force of the powder, the town being very small, slew and spoilt many of the Malcontents, amongst others some persons of note; but the particulars are not certainly known.

The preparing of the States' camp in Flanders advances greatly. The Prince of Epinoy is general, M. d'Argenlieu, marshal, and Captain Yorke, chief sergeant; so that it is hoped they will be ere long in the field. Certain companies of French are daily expected to assist them.

It is said the Prince will shortly depart toward Ghent, to further the camp or establish some better order.

One is appointed to go 'for' France after the States' commissioners to carry them full power to conclude with Monsieur absolutely, if he any way agree to the articles presented by them.

It is advertised from France that Simier is out of favour with Monsieur.

The States' men in Friesland having divided themselves into three parts, viz. the English before Lingen, and the other companies, being 'these countrymen' in Cowoorden and the house called Wedden, the enemy took by surrender 'die Ommeslach,' a passage and bulwark on the entry from Friesland into Groningen, taken by the English on entering the country.

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This done, they went with their whole force to Wedden, and there surprised and dispersed Count William of Nassau and Captain Michiell 'their regiment,' slaying about 100. The rest since met again and assembled together.

The Englishmen that lay before Lingen, hard 'underneath' the gates, ready to take it in a few days if succour come not, were upon the aforesaid overthrow, forced to retire and return to the rest of the force.

On Tuesday last, Count John of Nassau married Duke Casimir's sister.

The Diet of Nuremberg, as it is written from the Emperor's Court, is a stay, and likely to take no effect at all, though some judge it to be deferred till next March.

The last letters from Constantinople mention that an ambassador had arrived from the Persian Emperor, to treat about peace.

There is certain news here that the Duke of Savoy is dead, which, it is hoped, will work some good to those of the Religion.—Antwerp, 17 Sep. 1580.

Enclosed in the above:

Sept. 15. **427.** Reply of the Estates.

The Estates-General having read a writing laid before them on the 9th inst. from the Queen of England by George Gilpin, Secretary of the Merchants Adventurers residing in this town, and also the representations made by him to the same end, declare their regret that they have not yet found means to satisfy her Majesty, owing to their great charges at present. They will nevertheless do their utmost by all means to content her; hoping that the said Secretary will use his good offices on their behalf.—Antwerp, 15 Sep. 1580. (*Signed*) A. Blyleven. (*Fr.*)

Add. Endd. 2½ *pp.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 52 *and* 52*a.*]

Sept. 18. **428.** Thomas Stokes to Walsingham.

My last to you was the 11th inst., since which the occurrents are these.

Two days ago arrived in Zealand a ship of Gilles Hoffeman's of Antwerp, from Laredo, the first port in Biscay. She was but 7 days on the way, and they bring news of 9 ships which they saw depart from Laredo with soldiers for Ireland. Beside this, they say there are 27 sail more gone out of other ports thereabouts, also with soldiers for Ireland; and they say the soldiers have every one a white cross on their breast, naming themselves to be the Pope's men, though indeed they are all Spaniards. Of this news there is great rejoicing among the Papists. God grant it may be foreseen in time, for here all the speech is that the Pope and that faction have great meaning and goodwill to trouble her Majesty in that island.

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Of Portugal matters the ship brings nothing certain, saving they say that King Philip's army is before Lisbon, and that the town cares not for them. Others give out that the town is yielded to the King by accord; so there is no certainty, for some say it holds out and cares not for the enemy and others say it is yielded by 'compossion,' and that all the captains and soldiers who were there are come to 'Cambray' [*qy.* Coimbra].

No letters are as yet come from M. de Sainte-Aldegonde and the other ambassadors of their dealings with Duke d'Alençon.

Before surrendering Bouchain, M. de Vilers, who was captain there, had placed certain barrels of gunpowder underground in the strongest part of the town and laid matches to burn to it; so as within two hours or thereabouts after the States' men had gone out it took fire and blew up all the place, with all the soldiers that were in it; among them M. de Montigny with others of name it is said are there slain. Some doubt the Marquis of Richebourg is one, and M. de Licques another. It seems the matter is very evil, for upon the first news that came to Lille and 'Corttrick' of the taking of Bouchain, great processions were appointed and great rejoicings made of the matter, but within a few hours came the other news. So the general procession was left off, and strait commandment given in both places to speak no more of Bouchain; so that it is thought their loss is very great.

The Malcontents a great part of them are come and live upon the peasant beside Courtrai, awaiting some order from their governors. It is thought they will have 'a saying' to Menin or to some other place thereabouts, so that there is great doubt the States will lose all in those parts.

Now that they see their enemy is like to overcome them, they begin to sing their old song again, calling for help at her Majesty's hands, which the papist rejoices to hear; but they hope the troubles in Ireland will keep England occupied 'for' sending any help to these parts.—Bruges, 18 Sep. 1580.

Add. Endd. 2 *pp.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 53.]

Sept. 18. **429.** JACQUES YMANS to WALSINGHAM.

Having to my great regret understood from yours of the 27th ult. and previous letters her Majesty's dissatisfaction at the small endeavour made up to now by the Estates to satisfy Pallavicino and Spinola, as also your desire that they should comply with her demand, I would not fail, apart from what Secretary Gilpin has done in pursuance of his commission, to communicate your last to the Estates and press them to seek all possible means of inducing the merchants of this town, having the *moyens généraux* in their hands, to satisfy Pallavicino and Spinola as regards the interest they claim, viz. 2,000 florins per month; which sum I hoped would prevent them from being further urgent with her Majesty. After several deliberations the Estates found it expedient to call on Brabant, Flanders, Holland and Zealand to promise to pay within

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a year the sum of 24,000 florins, for the merchants' greater security appointing sufficient and qualified persons to make it their own debt. Whereupon they of Brabant answered that they would pledge their credit, which I hope they of Flanders, in spite of their present heavy expenses, will likewise do. Holland and Zealand being further off, it will be difficult to get their decision in less than 8 or 10 days. To hasten matters the Estates have asked the Prince of Orange to write to Flanders, Holland, and Zealand, which he has promised to do.—Antwerp, 18 Sep. 1580.

Add. Endd. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 54.]

Sept. 18. **430.** COBHAM to WALSINGHAM.

By your last letter I learnt the safe arrival of Lord Grey, which gave me 'contentation'; for they had dispersed sundry bruits of ill-success in Ireland. Yesterday, upon the occasion of visiting the Ambassador of Venice, he enquired if any late succours for the rebels were landed, further saying he doubted not that her Majesty would be provident; so there is great expectation of the Spanish King's enterprise that way. But my trust is, her Majesty will not spare in these days to save and defend her estate. The improvident dealings of the Portuguese, assuring themselves on their own forces, may serve to all states for a warning in these times. I remember certain words which Bellièvre used in conference with me some months ago, pointing out that the army, the greatness and the ambition of King Philip were to be considered by all princes; howbeit it was likely he would 'plume about' the realm of France before he would enterprise anything that way which might unite them, so that her Majesty should think first thereon.

Likewise the speeches which Chevalier de Seure used in his 'entertainment' to me at the dinner on the day of my 'acceptance,' which was that although they had not the means to conquer countries, being encumbered with their civil dissensions, yet there were ways for them to suffer countries to be lost. So that it seems all the affairs of King Philip have a course by the assent of this King until some assigned terms, by them agreed on, may be accomplished. The advertisements from Italy these two years, I have heard, signify as much.

Wherefore I could wish it might please her Majesty to prevent the malice of the enemy by some assured action, rather than thus to abide their daily practices, which compel her to stand on her guard. Otherwise they will remain ready with their policies and forces to assail her states upon any gap opened or occasion offered by some chance happening through ill-fortune.

It is here reported that the Prince of Orange and the Archduke are 'come to an unkindness,' and that those of Flanders have entered into deep discontent towards the prince; which would be a good way to return them to the Spanish servitude, and thereby show their negligent and ungrateful acceptance of the grace of God. God defend her Majesty in these days 'for to have' any more Spanish neighbours on that coast, or nearer than they have already enlarged their confines.—Moret, 18 Sep. 1580.

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P.S.—I am informed this day that the King does not mean to accept Cavaliero Giraldi to be ambassador, since the overthrow has been given to Don Antonio; wherein he is not yet come hither to take his place and lodging like other ambassadors. If it fall out to be so you shall be advertised in two or three days.

Add. Endd. 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 152.]

Sept. 19. **431.** Thomas Stokes to the Secretaries.

Enclosed I send two copies which were given me this morning. One is the copy of the contract between the Malcontents and M. de Villiers for the surrender of Bouchain, and the other a letter to the four Members of Flanders from the Governor of Oudenarde.

News came also this morning to the magistrates of this town that the Malcontents are marching hitherward with all their forces; which makes them very fearful here and not without cause, for the States have no one in the country here to resist them. This morning news comes from Holland that the greatest part of the States' forces in Friesland is overthrown by the Malcontents in those parts; so that it is much feared they will be put to the worst only for want of good government. Most men fear some great alteration on their side before long; and now the Papists begin to 'utter their stomachs,' saying that the Pope and the Spaniard will deal well enough with England, and that shortly it shall be well seen.

God grant her Majesty may foresee it in time, for surely the speech goes here, the Pope and that faction work day and night against her.—Bruges, 19 Sep. 1580.

Add. (*with* 'Wm. Paige, post.') *Endd. by L. Tomson.* 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 55.]

Sept. 19. **432.** Cobham to the Secretaries.

I have stayed Mr Bourneham these two or three days, to learn by what means the surrender of la Fère was brought to pass. I can get no other information than that with the consent of the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé it is delivered in some sort to the King, with such conditions as I enclose; though I hold it assured there are more beneficial secret compositions for some of those Princes, or else great slackness has been shown.

This same contract has been hitherto observed towards those gentlemen and soldiers who sallied out of the town, having taken their way towards Cambray, as I hear.

The King's principal captains and soldiers of his camp are not yet come to Court; but M. Matignon, la Valette, d'O, and d'Arques are looked for.

Some understand that the camp will be 'addressed' towards Lyons. It may be either employed in Piedmont, to make the young Duke of Savoy consent the sooner to a marriage with this daughter of Lorraine attending on Queen Mother, which has

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been so long in framing; or else to enter there with the same forces, taking occasion 'upon' the injuries which his father lately offered this King at Carmagnola. On these affairs Marshal de Retz is, as I said before, dispatched towards Savoy, where the Duke of Nemours is already waiting, on the expectation that belongs to him and his children, after the failing of this young duke, whose body is but feeble, and of exceeding small stature; so far forth that he is judged unlikely to have succession. Therefore the French may look towards their late surrendered countries, which might be a just occasion to 'break wars' against the Spaniards, if there be any place for the disuniting of that Catholic knot; which for my own part I doubt, since I have seen how they have only entertained occasions offered, which should have been a present means to divert their civil wars, and have hitherto never applied their minds these 20 years to do anything that might give the Spanish King offence.

As yet there is no appearance but that the Duke of Maine's army is bent towards Livron in Dauphinè. It is the more likely since their general is a 'Guisiane,' which family are 'gracious and assured entertainers' of the amity with Spain, for the better strengthening of their particular faction.

The companies which Rochepot and Balagny are levying for his Highness, 'are thought shall pass' to Cambray only and no further. They are certified in this Court that Monsieur has promised the Commissioners of the Low Countries to send succour to Cambray, which may serve for this year; but for his own going thither I cannot learn, nor see any likelihood. The commissioners have asked to confer with the King, whereon M. Marchaumont has 'this other week' been at his Highness's Court, and returned yesterday to Fontainebleau; but men of judgement suppose there will be small fruit reaped for the Flemings from those negotiations as yet, except the King have in secret accorded with his brother, which is very unlikely. The interview between the brothers has been much 'practised,' but not yet brought to pass as it seems. Howbeit they prepare for Queen Mother departing toward Monceaux this week, whither his Highness will repair. So that unless the forces which were at la Fère are employed either against Flanders or for Piedmont, and the companies made lately by Strozzi about Nantes shall not be [*sic*] embarked for Portugal, they of Montacut will find themselves besieged before they look for the enemy, but that they have some friends who are careful of their estates.

I am assured by a person of quality that the King will 'frame his estate to repose' if he can conveniently with compositions in paper; if not, will bestow his forces to bring his will to pass.

M. de Grillon, having been one of the first that repaired to the siege of la Fère, has made suit to the King to place his company there in garrison. As yet the King has committed the care of the town to Crêvecœur, with some gentleman of Picardy for captain.

I cannot yet hear tell of the arrival of Montbrun, whereof I shall not fail to 'take care'; for they hold for certain here that what d'Aubigny does in show of religion, is to bring some great practice to pass and to make way for the entrance of strangers into the realm.

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Though I hear you are sufficiently advertised of the evil success the Portuguese have had, yet I would not 'leave' to send you this enclosed to confirm as much as is contained in it. Howbeit, a bruit has since been spread that Captain Pedro Paolo Tossinghi being arrived at Lisbon wrote letters from thence dated Sep. 2, that he was well received there; which would shew the Spaniards had not possession of it. But I have seen no letter, nor can I find any foundation of this report.

The Italian gentlewoman is 'dissuaded to repair' into England without using any of the earnest speeches specified in your letter.

Now there is an old musician, named Guillaume Tessier, born in Britanny, with his two sons and a daughter, who 'pretend' to pass into England; whom I have persuaded, since the times are full of troubles, and all Courts occupied in the consideration of the events thereof, rather to defer his journey. But the sickness in Paris, and the lack of rewards here, will force him, as he says, to 'seek countries.'—Moret, 19 Sep. 1580.

Add. Endd. 2½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 153.]

Sept. 20. **433.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

I would willingly have done your message myself to Signor Giraldi, but he has not come hither among the other ambassadors, since the overthrow of Don Antonio was known.

Since then there is no further certain news from Portugal; but in the opinion of all in this Court they are esteemed all overthrown and lost through the treason of the Governors, who 'abused' the Duke of Braganza and the nation.

The book of which you would have me learn is intituled '*Reveille-matin* for the English nation.' It is thought to be most seditious, and full of particular malicious reports. As yet I have 'recovered' none of them. It is said here that some of those English fugitives are there apprehended, but not dealt with in the matter of supremacy, but only easily examined, and persuaded in certain points of religion, so that for the point which most touches her Majesty, that is for their acceptance of foreign power and their alliance with those to serve for that purpose, is not enquired after [*sic*] nor justice done according to their demerits. Therefore it is to be wished her Majesty might cause so much to be done therein as may serve for the assurance of her estate and the blessed repose of England and Ireland.—Moret, 25 Sep. 1580.

Add. & endt. gone. ⅔ *p.* [*France IV.* 154.]

Sept. 25. **434.** Cobham to the Secretaries.

I had audience on the 22nd inst. upon occasion of dealing with the King for the releasing of a new imposition, 'taxed' at Bordeaux, of 2½ per cent. upon all merchandise, using the best means I could on behalf of the English merchants.

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The King answered with gracious words, showing himself inclined to favour the Queen's subjects, somewhat mentioning his accustomed desire of advancing his brother's marriage. He entered further to declare how necessary it was that the greatness of King Philip were speedily looked to; which he spoke with appearance of earnestness. I answered him, that many months past the Queen had signified her readiness to join his counsels therein.

Then the King commanded me to signify from him that he was bent to have feeling of [? *ressentir*] the Spanish King's enterprises, and that he trusted to find her like disposed; which I beseech you to certify to her.

But I showed him that in dealing in these general terms was but an entertaining of the cause, and showing a disposition to enter into the enterprise. Therefore if it would please him, as well as he had commanded me to send his former words to her Majesty, that so likewise it might content him to command M. de Mauvissière to deliver the particular means which he purposes to use, and the forces he minds to address to that effect and such other provisions as he thinks should be thought on and prepared. This he assured me he would do at once, meaning to confer with his mother, to whom he wished me to repair.

On coming to her presence, I declared to her that it seemed to me that my negotiations were not fully accomplished till I had imparted them to her; whose words and favours I had cause to intreat for on behalf of the English merchants 'trading Bordeaux,' whereof I had informed the King, finding his mind bent to gratify the Queen and her subjects by preserving to the merchants their ancient privileges which his predecessors, and himself at his entrance to his crown, had confirmed; to be free of all further exactions. Notwithstanding this their suit should have happy success, if she would help with her gracious speech. She promised to do so, and assured me that the King was well-affected; alleging that it was most necessary that all the good offices and demonstrations should now pass on both sides, seeing before their eyes and daily hearing tell of the enterprises of the Spanish King, which 'were requisite to be' provided for; and hoped the Queen would think thereon.

I assured her that on that side there was good will to join with their Majesties, so that the King would proceed to show his 'valure' in the action, and that she would make it known that she could not endure so excessive greatness as this of King Philip. There were no doubt but they might find so many hands ready for so just a work that the labour would appear easier than in common discourse yet seemed. Opinion at present was bent in favour of King Philip, respecting his fortune; which by custom is followed by the baser and mean sort. I therefore assured her I would not leave to perform any office tending to advance this negotiation. Notwithstanding, it was convenient, after they had thoroughly determined the affairs, to commission the ambassador ligier to deliver their decision particularly, and I should remain ready to deal further as their pleasure might direct, whereon I would attend.

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I therefore desired her, since God had given the King that contentment to have la Fère delivered without bloodshed, with the submission of his subjects, that his Majesty might, in way of a fatherly compassion, put an end to these troubles.

She said that the King of Navarre had lately committed many petty follies, and 'did not minister cause to the King to the consideration of him' and his followers. Howbeit she said the King was sending again to his brother to have the pacification renewed; otherwise armies were prepared in all places to besiege their towns and to use force. Yet she hoped they would better consider their estate.

I said I understood the Protestants were willing to yield themselves at all points to the King, so long as they might have some sure repair to places of defence for their safety—the use of their conscience according to the Edict of pacification; which she said would not be denied them. Whereon she 'inferred' at large their taking of towns and 'butines,' and ransoming of the King's subjects. To which I replied they had suffered much persecution, and, therefore, any evil appearance renewed their fear; which might excuse them if their Majesties would look with indifferent eyes into the afflicted state of those of the Religion, and deal with them as their 'kind' subjects.

She said, the King showed now at la Fère, and would do so with the rest, that he sought not to be revenged on them, nor their lives, but 'pretended' to have his towns and defend his subjects from being spoiled; who were ready to deal in other sort with them of the Religion, if the King would suffer them. But he, she said, was determined to have the pacification established. And so I was 'licensed' from her.

M. Lansac entered into conference with me on the affairs of Portugal, wishing that the King would consider them, and that as the Queen, my sovereign, had hitherto shown to be wise, she would so continue; and that princes should not only have care of their states during their natural life, but think to leave them in an assured state.

I have set down the course it pleased the King and Queen to keep in their conference with me. I will now tell you such discourse and intelligence as I receive otherwise. And first of the affairs of Portugal. I am informed that Don Francisco Baretto is landed at Viana, with two ships and about 300 soldiers, commanded by Petro Paolo Tossinghi and other French and Italian captains, 'which' the French supply and captain are returned back again and landed at Nantes. This has happened, they say, because when they came near the Portuguese coast the fishermen gave intelligence of Don Antonio's defeat and the loss of Lisbon; on which Francisco Baretto was landed at Viana with 8 or 10 soldiers only, meaning to see how affairs passed, and to return to the French ships. But after he was landed the French returned, compelled, they say, by tempest and contrary winds. It is since bruited that after the Portuguese had received the Spaniards into Lisbon and were informed of the

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arrival of the French succours, they slew on a sudden 6,000 Castilians, and retook all the places which had been surrendered; but this is not as yet greatly believed.

Strozzi continues his preparations of men and ships at Nantes.

A French gentleman called 'Pierredor' [P. Dor] late consul for the French merchants in Portugal, by whom Don Antonio had sent both letters and messages to their Majesties, has lately delivered to them certain 'remonstrances' touching the present state of Portugal, the copy of which I enclose.

Meantime the Protestants in this country are much amazed by the great force levied by the King in sundry parts; sending part of his army which was at la Fère to Montacut [Montaigu] where M. de Lude and divers others in Poitou have amassed companies to make their rendezvous beside Angiers on the 25 inst. And the 'voice' [is] given out that the Marquis d'Elbeuf is to be one of the chiefs of that enterprise.

Lancosme is 'in a sort' besieging Saint-Jean-d'Angely; having it is thought intelligences within the town.

It is resolved, as the Protestants are informed, that when the towns are recovered, all these forces shall be employed in Guyenne, where there is a report that the King of Navarre has lately been defeated; but no certainty as yet.

The Duke of Maine is marching into Dauphiné having lately taken Brieres [?] upon composition to let them go quit of ransom, so that they delivered two other places to him; which it is thought they have done. The duke sent two of their ensigns to the King the same day that I was with him. The Pope lends the duke 50,000 crowns to continue the enterprise against the Protestants. I enclose a letter from Lyons.

So unless his Majesty 'pretends' to address those forces against King Philip, there is all appearance in the sight and judgement of men that they are bent to overthrow those of the Religion within this realm; 'which are so ready and in present order, as no succour may come speedily enough unto them,' unless God show His divine power by some extraordinary means. But how far this will be thought convenient to be considered, I leave to you.

Surely there are who think that these great troubles are led by the great consent of some, and advanced by the slackness of others who are bewitched [?] with two little opinion of these strong armies, as the princes of Germany, and such other Protestants, who much after the manner of the Portuguese assure themselves so long of their own forces and ability, 'amused' with their cloaked divisions and factions, that the enemy was within their doors before they prepared defence; entertaining their own humours with vain conjectures, through the abuses and practices of the liers in wait.

Marshal de Cossé has been looked for, and his journey hitherward put in doubt; but again 'revived' and said he will be in this Court next week. The ordinary 'conference' in this Court is of the expectation of the Spanish proceedings towards the enterprise of her Majesty's realms.

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The Duke of Nevers is said to manage and practise the Bishop Electors. It is thought at Court that the Duke of Aumale will have the government of Picardy. Some troops are to pass to Cambray and one or two of Monsieur's principal captains have the King's commission, of which I am advertised; but they assuredly had conference with the King before their departure.—Moret, 25 Sep. 1580.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson and Walsingham. 5 *pp.* [*France IV.* 155.]

Sept. 25. **435.** COBHAM to

I beseech you, sir, although Mr Stafford has framed a complaint contrary to his promise made to me and Mr Waad of his own free will (for otherwise I had signified as much as passed in words which were both faithfully and modestly spoken by Mr Waad without prejudice to any person), to shew that favour towards me whereby I shall not be deprived of the company of so approved a friend, and a gentleman by whose discreet means there come to me those who serve her Majesty; for otherwise I would be loath to endanger those friends by new men and means, since these days are perilous, if God turn not the course which in appearance is like to be followed. I assure you that since I came into these parts I have not found of quality or manner able in any sort to follow in this Court the causes of her Majesty or her merchants with that modesty and satisfaction to all sorts. Besides that the secret friends of those of the Religion shrink and will not be known to new acquaintances; to say the truth I would be loath to venture men's lives into the hands of an indiscreet person, or a vaunter or babbler.

I cannot tell to what purpose this complaint tend; for first Mr Stafford dealt with me, and wished me to take heed how I received intelligence by Mr Waad, for he was set about me by 'some such a one' as you may guess, and that I was dangerously abused, and 'how he had known him to be a witty fellow;' with many like speeches.

I said that I was assured of Mr Waad, for I had known him to be honest and to love me for many years, and that he should sooner deceive me than I mistrust him.

When this would not take place, then within three days Mr Waad had quarrel picked with his speech, which was neither spoken in plain words, nor in any reasonable sort to be wrested, to tend to any such sense as he would infer; "but as Mr Waad was 'tempered' with, so hath my lord Sands by means (for loving me, keeping me company, and giving me his horse) through such a one which did seem lovingly to visit him, at his first coming, upon finding his good will bent towards me, he has not since visited him." And my servants enticed, and promised entertainment, 'whereof some now go masterless,' and some kept, contrary to promise, rather to encourage others of my men than for any good service.

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These, with a number of such devices, I pass; and I may say before God, without cause or meaning to harm any, but to serve her to whom I am bound. This is the foundation of Mr Waad's complaint. He has done them more services than they have regard. I have pleasured them and forbear and suffer; yet you have seen and will see it will not satisfy them. Notwithstanding, if you find that much to be true, I beseech you to put this wrong from me.—Moret, 25 Sep. 1580.

P.S.—I have written a few words to the Queen touching Mr Waad, trusting he may stay with me; for otherwise I have not one to ask my audience, nor do those necessary 'accomplements' with the ambassadors.

Add. and endt. gone. 1½ *pp.* [*Ibid IV.* 156.]

Sept. 27. **436.** Spanish Money for England.

I, Miguel de Varoiz, Alcalde of this noble and loyal town of San Sebastian, in this present year, by this signed (*firmada*) with my name and signed (*signada*) by Andres de Plaçola and Martin Perez de Huacue, the King's notaries in this town, testify to all who see and hear this present, that in the ship named the *Falcon*, master, David Collins, an Englishman, resident in the city of London, was embarked a chest (*caxon*) of money, containing 375,500 *maravedis*, in [*sic*] 11,040 *reals*, 4 *maravedis* in silver, in *reals* of eight, four, and two, and one of 4 *maravedis*. This money was for England, and for the city of London, in the aforesaid chest, covered with hemp stalks, bound with a hempen rope, and sealed in four places with sealingwax, numbered on the top, and by me marked in red and signed. Which money was embarked in the said ship, and delivered in the *concha* of this town of San Sebastian, in virtue of a royal writ signed by King Philip, and countersigned by Juan Vasquez, done at Merida on May 9 of this year 1580, whereby he gives permission to Julio de Junta, a Florentine, to take out of these realms 5,172 ducats, which amount to 1,939,500 *maravedis* in gold and silver, on account of certain breviaries and other books which he brought from Venice; with which writ and power granted to the said Julio requisition was made to me, and having obeyed his Majesty's writ with the esteem due to it and used the diligence which it demanded, the money was embarked in the vessel and delivered to the master in the said *concha*, I having in person gone with the notaries above-named to make the delivery. Which 375,500 *maravedis* with the rest of the 5,172 ducats, which as appears from an entry on the back of the writ signed with certain signatures from the town of Bilbao amounts to 1,564,000 *maravedis*, and the said money is put into the chest in a sack, in which goes a note, to the effect that the above declared sum is therein written and signed by my hand, at the request of the master to clear him towards the King's justices as well as all in authority and private persons, so that in case through bad weather or other cause the vessel should put into port, he may suffer no molestation or extortion, and may be allowed to take away the money freely.—San Sebastian, 27 Sep. 1580. (*Signed by the persons named above.*)

Endd.: A letter in Spanish. *Sp.* 2 *pp.* [*Spain I.* 55.]

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Sept. 30. **437.** "By a letter dated from the Port of Portugal, 30 Sept. 1580."

I 'trust' you have heard that on June 25 Don Antonio in 'the same' city was saluted king; and now [*qu.* how] the Duke of Alva came into Alemtejo with his power, and by treason brought all into subjection without any resistance; and so came to Setubal, where was a small resistance, but only the castle; and so to 'Casta Cales' [Cascaes], his guide being Don Antonio [ ] lord of that town. There was Don Diego de Meneses, who "left his journey of the Indies to be their viceroy" in order that the Duke of Alva might behead him as a traitor to our King. He delivered Cascaes without any bloodshed (some say because his men would not fight) and so the Duke went on with his camp 'Wyras' [Veiras] and there 'gave his battery' to the fort of St. John for 3 days. The captain there was Tristram Vas Deviga, who delivered the fort; and that was the beginning of our undoing, because he might have held it for ten years.

Thence he came to 'Bethelem,' where was no resistance, because when his Highness saw that all was surrendered by treachery he retired with his soldiers to Alcantara and there 'set his trenches.' He had 18,000 horse and foot. The Duke of Alva proceeded with his camp; he had 14,000 horse and foot, all good soldiers and trained in war, with shot and ordnance. He sent a company to 'invade' the bridge of Alcantara; and so our men being inexpert came together thither, but the Duke sent behind their back, by the side of St. Benedict's Church, a band of Spaniards; and so attacked them behind. By this means our camp was 'discomflicted' on Aug. 25, and 2,000 men died. His Highness was hurt by the captain of his guard, who meant to have slain him; but he slew the captain with his own hand, and so came to this city accompanied by the Earl of Vimioso and the Bishop of 'Gartha' [Guarda] only, and did not stay, but "went his way straight."

After this our people lost their heart to defend themselves; and so came the duke's son, the Great Prior, Don Antonio of Cascaes, Diego 'Lopus' of 'Sicera' and Lewis Cesar, and set up a banner in the steeple of the highest church on behalf of the chamber of the same city. [*Burghley notes in margin*: Lisbona.] And by these means the duke 'forbore' the spoil of the city, 'but' only in the 'subers' and five leagues round about; and it was such a spoil that the spoil of Rome was nothing like it. It lasted 3 days, and in 16 days they had still something to sell, and 60 galleys and 20 great ships are full of their spoil, and they made great abuses in the churches out of the city; but at present the city is quiet, because the soldiers come no more within the gates, and a great watch is kept. All the handicraftsmen work, and all the judges and 'currisidors' follow their business as before. The Duke of Alva is lodged in the 'subers,' the prior within the city.

Don Antonio being so 'discomflited' came to 'Montomor' [*qy.* Tomar] and 'Quimbra,' here he keeps his treasure (and it was said to be great) of money, precious stones, and the rich saddle and bridle of his predecessors; and sent the Earl of Vimioso

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against Aveiro, 'which rebel' against him, on understanding the spoil of Lisbon. And the earl took the town perforce, and delivered it to his soldiers to be spoiled, and made himself strong with the munition that was there and other taken out of certain hulks that were there to lade salt. And he commanded the salt to be given to them gratis in recompense for their munitions. There assembled 6 or 7,000 horse and foot, and so with this company King Antonio marched to Porto, which also was revoked [*qy.* revolted] against him, and left the earl at Aveiro with 500 men; and he keeps us so strait that we were fain to deliver him the town upon composition, and so he is lord of the shire called called 'Interdoro Imino' [*Burghley notes*: Antre Dorro e Mino], where he may have many thousands, and it is thought that he will 'stand' King Philip well enough; and more if any help comes to him, which he looks for daily.

Also it is thought that this winter the Spaniards will do nothing because there have been great rains, and the river Mondego is very great, and we hear that the bridge of Mondego which might have been their passage, is broken, and that is about 'Quimbra'; and the more because they fear that they of Lisbon will 'revoke again' by reason of the spoil and extortion that the Spaniards used against them.

All the noblemen repent, because the King of Spain makes so small account of them. The Duke of Braganza went to speak with him; to whom the King said these words: "Welcome, duke; yours shall be yours, and mine yours"; and commanded him to sit in a plain chair. And we hear say that the King commanded him to go to Seville, his wife and children, because it appertained so to his service.

The Governors of Portugal who fled have not as yet spoken with the King. They are still at the town called Castromarine. One of them, called Diego Lopes de Souza, is dead; and another, called Don John Tello is also dead in a village of his in Portugal, for he tarried behind when the others went away.

Endd. by Burghley's secretary. 3 *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 40.]

Sept. 30. **438.** The Duke of Prussia to the Queen.

Having learnt from your very kind letter that you liked the falcons we sent you last year, and desiring to maintain the practice of our ancestors, we send you six more, hoping they will reach you safe and in spirits, so that you may get much enjoyment from the use of them, to the lengthening of your life. But whereas in your last letter you kindly offer to requite us speedily for the falcons, we request in all gratitude, that if it be done without inconvenience and opportunity offers, you would gratify us with some of those pacing (*gradariis*) horses which we know are better than others in England, for the use of our wife, sprung from the House of Brunswick, whom we lately married, and who is very fond of this kind of riding.—Königsberg (Regimonti), 30 Sep. 1580. (*Signed in autograph*) George Frederick.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson: sent 6 falcons, desires ambling geldings. *Lat.* 1½ *pp.* [*Germ. States II.* 2.]

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Sept. 30. **439.** J. CUPPER to BURGHLEY.

Aware as I always am of the favours which made me your servant long before I was fortunate enough to be received by you as such, I could not but regret that I have hitherto been unable to make apparent my great desire to obey you. I have always tried to do so in your presence, which is the reason why, being at a distance from you, I am again constrained to tempt fortune in order to try if the luck I have so long desired will come to me. I shall indeed feel it, if when occasion offers you do me the favour of employing me, and can do anything acceptable to you.

Though I know you are informed of all that takes place here, and that I can send you no news, yet I will be so enterprising as to ask you to read things that you perhaps knew before. Three weeks ago five ambassadors from the States came to Monsieur's Court, now at Tours. The first, who speaks for them all, is Sainte-Aldegoude, the second is the Prince of Orange's bastard son, the third is M. 'Donham' [d'Ohain], who is for Brabant. They have offered Monsieur 1,200,000 crowns to go to Flanders. Marshal Cossé has gone to the King to treat of these affairs. Monsieur demands the sovereignty of that country, and would wish Flanders to be held of the Crown of France, as in former times.

The King of Spain, as report runs, has taken Lisbon, and the Portuguese have yielded to him; whereby they think that Monsieur will not go to Flanders. Simier remains at Bourgueil, and comes no more to Monsieur's Court; which looks as if he was not yet restored to favour.

The Duke of Savoy is dead.—Orleans, last of Sept. 1580.

Add. Endd: Mr. Couper from Orleans. *Fr.* 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 157.]

Sept. 30. **440.** Extract from the proceedings of the Council of State held at Fontainebleau the last day of September, 1580.

Upon the request presented by Jehan Liberge, merchant of Nantes, stating that having freighted the ship called the *Jaques*, of le Pouliguen, with wine and other goods, he was plundered by certain inhabitants of Waterford and other towns in Ireland, and has not since been able to obtain restitution, although he has for fourteenth months been a suitor to the Council of the Queen of England, and that the King has at sundry times written on his behalf to his ambassador, who on his part has done all that was in his power to obtain justice for him, to the effect that looking to the said refusal and the long suit in which Liberge has consumed the greater part of his goods, he may be granted letters of marque and reprisal against all the inhabitants of the realm of Ireland to carry them out in the customary form until he is entirely recompensed for the worth of the said ship and goods according to estimate made or to be made, and the cost of his said suit; and having seen the documents in the case.

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The Council is of opinion, subject to the King's pleasure, that Liberge should be permitted to cause to be stayed in all ports where he may find them, by order of the local judges, all vessels and goods belonging to those of Ireland, and have them sold, as is customary in such cases, until he is entirely recompensed.

In the margin is written: The Queen agrees; but please speak expressly about it to the English ambassador here, and to M. de Mauvissière and to the Queen of England, that the matter may be once again brought to her notice and that of her Council. (Signed), Forget.

Copy. Endd.: The award of the Council of the fr. king in the behalf of John Liberge. *Fr.* 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 158.]

? Sep. **441.** Instructions for [?] Daniel Rogers.

Whereas we have lately perceived, both by the sight of certain letters sent to the States by their deputies very lately residing with the Duke of Anjou, and by the late sending of a gentleman to acquaint him with certain articles, with further promises that within a few days special commissioners should be sent to him in the company of des Pruneaux with ample commission to conclude the negotiation so long in hand, that the States have not since our embassy sent to them about two years past ceased to negotiate with the Duke, with intention not only to accept him as governor or protector for a season, but also to acknowledge him as their sovereign and shake off their obedience to the King of Spain;

We have thought good, considering how much the alienation of those countries to a new lord 'imports' us and our Crown, especially 'to be joined' with the Crown of France, to make choice of you, as one sufficiently acquainted with the intention on all sides, and with our meaning, to be employed in that charge, both with the Prince of Orange and with the States, and also with some particular person among them, according to the following directions.

You will declare to them that we cannot but marvel that they should enter into any such course either with the Duke or with any other foreign potentate, and not first inform us, according to their promises at sundry times. For if they could call to mind our forwardness to help them in former necessities, or had due consideration of their promises made to us for precedent favours, they could not have so greatly forgotten themselves towards a prince who has deserved so well of them, and ought not, in gratitude, to have been dealt with with so little respect, or rather with so great contempt.

What we demand of them, to which they are by promise bound, is not great, yet is such that besides the honour done to us it might have been of no small force to the better assurance of their negotiation; consisting only in making us acquainted with such intelligences and contracts as occasion might lead them to with other princes. If they seem to forget the matter, or deny any such promise, the contract made with the Marquis of Havrech, the confirmation of it

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under their seal, you shall tell them, sufficiently witness it. For further arguments to support the reasonableness of our demand, you may say that no reason can maintain it to be allowed, if for their sake we incur the hatred of the King of Spain—as the world sees how evil he deals with us already, and threatens much more—and spend our treasure and suffer the loss of our people in their service, that in the end they should withdraw from their ancient alliance with our Crown, and join themselves to that of France, whereby all hope of the continuance of the ancient amity will become desperate; for by this means the world may think us foully abused in spending our money.

In case they reply that that contract was not of force to bind them to any such condition, since we on our part 'slacked' to seal and confirm it interchangeably, you shall say that whatever confirmation lacked on our part, in form of words and other ceremonies more usual for judicial courts than honourable dealings of princes, our acts have shown a real performance of all we promised, which would have been greater had it not stood more in others than in us.

For first we slacked not to relieve them with great sums of money, as their obligations and bonds can witness, amounts well nigh to 100,000*l.* received for the most part in ready money; and for the rest, 100,000*l.* more, which we promised them by benefit of our credit, we meant to have made good, had they not broken with us in the performance of former conditions, and given us in many ways just cause to make stay of it.

As for the other part of their contract with us, on which they may perhaps take some exception, which concerns the aid of 6,000 of our subjects, you shall say that we redeemed that want, the necessity of our state at home driving us thereto, with a far greater supply, of 11,000 reiters and landsknechts, levied and paid in advance for a certain time by treasure from our own coffers. This we did with their acceptance and acknowledgement of the receipt of one in lieu of the other, as may appear by certain writings of their own, whereof you can give best testimony, being our minister there at that time; so that in substance we departed no whit from the performance of our promises, though in form there may seem some little difference. Which being so, as they cannot truly deny, you may let them know that we cannot think ourselves honourably or kindly dealt with, to be made a stranger to their proceeding, especially as they have no apparent necessity to force them thereto, as they had at the time of our said negotiation with them; their towns for the most part being at present well-secured through sufficience of garrisons and fortifications, and their enemies weaker than at that time, standing now only in the strength of a few disunited malcontents, with no likelihood of receiving any aid from Spain, that king being occupied in making good his title to Portugal, and busy about other expeditions, which if common bruit be true, are meant to light upon our realms by way of revenge for the favours we have shown them in their distresses.

You shall therefore declare to them that in respect of themselves and of the obligation that we have or ought to have on them, they

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will do well to stay their last commissioners, who are to go to make up the matter, till our advice be known thereon, if they be not already dispatched; if for no other reason, yet for our satisfaction, that we may be acquainted with the manner of the disposing of that state, and may give them such advice therein as they shall have no cause to mislike.

If they take another course, besides that they will show themselves ingrate, they may assure themselves that though we wish, and with most just cause, as well to the Duke as to any prince or other creature living, we cannot, if the matter be 'carried away' without our privity, but do our endeavours to impeach it, by such means as perhaps they would have no great cause to like, and we should be loth to put in operation otherwise than constrained by necessity.

In case you find by dealing generally with the Prince and States, small likelihood of working any good in this matter, you shall deal severally with them in private, especially such as you know or think to be more inclining to us than to the King of France; yet so that your speeches and persuasions be delivered to them without touching Monsieur, for the conservation of whose honour and credit we ought, as you know, to have an especial care; but so that they may seem to taste of nothing but a discontent in us that we who have so well deserved of them and been so careful of their well-doing, should be so lightly accounted of as not to be made privy to their purpose in a matter of so great moment, and that cannot but somewhat touch us in honour, considering our former dealings.

If in your conferences, either particularly or generally with them, you perceive that they might yet be induced to cease from seeking after the French aid, and to take some such other course as we could like to direct them in, if they could be assured of any relief from us in their extremities, and of certain means to be delivered from these civil wars, which have so long consumed them, you shall ask them what means they would have us use, whereby an end of their calamities may be purchased; which being known you may tell them you will declare to us, and you hope they will receive from us such answer as shall content them.

After thus dealing with the Prince and States, you shall repair to the Duke's agent there, M. des Pruneaux, and acquaint him with the cause of your sending; laying before him the 'unkindness we conceive' with the States for not making us privy to their negotiation with his master, wherein they could not but have looked for such concurrence at our hands as they most desire, consistently with our honour, considering the good intelligence there is between the Duke and us. 'So that in this strange kind of dealing they have not only dishonoured us in the opinion of the world, but done wrong to themselves in giving occasion to have that good will estranged from them which has not been wanting to relieve them in their greatest extremity. For they may well have persuaded themselves, for reasons they may well conceive, that we should have been so far from staying the course of any intention that might have been

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for their good and for the duke's honour, that we would rather have furthered it, and by such means as God has put into our hands advanced it in such sort that the happy success of their delivery from present miseries should plainly have witnessed to them the constant course of our sincere meaning towards them; which we take to be the principal end why the duke his master, carried with a noble and princely disposition, is entering into the action as one that prefers their deliverance from the present calamity which they now endure, and which without some timely remedy is likely to increase, than of [*sic*] any desire to advance his own greatness otherwise than by having compassion and procuring the deliverance of the afflicted.

Draft, with a few corrections in Burghley's hand. Endd. in a later hand: Instructions for one sent into the Low Countries 1579 when they were about to receive the D. of Anjou for their governor. $6\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.* [*Holl. & Flanders XIII.* 56.]

Oct. 1. **442.** Gilpin to Walsingham.

I have all this week been out of town about the company's affairs, and returned this evening; so I am to crave your favourable construction of my absence which has somewhat 'slowed' the suit. Before my departure, however, I dealt with M. Ymans and the deputies of this town earnestly, who promised me their only care should be to procure all possible expedition; and, as I understand, there would have been no default on their part, if M. Ymans had not ever since been so ill that he was unable to stir abroad or do anything. His weakness has been 'the let of the not making' the instructions for him that was and is to go to Holland; but being now ready, he has sent me word that he was to depart at once, and to that end Ymans had drawn him certain articles, which one Scheurmans, an échevin of this town and deputy with the States, has to peruse, and add what he finds requisite.

Your packet was opened by my servant in my absence, and the enclosed letters delivered. M. Villiers returns answer, which you shall herewith receive. Thus being come so late to this town that I could not learn how matters passed, and what news had come or fallen out this week, I have also to crave pardon this time.—Antwerp, 1 Oct. 1580.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 57.]

Oct. 3. **443.** Cobham to [Burghley].

I received your letter this other day by the northern gentleman.

The coming of Marshal de Cossé to Court, and the sudden departure of Monsieur from Tours towards Languedoc, give cause of sundry doubts. It is esteemed that the Marshal will shortly return, for the king departs to-morrow from Fontainebleau to Dolinville, and so on to Orleans to meet his young queen coming from the 'baynes,' taking her into his company towards Blois, where they purpose to keep their Court most of the winter.

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Queen Mother goes hence within 3 or 4 days, as I am informed.

The king is sending most of his companies that were at la Fère to Saint-Jean-d'Angely. Monsieur has levied sundry ensigns by his captains, M. de Rochepot and la Ferté. Strozzi has gathered some bands about Nantes, with show to embark for Portugal, who will be otherwise employed. They of Rochelle suspect these neighbours.

As I have written 'in my former,' so I now rehearse the same, that it is like they have resolved to 'extirp' religion, and those in this realm who profess to take arms for that cause; or else they have a great enterprise towards some foreign country. But it is rather to be thought that this hostility is prepared for intestine wars, considering that the Spanish king seems to have an assured confidence towards their Majesties, and the king is coldly disposed to take hold of those lawful and easy occasions which are offered for increasing his estate divers ways, whereby he might likewise assuage the swelling greatness of the Catholic King; which methinks should be more unsupportable to princes than subjects, who sigh and wax sorry to see the dangerous strength and riches the Catholic King has in readiness to bestow where it pleases him for the annoyance of any realm. Besides he is backed with the assistance of the Pope and the faction depending thereon, which daily hearken after the information of fugitives, malcontents, and ambitious minds, envying the peace which her Majesty has hitherto enjoyed more than any other Christian Prince.

But seeing the Catholic King has thought it no prejudice to his greatness to confederate himself with his allies, those of his profession, nor has 'left' to make means for aid, forces, and supply of money of other meaner princes, methinks that any prince may take example thereby to prevent the malice of this world. It seems to divers that there is yet hidden some further enterprise, because the Spanish preparations are not only continued, and newly victualled, but also great supplies are looked for from Italy. The certain purpose and intent will be as politicly hidden and cloaked as was that of Portugal, until the 'Spanish' have his forces on the shore; when he will be assured of those he has intelligence with, and allied [*sic*] to him by promises or corruption. Such was his policy in Portugal, bringing only strength to support the secret treasons he had packed in that realm.

The Spanish secretary to the late deceased ambassador, named Maldonado, informed their Majesties the other day that on Sep. 4 the whole realm of Portugal was reduced to the Catholic King's devotion. This King's ambassador has now advertised the like, as I am informed.

It might seem high presumption in me (but my zeal will excuse me) to recommend to your care her Majesty's realms and people. I have undertaken to write of this matter, sure that you will remember my duty ever very particularly borne to you, and also that I have known you to be her Highness's chief spirit in foreseeing the dangers threatened in time past, as a father of your country tendering the wealth thereof. And as you have understood how there

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has been a time in peace, of sparing, so you will with the like eyes and judgement discern the storms on another coast making show of approach, and advise to have necessary provision made for the sustenance and defence of those who have hitherto been well shrouded from enemies and troubles in the service of God. And I am sure you will loathe to see her Majesty with hopes deceived, for all those good entertainments will be continued and yet assured confident friends provided for and fastly embraced.

Those are taken to be the most trusty princes who lean to the same profession in religion which her Majesty exercises. Howbeit, perhaps the charges will be 'sticked at'; but since these causes are to be negotiated by such honourable persons as may be used for so high a cause, where other means may serve to entertain amity, but not used for so apt instruments to frame a strong and princely knot.

And because these affairs are public, no demand can be too great to get assured friends of quality; the rather since it is deemed that there is great working with strong hand and mighty counsels to dissever and disunite those who have put from them the supremacy of the Pope. This is accomplished by councillors and ministers, scattered by the Popish Consistory with the assistance of the House of Austria, which is raising itself above all other potentates under the Catholic cloak. This practice is the more dangerous, because this King is in the mean time amused with the provocations used to him for the utter abolition of his Huguenots, so that he is so much blindfolded that he discerns not the snares and 'incumbrances' of those practices, nor perceives the great danger of the Spanish faction. Therefore it is thought 'a matter remediless' to persuade him from the course taken; as is like to appear clearly within the next few months.

Further considering that so much has already passed for the right understanding of this course, that it were great pity any prince should overmuch repose 'themselves' or 'their' state on the purposes of this country, 'except' more than ordinary promises and assurances may be had—and if these could be obtained as fully as could be wished, it should be remembered how their inconstancy lost the Kingdom of Naples and the Duchy of Milan —therefore the other confederacies with princes of the Religion in all places 'may be thought not to be forslowed'; as I doubt not is both thought on and put in action.

I have entered thus far into this 'purpose,' under the protection of your pardon, in consideration of my duty to my sovereign, the service of God, and continuance of the present estate; moved thereto by their Majesties' having, on occasion of any speech of the Spanish preparations and the affairs of Portugal, always 'inferred' to me how necessary it was for the Queen to consider this. Also the ambassadors in conference have been and are inquisitive what preparations were made by her Majesty; and lately, if any new forces were sent into Ireland.—Moret, 3 Oct. 1580.

Add. gone. Endd. by Burghley's secretary. 3½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 159.]

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Oct. 4. **444.** Cobham to [the Privy Council].

After lately receiving your lordships' letter, I moved the King to discharge the new taxation which they of Bordeaux had imposed on the Queen's subjects trading thither; declaring to him how this imposition was contrary to the grants made by his predecessors and confirmed by himself on coming to the Crown. To have it exacted at that time was found strange, because her subjects were in hope that all gracious dealings should rather proceed from hence, considering it was esteemed that there was especially good intelligence and amity between the Queen and his Majesty, and good hope of its continuance and increase. Wherefore though he had more than ordinary cause to endeavour to get supplies of money, the Queen hoped he would not do anything whereby her merchants should be 'endommaged.' And whereas in appearance this new imposition may seem to bring profit, the 'sequent' would shew otherwise; for the charges would be so grievous to the English merchants that most would be driven to leave the Bordeaux trade, and so the more loss would happen through the decay of the ancient customs, which are now willingly paid, than gain, by this new exaction, the substance of the trade being a matter of delicacy rather than of necessity.

The King said that he desired good demonstrations should be shown on his part towards her Majesty and her vassals; but as he had not heard tell of it before this instant, and being a matter that concerned his estate he would have his council to consider it, and I should have answer to the Queen's satisfaction. Accordingly he has resolved to cause letters patent to be delivered to me for the discharge of this new imposition, very amply, and as it seems, with a few more effectual words than before. These I have delivered to an English merchant to be carried with all diligence to Bordeaux, the vintage being now 'present'; and send the copy to your lordships.—Moret, 4 Oct. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 160.]

Sept. 22. **445.** Copy of letters patent referred to in the last.

Fr. 1½ *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 160*a*.]

Oct. 4. **446.** Cobham to Wilson.

Please let her Majesty know that the lord of Arbrothe advertised me that he was informed there were two ships prepared to be sent with munitions and arms to Scotland, to be landed at Dumbarton. They were required long since by d'Aubigny, but deferred till now.

Sundry Scottish gentlemen and others daily require passports of me to pass through England. I shift off the most part of them; but to-day I have given a passport to George Lermont, lord of Balcomy, and his servants. He is 'recommended' to be a zealous Protestant.—Moret, 4 Oct. 1580.

P.S.—The Lord of Arbrothe has advertised how this afternoon Colonel Balfour's brother came to him and declared that the Colonel

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lately sent a Spanish horse and two other singular good horses by him from Flanders to the young King. Whereon d'Aubigny, knowing that Balfour disliked Morton, wished this party to write to his brother, to have his bands ready upon any warning sent him from the King, since the King meant to have them for his guard. And whereas Morton had sought to entrap him, he hoped to find the means to chastise him; wherewith it seems the Lord of Arbrothe is not well pleased, finding that d'Aubigny will continue his exile.

Add. Edd. by L. Tomson. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 161.]

Oct. 4 **447.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

The King has since the taking of la Fère commanded the companies of M. Beauvoy l'Angi [Beauvois-Nangis], and Sérillac, to march towards Saint Jean-d'Angely. They passed by this town on Sep. 30.

Two days after, 2,000 *lansquenets* were conducted within a league of the town towards those parts. They were once assigned to repair into Dauphiné to the Duke of Maine. The King seems resolved to have the walled towns which are in the Protestants' power or else purposes to use hostility for the 'rehaving' of them.

Marshal Biron has taken Montmassier, a principal town of the King of Navarre's, and some little holds; whereon there is spread a 'voice' of a great victory, and a book of it printed, which I send.

Those of Montacut finding they have sufficient garrison have sent 120 horse to Saint-Jean-d'Angely; who on the way defeated two ensigns of M. de Lancosme, and slew his lieutenant.

M. de Tournon in Dauphiné has taken some little castles from those of the Religion upon composition, saving their lives.

Companies are levying for the King and Monsieur in most of the provinces hereabout. M. Mancheville, one of Monsieur's captains, has amassed as many of the soldiers as were to be had at the breaking-up of the siege of la Fère. They will be conducted by Rochepot.

M. de la Chastre has gathered certain troops of horsemen to the number of 1,000, who are to be conducted toward Cambray. M. de Villiers, who was Governor in Bouchain, has made great intreaty to hasten these forces. But what matter of importance will be done that way does not yet clearly appear.

The King has been advertised by Maldonado, the Spanish Secretary, now confirmed from thence by his own Ambassador, that about Sept. 4 the realm of Portugal was reduced entirely into the Spanish King's power. Now lately it is advertised that Don Antonio is fled into Barbary to get aid, if he may find any means; since he has found little assistance hitherto among Christian Princes. The Spanish King uses much clemency towards the Portuguese.

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There has come advertisement that the Rochelois have taken a principal person of Spain, with money for the Prince of Parma; but Maldonado assures me he is but a private gentleman sent to the Emperor with 5 or 6 jennets, and that the King has sent to have him released.

The Spanish King has sent to Cavaliero Giraldi to deal no further with this King in the affairs of Portugal. To this he has yielded, and seeks favour that way. The Spanish King looks for supplies from Italy; his ships are newly victualled.

This King is sending Girolamo Gondi to Marshal de Retz, who is with the young Duke of Savoy; and so he passes to Rome, whither the Bishop of Mande, late chancellor to his Highness, goes to be the King's ambassador ligier; the other to be revoked. M. de Foix would have supplied the place; but though he is reconciled to the Church, the Pope would not accept him.

The King purposes to stay at Dolinville till Villeroy returns from Cognac. He was dispatched thither yesterday, though the King had purposed to meet his Queen at Orleans, which is yet deferred.

At Marshal de Cossé's coming, good hope was conceived that peace would at once ensue; but that opinion 'is now quailed,' and all shows and preparations used to the contrary.

Advertisement has come of d'Aubigny's prosperous success in Scotland, and that William Stuart is made governor of Dumbarton. They expect commissioners for the renewing of the amity with France. They say here that the Erskines left the King at his last going to Edinburgh. They look for Monbreny, kinsman to d'Aubigny's wife, and Kerry his secretary, a sure conveyor of those designs.

Sundry of the great lords who have come into France have become Papists.

It is written from Scotland that the borderers have begun some skirmishes; so they assure themselves there will be a French faction on foot again shortly.

In this sort on all sides it seems there is a meaning to raise troubles and disorders, if their wishes take effect.—Moret, 4 Oct. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. 2 *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 162.]

Oct. 4. **448.** Cobham to [Walsingham].

Some months ago there went into England a Modenese named Castelvetro, 'of whom I was this day enquired of' by the ambassador of Ferrara, he being desirous to send his letters to him. I have offered to see them safely delivered. It has been signified to me that Castelvetro is an 'Arriane,' and holds strange opinions. But he is rather thought and suspected to be a Jesuit; 'pretending' to find means to become the Scottish king's schoolmaster for the

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Italian tongue, wherein he professes to be exquisite. He has made a friendship with Camillo Cardonio, the son of a Neapolitan, lately come over, whose father is dead since his departure, and was 'devout of the Religion.' I suppose that he is likewise well-affected but not overwary, and therefore the 'easilier' abused.

I am also requested by the same ambassador to write a letter of credit in commendation of *il Signor* Roberto Bellone, d'Udine Forlana, meaning to retire to England. I could wish he were well 'looked into,' for I suppose he has some other intent; or else obtains my letter to use in case of need if he is stayed.

There are sundry who address themselves to Scotland by divers means.—Moret, 4 Oct. 1580.

P.S.—Roberto Bellone intends to start hence within two days.

Add. gone. Endd. by L. Tomson. ½ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 163.]

Oct. 8. **449.** Cobham to [? Walsingham].

I have been advertised that Captain Lather, one of the King's guard and a devout servant of the Scottish Queen, has to-day left this town by ordinary journey, towards Calais, entrusted with the packet of Clermont d'Entragues, a captain in the King's guard and brother-in-law to d'Aubigny. It may contain matter of some consequence, considering the affairs of those parts, and the 'confident' person who sends them.

The Bishop of Glasgow, I hear, has also written to Lather, who has been to me for a passport. I assured him that he might pass into England without any certificate but to show he was a Scotchman.

In his company is gone from here Mr Seton, Lord Seton's younger son, a Jesuit, pensioner of the Pope. He was prior of Pluscatife [Pluscardine], which Earl Morton took from him, and gave to one of his bastard sons. This gentleman is in 'favour' like the Duke of Norfolk, resembling him much about the mouth but somewhat redder-headed, and little hair on his face.

Lord Hamilton is most willing to obey his Majesty's commands, remaining constantly bent, and could be contented to become Lord Morton's friend, if the Queen commanded him and ordered the matter. I hear in sundry ways that he remains very zealous and constant, notwithstanding the hard and bitter temptations of his fortune, and I think the Queen may command and possess him before all other sovereigns. I could wish she would bestow some liberality.

I think it long since I heard from England and from you.—Moret, 8 Oct. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 164.]

Oct. 8. **450.** The Queen to Don Antonio.

'Serenissimo Prencipe'—John Royz de Sousa, the present bearer, will give you a full report of our reply to his proposals in your name. We are sure that having regard to the present time, and

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to what he will tell you of the state of our affairs, you will take our answer in good part. How much displeasure we have felt on account of the sharp blows and thwartings of fortune, which have lately, according to the current rumour, befallen you, the bearer can inform you. We are consoled only by a firm opinion that we have conceived of your magnanimity, which has we are sure force enough to overcome the malignity of fortune. With this hope we conclude. 'Vostra affet^ma: come sorella.' 'Al Re Don Antonio.'

Draft in hand of Walsingham. Subscription and address in hand of L. Cave. Endd. with date by L. Tomson. On back some calculations about stores in Walsingham's hand. Ital. 1 *p.* [*Portugal I.* 41.]

Oct. 8. **451.** Thomas Cotton to Walsingham.

Of all the misfortunes that have befallen me in these Low Countries nothing has troubled me more than your opinion that I was a dangerous man; wherein though I might then have cleared myself by such proof as my innocency could witness, yet I never thought to take time for my 'purgement,' and so neither wrote nor otherwise 'repined at so great a touch.' But now to show how loth I am to be in the ill opinion of those who are virtuous, and how far I am from deserving such a name, I humbly resort to your judgement what my life has been indeed these two years, and what occasion I have given for ill opinion. My coming over was to gain experience, the better to 'enable myself' for her Majesty's service; my continuance has been spending my goods and hazarding my body on every service of account that there has been here, with such regard to the duty of my country that I dare refer myself to the 'nearest' search of my doings. How I have been crossed by certain merchants, and slandered as a man of no reputation, and how the end has showed, I desire the world should know. I did indeed hurt a foolish lewd fellow, who I think by extremity of law, in a place where men of his coat, and friends, shall lack no favour [*sic*]. But his villanous tongue has done me more hurt, and that cause made me lose more time than is in him to recompense. Besides I may well think some of his 'adherence' (for which he has paid) have likewise sought my discredit with you; and no marvel, for I think you have never heard but one side, which I have always suffered to let the end judge it.

My request therefore is that you would vouchsafe to impart the cause to me in detail, or else allow of my 'purgement' and assure me of your good opinion; either of which if you would, you will greatly bind me to do you service, to which I have by nature been more ready than is meet to write.—Antwerp, 8 Oct.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson (with year). 1½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 58.]

Oct. 8. **452.** Hoddesdon to Walsingham.

I have received yours of the 1st inst. and thank you both for it and for accepting my service.

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A ship has arrived here which left 'Alareda' in Biscay on the 19th ult. The master reports that 3 weeks before his coming from thence there went from Santander 6 tall ships for Ireland, carrying to the number of 2,000 soldiers all Italians; and that at his being in 'Alareda' there was an Irish bishop who had a large commission from the King to take up certain provision of shipping, munition and other furniture without let and hindrance of any soever. Further he says it was certainly given out there that 8,000 Italians more were in readiness at 'Groyne' to go likewise to Ireland as soon as shipping could be provided.

Thus I am bold to write what I hear, not doubting but that the certainty of these matters is better known to you than can be advertised from hence, 'leaving' in like sort to write anything of the affairs of these parts whereof you are informed at large by others.—Antwerp, 8 Oct. 1580.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 59.]

Oct. 8. **453.** EMANUEL, ERNEST.

Dialogue between two persons on the state of the Low Countries. They discuss:

1. If the country can be maintained without a prince.

2. If as a popular republic after the Swiss fashion.

3. If as an aristocracy.

4. If it is lawful for us to change lords.

5. Our obligation and the lord's.

6. The good and harm to be expected in the event of either the Prince of Orange accepting the princedom, or the reception of the Duke of Anjou.

7. The conditions which in the former case the Prince of Orange might ask of us, and we in the second should ask the Duke of Anjou.

8. How either ought to comport himself.

9. If it were better to elect successive princes, or introduce a law like the Salic.

Antwerp, 8 October 1580.

The dialogue follows. It is supposed to take place at Mechlin, between two 'great personages,' one, Ernest, returning from Cologne, the other, Emanuel, from the Court of France. It occupies 27 *pp. closely written, and is doubtless that referred to by Rossel in his letter of Sep.* 17 (*No.* 425).

Fr. 1 + 27 *pp.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 60.]

Oct. 9. **454.** GILPIN to WALSINGHAM.

Since my last, I have 'of new' [*'anew' was originally written, but was corrected in another hand*] solicited the States and his

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Excellency for expedition. Both seem very desirous that all were dispatched, and yet are 'marvellous long to forward the same.'

Those of Zealand allege themselves to be overcharged, and the partition to be unequal; whereupon it is put to them of this town and Flanders to consider further of it. It is thought that each of them will take to their charge 1,500 guilders above the 6,000, so that Zealand should be eased of half, and their part amount to 3,000 guilders.

To-morrow those of this town in their 'college' are to deal with this, and next week it will be seen what the States will determine. The Prince told me when I delivered your letter that he was ready for her Majesty's better satisfaction to bind himself for the part which those of Holland ought to 'answer,' and will perform it; so it is hoped there will be some end made without sending into Holland, and no time or labour shall be spared on my behalf to advance it.

I received your packet this week and delivered the enclosures, except that to Mr Yorke, who is absent and expected here daily. For our news you may hereby perceive such as I could learn. I would not leave 'them' unadvertised, though I am certain 'more certainer and better are from others sent.'

The division I wrote of before that was growing among the States in some respects rather increases than diminishes. Those of Holland seek to withdraw themselves, yielding to nothing that the States here agree, but run clean contrary, declaring that they intend to hold by the Pacification of Ghent, and need not to meddle with the quarrels of others against Malcontents.

They have of late raised there a new 'convoy' upon all goods coming in and passing by them, and that none may escape, have ships of war in the mouths of every river and passage. Those of Zealand, Brabant and Flanders are so aggrieved that they have sent or will send to them to remove their ships and withdraw the exaction, or they will seek means to clear the passages by force.

Moreover those of Holland continue to send all kind of victuals, fuel and other provision to the enemy; using a trade with them to their great strengthening; insomuch that those of Flanders are arming five ships of war and keep the passages along their coast, and meet all comers and goers to those parts.

The Prince is still travailing by all means to take up and 'even' these particular questions which engender division and may be an overthrow to both at the last. To this end I am given secretly to understand that there shall be a general meeting of all the United Provinces at the Hague next month, where not only the taking up of all those particular griefs shall be treated, but also about the receiving of Monsieur, whom those of Holland and other places depending on them, as I wrote to you, 'cannot nor will not yield to accept of.'

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The Prince is sending one to the Estates of Holland, who are assembled at the Hague, in two days; and upon his return I hope to hear further. Paul Buys I take to be altogether 'affectionated' to England, and he is the man that rules all both in Holland and among those of the United Provinces who are assembled at Utrecht.

In Friesland the enemy has taken 'Olderzele,' which was surrendered by composition, seeing no hope of assistance. The States' men lie in villages near the good towns, and can venture no more but with danger upon the enemy, without other help.

Those of the Union have taken order to provide all the towns in Friesland and thereabouts with sufficient garrisons, for this time of year will not suffer any service in the field in that country; and moreover, to be provided with men, have given order to levy 3,000 foot and 600 horse.

Nivelles being so battered that the breach was 'assaultable,' the soldiers that kept it yielded by agreement, delivering the place, with their captains and officers, into the enemy's hands; and about 200 of them it is said have left the States' service, and are 'entertained' by the other. Their forces are gone thence to Ninove, which will not so soon be gotten, being stronger and kept by some of M. de la Noue's Frenchmen.

It is also much feared that Vilvorde will be attempted, some of the enemy being come to Louvain, and the Prince sending 3 companies of Scots to Vilvorde, 'would not be' received by those that kept it.

The Prince returned last Monday from Mechlin. His enterprise was upon Maestricht, whence the men that were sent thither have retired with the loss of two only, finding more resistance and less seconding from within than was hoped.

The want of money is the only overthrow of the States' doings; the soldiers in all places being still ready to mutiny, as lately in Brussels, which had almost made a great stir in the town upon the enemy's taking of Nivelles.

The chief hope of these countries now depends only upon the hope of the French aid, which they look for daily, news having come last Wednesday that Monsieur will accept the offer of the States, and 'subsign' the articles, finding them reasonable by the declaration made by the Commissioners of the causes moving them to make the more strict demands.

To further his promise, Monsieur will forthwith send Marshal de Cossé and M. 'Premiaulx' to the King, to show what intent he was of, and took order that the Count of 'Rochpott' should with certain horse and foot forthwith be prepared to hasten to Cambray to assist the States.

Those of Cambray are said to have broken down all the King of Spain's arms, and erected the Duke of Alençon's in their place.

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This week the Duke of Aerschot passed through Liége toward the Duchess of Parma, who lies at Namur. The Bishop of Liége has 2,000 or 3,000 men 'in field' to keep his country from spoiling and to cut off all stragglers. He has lately taken by composition a strong house called Diepenbeck, which some freebooters kept, and ransacked the country about.

I hear that the English rebels begin to be very lusty, and 'stick not to vaunt' that her Majesty will not only be set to work in Ireland, but part of England may chance also to be troubled, and that more hotly than is doubted.

The Earl of Westmorland I hear is gone to Spain, and will have some great charge from the King, though the Pope perhaps may bear the name. This was written by my old friend, who has returned to Cologne, 'and do meane' to 'entertain' him by writing, to learn further of these proceedings.

A Grey friar that came from Spain brought these news to Liége, and said further 'to have' heard among the secret and chief friends of the Catholics, that the French would do nothing that should or might tend to their harm or the assistance of the other side.—Antwerp, 9 Oct. 1580.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson, with a note as to the financial question. 3 *pp.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 61.]

Oct. 11. **455.** The Duke of Prussia to the Queen.

Having understood from the repeated complaints of subjects how their ancient rights and privileges, with those of the Teutonic Hanse of which they are members, and the treaty of Utrecht, are beginning to be infringed in your realm by the wrong doing of a few London merchants, who under the pretext of being a privileged corporation are trying by private and unlawful agreements to draw into their own hands all trade by sea and land and upset the rights of the federated cities and our subjects; we have thought it our duty to write to your Majesty, solely with the intention of asking that our subjects and the Hanse Towns may have their privileges in England as secure for the future as they have been for a century. Since then it is at once fair and expedient to keep our subjects within the terms of the past treaties and their ancient privileges, that they fall not, by reason of a lust of private advantage, into mischievous monopolist schemes, and since it is clear how much inconvenience will arise to our duchy from any interference with freedom of trade, we beg with all duty that you will have respect to our intervention and insist on the maintenance of the old commercial laws and that by virtue of them our subjects may continue to have free navigation, with the old exercise of their trade.—Insterburg, 11 Oct. 1580. (*Signed in autograph*) George Frederick.

Add. Endd. Lat. 2 *pp.* [*Germ. States II.* 3.]

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Oct. 12. **456.** 'Things to be observed by Burnam.'

Whether the King of Spain be wholly possessed of the kingdom of Portugal; if not, what part, and towns, hold out against him.

By whom the forts in Barbary are possessed.

Whether the isles of "Sores" and Madeira are at his devotion.

Whether they think that Brazil and the East Indies will be at the Spanish king's devotion.

How the King of Spain is beloved by the Portugals.

Whether Don Antonio has any party there, and what persons of quality and towns of importance are affected towards him; and what is become of him.

Whether any of the forts in Barbary, the two islands, the kingdom of Brazil, and the East Indies are at Don Antonio's devotion.

How much the revenue of the King of Spain will be increased by Portugal, and how it 'rises.'

What number of 'ships of service' are to be found in Portugal to serve the King of Spain.

Whether he will be able to hold it without citadels or forts.

Who is appointed governor of the country, and what authority is given to him.

What party the Duke of Braganza has.

What party Don Antonio can find, if he have foreign support.

Min. in Walsingham's hand. Endd.: Directions for Burnam, 1580.

1½ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 56.]

Oct. 12. **457.** Cobham to [? the Secretaries].

I am sorry to hear that these foreign succours are landed in Ireland. It will easily be a sufficient occasion to disorder that state, where there is no better fear of God, nor greater duty to their natural prince.

Methinks the same show of hostility should be sufficient to move every one in England to prepare his weapons for the defence of the liberty of their consciences and the service of her Majesty, and our country.

And since they have passed the 'bonds' so far as to send thither those aids, no doubt the rest which is prepared will follow.

Therefore I hope her Majesty will 'serve herself' betimes of the navy, and provide for the safety of her out-islands, that they may not be gotten as harbours for their ships and galleys, and so draw their strength nigher, for the easy 'endommaginge' of the body of

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her estate; the remedy being set forward at home, and all delicacy in apparel, and building, laid aside for this year. I could wish her Majesty would in time knit to her in alliance all the princes of the Religion, and if it may be, join to her the navy of Denmark and other places; for I would be loath that too great opinion of your powers should deceive you, considering how many great parties are confederate against you. And I wish her Majesty would believe that all their power will be bent if they once begin, and they will continue it with their treasure, which how great it is, I know to be sufficiently known.

Further, though her Majesty have sufficient credit abroad, yet when wars assail and sinister fortune does but appear, that credit will in part quail. Therefore I desire that she had some money in Germany and other sure places in foreign countries, which upon sudden occasion may stand her in stead and continue her credit. And if some jewels were so laid *in deposito*, I suppose they will be hereafter well placed. If I seem too provident, I beseech you let my zeal be taken for my excuse; and perhaps through the occasion of my opinion some wiser thoughts may grow.

It may be thought necessary for her Majesty to send some noble embassy to the King of Denmark and the princes of Germany; as some bishops, whose charges it were reason the clergy should bear, and other noblemen, and such as should persuade and imprint into their heavy heads their own dangerous state; as that they have an Emperor, whom they despise and set light by, howbeit they will find him to be the spirit of the Spanish King, and will be [*sic*] bold to deal for the Pope in other sort than Charles V or any other Emperor hitherto has done. And as he has put a garrison in Vienna contrary to their liberties, so it is likely he means to do with the rest. Further, they have the Pope's spies and orators among them; I mean the Jesuits, who are sent into all coasts. And thus they suffer their Christian friends to have their estate hazarded; being electors of the Emperor, whereby their honour binds them to be favourers of all those countries which accept their chief for an Emperor. Much more ought they to hearken after their well-doing, who together with them have abolished the servitude of the Pope; who now begins with the forces of mighty champions and great treasure to 'travail' the peace of Christendom and to invade Ireland.

There are many matters of great consequence which may be 'enlarged' to them, which will 'move their conceit' to consider of the great innovation intended; for otherwise, if the Queen deal thus apart, thinking to withstand these confederacies, you know how dangerous this design will wax. Though this Pope, who is old, should decease, yet the papal power and consistory will continue for the 'enlarging' of their See. Also they do not feel the charge, being allowed out of matters which do not impoverish them, but on revenues assigned for that purpose, which have annual continuance.

I have stirred so much in a matter which is better considered, but the duty of a servant has thus far transported me. I will not

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fail to seek to understand, and to advertise; beseeching you to persuade her Majesty to 'able' me to stand on my own feet in her service, and hoping she will not think her benefits cast away. So God further me in her grace for my benefit, as I think to bestow her gifts in her service, the sooner the better welcome and the more beneficial; hoping that you and the Lord Treasurer will think that he who serves as a public minister should live on his prince and country.—Moret, 12 Oct. 1580.

P.S.—I am advertised that the Prince of Condé has been passed by the companies of Lavalette and Sérillac (a thing very much unlooked-for) towards Gascony.

There is a post dispatched hither from England, called Francisco, an Italian. He gave out he was addressed to me, but gave letters only to Capello the banker, with advertisement of the landing of some Spaniards and Italians in Ireland. There is also one Robert Rabbeth, sometime servant to Mr Southcote and known to those of Sir A. Poulet's house, who showed at the palace at Paris a letter of Monsieur directed to her Majesty. He is going towards England.

Add. and endt. gone. 2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 165.]

Oct. 12. **458.** John Saintleger to Walsingham.

The taste of your friendship may not suffer me either to forget the duty which I in this blotted paper most humbly offer, or forgo to intreat your favour further. The dealing of my father since my being in these Netherlands has been such towards me that it has assayed to kill all liking and 'thouche' [*qy.* touch] of country and love. Doubt and natural affection withdraw my pen from disclosing any special matter; whereupon I deliver my case and state to your deep consideration and wisdom, most humbly praying you that at your leisure you will 'persuade with' my good father so far, that he bury not himself in so dark a tomb that he leave no light, sign or mark of his name, house, wife, family and children. This if you will do at the most earnest motion of a poor gentleman whom you have already bound, you shall bind many more, I trust. —Antwerp, 12 Oct.

Add. (*seal*). *Endd. by L. Tomson* (*with date*). 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 64.]

Oct. 11-12. **459.** Touching the capture of Mr D. Rogers.

Oct. 11. (1) J. S. V^o^. Susarte de Fonseca to Colonel Schenck.

I have received your letter, from which I understand your pleasure is that the soldiers who have taken an Englishman within the Duke of Cleve's land and 'kaired' him to Blyenbeck, should be stayed and put in ward, for it is not your pleasure that any of your men should commit any robbing in the Duke's country. By this we let you know that certain horsemen have brought here certain prisoners, we not knowing what they were, nor how the matter stood, for they presently departed; not knowing where nor whither they are 'become.' If we had known of it before, we would have

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stayed them; but we not knowing how to deal therein, for we knew no otherwise but that they were of your companies. If therefore I had received some writing before, I would not have suffered them to depart.—Blyenbeck, 11 Oct. 1580.

Oct. 12. (2) Captain Gerard de Roedt of Hockeren to the Council of Cleves.

I have received your letter, from which I understand that an ambassador from the Queen of England named Daniel Rogers has been taken within the Duke's dominions with four of his men and brought to Blyenbeck. I can but give you to understand that at the time I was at Cleve with Colonel Schenk and knew nothing of it. Yesterday, when I came to this castle, I understand from my officers that five horsemen with five prisoners had come here, saying they were of Col. Schenck's company; wherefore they let them come into the castle; and anon after departed with the prisoners and all their goods, and I cannot as yet learn where they are. Col. Schenck wrote to my officers in my absence that if such were there, they should be stayed and put in hold; but before the letter came they had departed, for which I am not a little grieved, and have put some of my men in 'yarns' until further knowledge, for I should not be a little ill-thought of to let the enemy bring his prisoners into our castle. If the English Ambassador were still here, I would have done according to your desires.—Blyenbeck, 12 Oct. 1580.

Presumably translations. In writing of D. Rogers. Endd. by Burghley's secretary. 1 + 1 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 62, 63.]

Oct. 13. **460.** Touching the capture of Mr D. Rogers.

We, burgomaster, 'scheppen,' and council of the town of Cleve certify that before us [appeared] one Kerst Muller, who upon his oath hath confessed to us that on Monday last, Oct. 9, he departed towards Xanten from Cleve about 8 a.m. with seven men a-horseback and some baggage in his cart with a man; and as they came about Mourenberg in descending the hill (the master of them being alighted off his horse) six horsemen coming thence 'discharged' upon them. Four of them being before, two were taken and brought back, with a horse without a man; and taking [*sic*] their 'furniture' from them took them with their baggage, and went up the hill of Mourenberg through the wood, and so to Aspeerde [Asperlen] over the bridge by Hassum. One of the horsemen, taking another cart, sent the carter back again, giving him but one shilling for his labour; saying he would come next day to Cleve, at the Bear, and pay him for all. But none of them is come thither. —Cleve, 13 Oct. 1580.

In writing of Daniel Rogers. ¾ *p.* [*Germ. States II.* 4.]

Oct. 15. **461.** Fremyn to Walsingham.

My last was on the 30th ult. Here the Malcontents have attempted nothing since the surrender of Nivelles. At present all the leaders are assembled at Mons to deliberate what is to be done.

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They are spreading a report that they mean to besiege Vilvorde, which Col. Stuart with his regiment has entered; or attack Ninove, where there are 12 ensigns of French and 7 companies of this country, who will not be easy to take. The enemy is very slow about his enterprises in Friesland, where he is master of the open country, and in strength. Our people who are there remain on the defensive without attempting much. In Guelders it seems there are some who want to make a disturbance if they are not anticipated. To remedy this it is said that his Excellency will soon go to those parts. The good prince has plenty to do in this treacherous time. Those of Brabant fully agreed last Thursday to Monsieur's coming hither, and all the difficulties are set aside; an envoy to that effect goes to his Highness to-morrow. Last Friday a certain number of people were named to establish a new council for Brabant, as also for the sale of ecclesiastical property.

The deputies who are in France have not written since the 25th; something is expected from them every day, to learn the intention of the King. Some days ago the brother of M. de Marquette was captured near Crèvecœur with 8 French captains who were going on Monsieur's behalf to Cambray with a lot of letters, which have been sent to the Prince of Parma. It is reported here that M. de la Noue has escaped from prison in the castle of Charlemont. It remains to do something; several people are after that in these quarters.

To-morrow his Excellency's daughter will be baptized; Brabant is to name her—that is the estates of Brabant.

There is something wrong here, namely that they are so long over their business that they have not yet taken order in the event of their not being helped by M. d'Anjou, to have another resource ready, so assured are they on that side, which still is very doubtful; besides the perfidies which are practised to-day to exterminate those who profess any religion besides the Roman Catholic, of which one can see great beginnings, if measures are not promptly taken to cut short this plan which has been brewing since the journey to Bayonne, and of which we have seen the effect only too much to want to continue it.

For the rest, everyone is curious to see what will be the upshot of Monsieur's business, in the matter of the English marriage.

In Germany matters are dormant pending the issue of the peace negotiations in France. The Prince of Condé has been advised to withdraw to 'Niowstat,' inasmuch as he is not safe at Frankenthal, which he has done or will do.

A clerk of the finances at Brussels named Fonck has been put in prison, and they are searching in his accounts. There has been found an 'article' of 90,000 florins, which he has stolen; however he was only condemned to pay for an 'article' of 30,000, as he was an official in the service of the generality. He is however not let out of prison; he will have to pay more if the search is continued. There will be found a good sum of money pertaining to others.

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M. de Laval is in this town with a few attendance. There is a rumour of a marriage between him and Mlle d'Orange; they have been talking of it for all the month.—Antwerp, 15 Oct. 1580.

P.S.—I am sending you a letter on the result of the attempt on Maestricht.

Add. (*seal*). *Endd. Fr.* 2 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 65.]

Oct. 16. **462.** Rossel to Walsingham.

At the end of my last I reminded you of your promise of two years ago, as I do again at the outset of the present; and that by the advice of Mr. Gilpin. To him I represented the favours which with less endeavour and service others whose names I could mention are receiving from her Majesty. I am sure he will back me on this point, which I beg you will not impute to importunity, but believe that so far as you are concerned I do not intend to be other than a volunteer servant; but to kings and queens a salaried servant, which is to pay due honour to their highnesses.

You will have learnt by my last that the intention of our Malcontents was to attack Ninove. But they find their power and resources are weakened by the exhaustion of the greater part of their finances in the payment of the Germans who have gone into Friesland and other expenses, so that little seems to be left of the 650,000 crowns mentioned in the intercepted letters. The Malcontents have been informed, as have we also, that the force which M. de Rochepot was to bring to Cambray are advancing and assembling in Picardy; for which reason they have divided their forces, sending some against Cambray while the rest stays about Ninove and the neighbourhood for convenience of victuals and meanwhile to look out for some opportunity of surprising a town. They had a design on Vilvorden, being aware that it was ill-provided with men and munitions. This has perforce been remedied; as in the way of our Estates who will not stir unless somebody pricks them. Colonel Stewart is there with his regiment, properly provided and supplied; as also are all the doubtful town, awaiting the desired arrival and aid of M. d'Alençon. This was agreed to by Brabant only on the 12th inst. at the solicitation of the four Members of Flanders; who threatened otherwise to dissolve their union with Brabant. The messenger will start to-day with the resolution, to authorise the deputies, who otherwise could make no further progress without a verbal report of their proceedings. The assembly of the States in the union, to be held at the Hague on the 20, has been made cognizant of and included in this resolution. There it is hoped that the proper understanding between the provinces will be restored and all the *moyens généraux* brought into a common purse. Those of Brabant and Flanders have agreed to this; and a provincial council of 30 persons has been set up to effect it. They will deliberate and resolve on all matters of state; will indeed dispose absolutely of the *moyens généraux* and finances, without the advice of one or the other province.

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His Excellency will start in four days, followed by his Highness, who as I think will fix his ordinary residence at the Hague, when he will await the ambassadors from the Emperor and the four electors, who are on the road, bringing us fine writs (*exploits*); but they will come too late, for *Jacta est alea.*

It is stated that the King of France has written to congratulate those of Holland on the acceptance of M. d'Alençon, to whom he promises every favour and assistance. But he cannot declare himself against the King of Spain without incurring infamy, by reason of the strait alliance he has with him; unless some other ground of resentment appears to enable him to do so. I believe that if any such letter has been written to Holland the same has been done to Brabant, Flanders and the rest; unless the letters have been intercepted, as there is reason to doubt. For we have assured news that between Chastellet and Cambray a gentleman has been captured, a captain at Cambray, named M. Doain, brother to M. de Marquette, bringing M. d'Alençon's packet to M. d'Inssy, the governor of Cambray. By this we may be sure that they have discovered all that is going on, and the hope of his succour. So, too, it is thought they have done with others, for by private letters to the merchants it is certain that Marshal Strozzi has started in aid of Portugal with 5,000 French; and that peace is made between the Turk and the Persian, which will be much to the disadvantage of Spain, which will at last be crushed, though it seems to be successful in Portugal.

I should be glad to know the state of things in Ireland, to rebut the retailers of false news who say that is even worse than in Friezland; the state of which I will not discuss, because I am assured of the industry of Mr Norris, who wins great honour.—Antwerp, 16 Oct. 1580.

Add. Endd. Fr. 3 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 66.]

Oct. 16. **463.** Cobham to the Queen.

The advertisements from Spain are that King Philip has been sick of the *Petechie*, in great extremity for fourteen days; being somewhat recovered, but remaining weak and faint, and not altogether out of danger. The French King since being at Dolinville has fallen sick and been let blood. He has to enter on a diet which is appointed him to continue for fourteen days. He has requested his mother to return to him and has sent M. d'Arques to the Queen his wife. But no peril is feared in his sickness.

Since their Majesties left Fontainebleau, upon knowledge that old M. Lansac was indisposed, I took occasion to visit him, and enter into discourse of Portugal. It seems by his speeches that he takes the realm as lost for the time, affirming that King Philip has unjustly impatronised himself of Portugal, contrary to right and reason; wherein he somewhat pleaded for Queen Mother's claim. He wished the Indias might be reserved from the Spaniards, wherein I perceive that they purpose to continue practice with Don Antonio.

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M. Lansac further signified to me that M. Mauvissière had written to him that your pleasure was to remember him and to enquire what opinion he had of you. Whereon he took occasion to commend your wise government. He makes show of great desire that some good offices might pass for the establishing of a more entire amity between the Christian King and yourself. He thinks the Venetians will be willing to enter into it. I made no further answer on that point till I received your commands, but left him in great good mind, and exceedingly well beat. He concluded that whereas there was an opinion that some of the French Court bore affection to the King of Spain, he wished all such were hanged.

I have heard that there is some secret unkindness among the Dukes of Italy, and that Cardinal d'Este is ill-satisfied with this Pope. I wish your Majesty would think to be further informed thereof; whereby you might turn the Italian humours from infesting and annoying the body of your estates.—Moret, 16 Oct. 1580.

Holograph. Endd. by L. Tomson. 2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 166.]

Oct. 17 **464.** Cobham to the Secretaries.

I have not yet received any certain intelligence of his Highness's return from his conference with the King and Queen of Navarre, or what fruit has grown of that interview. But the companies of men of war assembled in sundry parts for the most part march towards those quarters; except certain troops which, they write from Picardy, M. Fervacques has lately conducted towards Cambrai at the command of his Highness. They likewise write that Rochepot has been taken there by the Malcontents of the Low Countries, and it is reported that the States have had but evil success.

The Commissioners as yet await Monsieur's return, with no great comfort of present assistance; since they will not grant that French garrisons may be placed in their towns, nor will the king be induced at their instance to declare himself against the King of Spain, for the advancement of that action.

The King having commanded the strong houses and castles of Gascony, which have been held against him, to be 'raysed,' the gentlemen of that country have sent hither to entreat that his ordinance might be mitigated. The Council last week considered their request, and confirmed the king's will therein; and further, that according to the ordinance made this year, all those lands shall be confiscate and bestowed at the king's pleasure, which the Gascon lords and gentlemen find grievous.

A gentleman of the Religion, who has been sundry times this year, and often lately, employed by the king and his mother to the King of Navarre and Monsieur about the negotiations for peace, returned last week to the king at Dolinville; when the king, in conference with him, among other long discourse, said he had now power ready and arms sufficient to oppress those of the Religion; but for the pity he had for his people, he meant to

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abstain from so great rigour so long as they would contain themselves within the compass of the last pacification, and surrender his towns which they had since surprised; otherwise he would be known to be their king.

The gentleman desired him to have compassion of his subjects, and not to put them into desperation, for they had yet means to withstand extremity. The king said he knew their means; and as for Casimir, he had news even then from Schomberg there was but small comfort for their purposes.

Notwithstanding, letters have been written from Germany advertising of levies preparing for the Prince of Condé; but I cannot see how they may be believed.

The Duke of Ferrara has lately sent Count Luigi di Montecucullo Ferrarese, and since that, Signor 'Ascanyo Ezilam,' for the better entertaining of the marriage with the young queen's sister, Anne de Vaudemont, of which I have spoken in my former letters.

Dr. Jacomo Corbinelli is entertained to instruct the lady in the Italian tongue, being at this instant with her sister, at the Baynes.

The ambassador ligier of Savoy, and the Count of Saintfrey, sent from the Duke of Savoy to 'accomplish' with their Majesties, assure me that the Count Montereal, who was ambassador ligier, at at my coming hither, is assigned by their Duke to repair to the Queen.

Captain Anselme has gathered 25 companies in the marquisate of Saluces, whereon the king is entered into some jealousy.

Since the king's going to Dolinville, the Duke of Guise has retired to Dampierre; whereon an opinion rose that he had gone into Champagne.

Marshal Matignon has recovered, and has had a letter from Normandy of the Spaniards landing in Ireland, with news of a battle won against her Majesty's Deputy; which he showed to Cardinal Birague. Whereon they entered into further discourse of the Pope's pretence to the realm of Ireland, and that it was likely that much of the forces with the Spanish King were to be bestowed on those coasts. The Queen Mother is looked for at Dolinville to-day.

The Duke of Florence, having sought his Highness's favour, made means by the Bishop of Mande to have his liking continued towards him, though the king had disgraced him in granting precedence to the Duke of Ferrara; and offered to lend him 200,000 crowns at his pleasure. Which the duke has since refused to Monsieur; whereon his Highness is displeased, and has taken unkindness against the Duke.

By the enclosed you may see the advertisements lately sent from London.

The Earl of Westmorland is recovered. It is thought he departs hence very shortly.

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The king and queen are informed that the Prince of Condé has returned into France, but I do not hear it confirmed.

The Duke of Maine has taken Beauvoir and Saint Quentin, two small weak-walled places in Dauphiné, and has sent to ask the king if he shall besiege la Mure, a place somewhat fortified by those of the Religion, with a garrison in it of 1,500 good soldiers.

It is judged that the King of Navarre will be the 'easilier' induced to yield to the opinion of his Highness in this treaty now in handling, and more willingly persuaded by Villeroy and Bellièvre, because he finds his forces weakened, and discovers that some Protestant gentlemen are weary with the continuance of these troubles, and loath to offend, so long as they may enjoy the use of their religion. The sequel is likely to be that the towns will be rendered, and all happen as the king commands.

I enclose a letter sent by Pierre Dor, the consul of the French merchants 'trading Portugal,' who was sent by Don Antonio to their Majesties, and is now again sent to Portugal to 'follow that practice.' Please direct in what sort I shall answer, or in what manner by letters I may entertain him.—Moret, 17 Oct. 1580.

Add. Endd. 3 *pp.* [*France IV.* 167.]

Oct. 17. **465.** Cobham to [? Walsingham].

I did not fail to deal with the king as you commanded me in your letter received by Jean de Vicques, though I know not how long my audience will be deferred on account of his sickness at Dolinville, where he has passed his time this fortnight very privately, accompanied only by d'Arques, la Valette, and d'O. But now he has sent for his mother, who is expected to-day at the latest, and therefore some of his officers have repaired thither likewise.

All affairs seem to stand still till advertisements come from his Highness and Villeroy of the interview.

The King's sickness is happened through *wantonness 'yoused'* among the *nuns*, having *shed blood* at his * * * * * * * * * * *, which may become more *dangerous.*

Jean de Vicques gives me to understand that Mr Stafford is passing the nearest way by Paris toward Monsieur.

Please excuse me, not only to yourself but to the Lord Treasurer, if he were made privy to my 'appassionate' words in my last letter touching my suit. I will make amends with great patience and assured service.—Moret, 17 Oct. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. Italic denotes cipher. ⅔ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 168.]

Oct. 17. **466.** Duke of Lützelstein to Sturmius.

Your letter was brought to me yesterday by George Zolger, whom you dispatched hither on English matters. It did not depend on

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me to promote that business to the best of my ability; for I have now been awaiting an answer by the envoy whom the Queen, through Secretary Wilson, had sent on that subject. It is a matter of great moment, and reaches further than could be supposed by others who have no knowledge of things. So, on account of expediency, and for the Queen's sake, that of religion, and my own, not lightly to perform the duties committed to my hands [*sic*], nor shall I fail to promote the cause of religion and the Queen all I can. Would only that good admonitions, when the safety of the Church and her adherents is at stake, might be taken to heart by magnates, especially those who with the aid of God can be a help to themselves and others. Go on with your diligent admonitions, as you are strong in authority; with some at any rate your labour will not prove in vain. You can write on my part, if he asks you, to Walsingham as to what service I can render, and why he has not remained till now expecting an answer from me [*sic*]; and greet him in my name as a sincere and pious and no less constant guardian of the cause against Antichrist. I wish you would come and see me, for I would rather talk than write. I will do all I can to keep the prince well-minded toward you.—17 Oct. 1580. (*Signed*) George John Count Palatine.

Add. Endd. by Walsingham: from D. George Palatine to Sturmius. *Lat.* 1 *p.* [*Germ. States II.* 5.]

Oct. 20. **467.** John Norris to Walsingham.

Our Friesland news are such as neither sound with any great reputation for us to report them nor will content you to hear them. All our proceedings pass with confusion; our army dispersed, half drawn into garrisons and the rest so frighted with often defeats as not easily to be assembled; the event of the war thought so desperate as the States show small care to maintain it. Our enemies' state is not much better for want of pay and continual mutinies. They are now before Stenwyk, a small town in Overyssel, not strong, yet having in it 800 men it is well able to hold by reason of the enemy's slender provision. But now-a-day 'these country men' are so used to compositions that few think good to abide the cannon.

It was reported here that Mr Rogers was taken in Cleveland by certain freebooters of Skinke's. I have sent a trumpet to the Duke of Cleves to know the certainty.

The news of Brabant I will refer to Mr Somme [*qy.* Somere], where (as it is written) they live by loss as well as we. They give us great alarms of the Spaniards landing in Ireland.

The 'Guelderois' and Frisons will in no case yield to the accepting of Monsieur; at least will give no consent till they see what commodity the other provinces receive by him.—Campen 20 Oct. 1583.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 67.]

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Oct. 20. **468.** COBHAM to WALSINGHAM.

I sent Mr Waad to visit Cavaliero Giraldi, and speak earnestly to him for the money due upon his bill, the payment of which he had promised me long before this. But he now desires you to consider the state he stands in, and complains that for a long time he has received no payment from Portugal; and thus rather excuses and defers than gives any hope of payment. So I defer to press him any more, or use any other way, till I have your further pleasure.

The ambassador informed Mr Waad that the Catholic king was become sovereign of the entire realm of Portugal, using much clemency towards the people, so that he might win their minds. He 'shows' to be of opinion that the French will do nothing, as long as they stand in the terms they are in, nor will break out into war with the Spaniards; and doubts whether Monsieur will attempt any further enterprise in the Low Countries, assuring Mr Waad that if the Italians who were brought into Spain have not as yet passed into Ireland, he thought they would certainly be sent thither next Spring. Portugal being at the Catholic king's devotion, he did not want ships, and if the Queen did not take order in time, she would not be sure in Richmond, for she might think how those who were of contrary religion to her would do as the Protestants had done here in France. He supposed too that the French king would by all means bring his State to be entirely at his devotion, thereby strengthening himself against the Spanish king, who has become strong and formidable. And if the Catholic king and the Christian should join together, they might easily subvert the Protestant factions. He complains much that the Queen did not vouchsafe to give audience to the ambassador from Don Antonio. In this sort he uttered his humour to Mr Waad.

I suppose the poor gentleman is greatly perplexed, having suffered the loss of so many kings during his legation in England and France, and otherwise encumbered with want. Nevertheless I would not 'leave' to let you know the opinion Mr Waad found and left him in at his last visit.—Moret, 20 Oct. 1580.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 169.]

Oct. 22. **469.** MADAME DE LA NOUE to WALSINGHAM.

If I did not know how highly you esteem virtue, and desire to employ yourself on behalf of those that practise it, preferring it to all the things which the generality of men admire, I should fear to importune you by writing of the miseries which are increasing upon M. de la Noue, one of your most affectionate friends, in this long captivity in which he is rigorously detained. But when I call to mind the friendship that you have always borne to him, and the foundation on which you have mutually built, namely, that of piety, religion, and virtue, assuring myself that such affection is indissoluble, and that no adversity can dissolve it, not only was the fear of being importunate removed, but I thought I should not do my duty if I did not write to you freely of the state in which he is, since you ought to know it inasmuch as between friends grief should

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be shared as well as joy. The disaster which threatens us is so great, that we almost despair of ever seeing him restored to liberty. Since I wrote to you from Cambray, after seeing him at Namur, they have moved him to Charlemont; and I am informed that in a few days they mean to send him to Spain, which is in truth, to send him from this world to the other, for the feelings of the Council there are known in regard to those of M. de la Noue's sort. If he is not promptly succoured by his friends, he must inevitably fall into this disaster. The way to help him would be to keep some vessels in readiness on the route, under brave and well-disposed captains, assuring them that in the event of success they will be well rewarded for their trouble. If you would speak of this to the Queen and obtain her favour to that end, it would be what we could desire of your friendship for M. de la Noue. He is in extreme affliction, and I see no surer way than this. It will not be difficult, if the Queen intervenes. It will be pleasing to God and honourable to you, to save the life of a worthy man, who may yet do service to God's glory and the preservation of good people. Since then you have the power, and have always had a good will towards all who suffer in the cause of justice, surrounded as I am with insupportable griefs and thick darkness, after God I look to the expectation I have of your aid; praying that when you represent to yourself the calamitous state of your friend, you will be moved to do all that your zeal for piety and justice may dictate.—Les Plessis [aux Tournelles], 22 Oct. 1580. (*Signed*) M. de Luré.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomsom: From Madame de la Noue.—Means to relieve her husband. *Fr.* 2 *pp.* [*France IV.* 170.]

Oct. 22 **470.** Christopher Hoddesdon to Walsingham.

I have received both your letters of the 15th inst. and have taken order accordingly with George Leicester for my brother Carleil's debt of 100*l.*; minding likewise to satisfy your request in the other concerning advertisements out of Spain as often as means and opportunity offer. At this instant we here understand very little of the proceedings in those countries, because all the letters that came by the last post were intercepted by la Motte. If hereafter I can 'learn out' anything touching those matters I will not fail to impart it. My wife finds this air very agreeable with her nature, and thanks you for having her in remembrance, imputing the chief cause both of my greater credit and her own estimation in those parts to the good countenance which we receive from you; acknowledging also no less in behalf of her brother, whose estate is of late so greatly relieved and advanced by your means that she cannot but confess you to be a very loving father to them both. For my own part I must give you thanks as well for her as for myself, with assurance that my endeavours will never be wanting to do you what service I can.—Antwerp, 22 Oct. 1580.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 68.]

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Oct. 23. **471.** Thomas Stokes to Walsingham.

Your last was the 16th inst., since which I have received yours of the 15th, and thank you for them.

As I wrote in my last, some Frenchmen, both foot and horse, have arrived beside Crêvecœur for the aid of the States, sent by Duke 'Dalenzon,' but they are not so many in number as I wrote, for by letters from Lille they write there are not above 500 of them in all; but they write that more are marching after them, for which cause all the forces of the Malcontents in these parts are gone towards Cambray, where it seems they have already met with some blows, for the speech is here that the company of the Count of Egmont's horsemen are overthrown by them of Cambray and the aforesaid Frenchmen, and even so they write that many are slain on the other side.

As for the States' forces in these parts, as yet they lie still and do nothing; for it seems they will not stir till the Duke of Alençon come. Their trust is only in him, for surely there is a weak 'government' on the States' side; God send it better.

This week everything has been very still between the States and the Malcontents in these parts. Nothing has passed worth the writing; but there is great speech of great matters that the Pope and that faction are preparing against England. Surely it seems that some great matter is in hand against the realm; for speeches come from all places that England will have all the troubles this next summer. For Ireland they say the preparation is such in Spain, made by the Pope and his friends, that it is much feared he will put that country in hazard to be lost. Likewise there is great speech here of some alliance sought by the King of Spain to make with Scotland by way of marriage with the King of Scots; so that there go strange speeches here, and all against England, 'whom' I trust God will defend and make strong to withstand all the enemies that shall come against 'them.' Surely all these speeches cannot rise upon presumptions, and therefore I pray they may be prevented in time.

As yet no news or letters had come out of France from M. de Sainte-Aldegonde and the rest of the States' commissioners, at which there is great marvel. Some begin to mistrust the dealings of the French; 'which if that' fail them, all is lost on the States' side unless her Majesty will help them. If the States are overthrown, it is feared it will not be good for England.—Bruges, 23 Oct. 1580.

Add. Endd. 1¼ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 69.]

Oct. 29. **472.** Hoddesdon to Walsingham.

As soon as I heard here that Mr Rogers was taken and kept prisoner by Schenck I at once advertised those merchants of Nuremberg to whom I had before given order for payment of the £200 not to deliver any part of the said sum unless Mr Rogers was himself present; to the end that during his imprisonment no benefit

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might be taken of those letters of credit which I gave him for that money at Nuremberg. Therefore, according to your letter of the 22nd, I do not look to have the £200 sent over as yet, till I hear further how the matter goes.

By ships lately arrived from 'Porte Porta' in Portugal, news comes that King Antonio lies before that town with a force of 12,000 men, and is in great likelihood to 'take in the same.'

By letters dated at Lisbon, Sep. 10, it is advertised that the city remains in the King of Spain's power, for the Duke of Alva entered forcibly with all his army. The soldiers sacked the suburbs and ten leagues round about, spoiling to the value of two millions and more; which they of Lisbon think well employed, because by that means the city was saved. It is also reported thence that 5 ships have arrived from the Portugal Indies very richly laden. They bring 25,000 quintals of pepper, 3,500 of cloves, 200 of mace, and great store of other spices and pearl.

On the 26th came certain merchants in a ship of Flushing from Caudado in Spain, who report that within seven leagues of 'St. Jacob's', at a barren place called Corroga, wherein is no trade, preparation is made of soldiers to be sent to Ireland, but the number is unknown.—Antwerp, 29 Oct. 1580.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 70.]

Oct. 29. **473.** Rossel to Walsingham.

In my last, of the 22nd, I pointed out the little means that the Malcontents had for attacking and battering Ninove, where they were opposed by a French regiment and four Flemish companies under M. de Thian. Since then, after long deliberation and scouring the country they have decided to besiege and blockade Ninove, and to-day they have sent for 9 battering guns. If we may hope for any defence on the part of our soldiers, we look for it there. Meanwhile we are letting things drag to the utmost. We amuse ourselves by making up new unions from time to time. To this end the Prince of Orange is about to travel to Holland, followed by the Archduke and Estates, on Monday. They would have started already had there been means to pay the Archduke's creditors. The *Breederaed* was called together to that end, and will find 150,000 florins to content them. The rest will be paid by bills during his long stay at the Hague.

It was not for nothing that that great meeting of nobles and reconciled States was held at Mons. Last Tuesday M. de Hèze was sentenced and beheaded.

M. de la Noue's prosecution is launched (*fulmine*) and ready [*sic*] to give sentence; put off, however, on the Prince of Parma's advice, till further orders come from the King of Spain. Subsequently to that the seige of Ninove was decided on, which makes me think they have some assurance that our aid from France will be slow in coming; as indeed the facts testify, since the news that we have from a gentleman of M. de Laval, arrived to-day from France,

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bringing us letters in which we are assured there will be peace shortly. The short of it is that M. d'Alençon had gone to Cognac, whither the Queen Mother was to follow for the conclusion of it. Meanwhile M. d'Alençon would send 3,000 foot and some horse to Cambrai. There are not sufficient forces to retrieve our campaign, nor to oppose those of the enemy, who are making progress everywhere, as well in Friesland and Guelders as in Brabant and the Campen country. They are building forts three leagues from Breda. Meanwhile the people amuse themselves with a vain hope, and do nothing but grumble at the Estates and others who rule. So to give them some satisfaction, all the houses in Antwerp have been visited, and those of the council of the Chancery imprisoned, and others who had been promoted by the Spaniards. Some have been remanded, others compelled to go and live at Brussels and elsewhere. *Restans in ore populi*, this is the policy at present practised; and other frivolities more pernicious than advantageous to the public weal.

The Prince has had made an apology, not yet printed, in answer to the Ban against him, and other calumnies.—Oct. 29, 1580.

Add. Endd. 1½ *pp.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 71.]

Oct. 29. **474.** The answer of the Spanish Ambassador to the speech delivered him by Mr Beale.

Mr Wilkes had the same day been with him, and told him as much as I had done, and his answer to both is this:

Touching Drake, he has information from the King, his Council of the Indies, and other good proofs, that Drake has spoiled his Majesty's subjects, which he holds to be so sure that it cannot be denied.

The spoil is of great importance; a great quantity of bullion and pearls taken in Mar del Sur, appertaining partly to the King, partly to his subjects.

In fight Drake has cut off the hands of some of his Majesty's subjects; cut the cables of some ships in Porto de Linoa; and by the customs books there, and the certificates sent to Spain, and depositions *viva voce*, it can be proved he has spoiled divers, etc.

That he is not altogether innocent appears by his doings six years ago, which matter was wrapped up in that of the arrests.

Young Winter's report of his spoils done upon the Portugals on his way out, the 'interest' and right of which is now come to the king, is enough to prove his piracy, and to demand justice.

Hereupon he has said that in honour and justice her Majesty is bound by 'league' to have him punished and restitution made, as he thinks she would. He knows she loves not troubles; and it is very hard, for the enriching of Drake and some individuals, to hazard the impoverishing of many. A war is easily begun, but not so soon ended; the event is doubtful. And yet sometimes 'wars have been moved upon less occasions.'

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He has not used any threatenings, but only said that if justice be not done, the king will have cause to be aggrieved. But he may do further as it pleases him. He has rather threatened that he should be sent home, 'with setting of her Majesty's ships to the sea,' with France which seeks amity here. But he is not moved with words. He has not spoken evil, nor charged any person about her Majesty. He is not so foolish.

Touching Ireland, he says he told her two years since of 22,000 crowns sent with Stukeley, afterwards employed with James Fitzmorris. She told him of certain Spaniards landed in Ireland, and that they should be brought hither. Since he has heard nothing; nor thinks that Julio &c. taken in the castle in Ireland was a Spaniard, for it is no Spanish name.

If the Pope attempts anything, he must be answerable. His Majesty has nothing to do with it. Being in 'league' with him, he cannot deny him passage.

And if they were Spaniards, it is not so much as has been done by the English in the Low Countries, the king's rebels being aided by them by land and sea, as he knows, who has served against them in the field.

Her Majesty may dispose of the treasure, may do as she shall think good. Having demanded audience, being denied, and answered that in reason he ought to have no access, he desired a passport. Has written to the king, awaits an answer, and then shall do as he is commanded.

For his 'particular' he has done good offices, and borne in some things which touched himself; and sorry to be here now when things grow to such terms. The salving of these matters requires a wiser man than he is. If he would conceal the things others would not; and it would be his discredit if he did not certify things as they were.

The injuries are great, as Drake's, Mr Knollys, a ship of M. de la Motte, the case of one Venero, taken by a ship having a letter of marque from the Prince of Condé; rescued beside the Isle of Wight by William Winter the younger, and yet restored to the pirate. And divers other outrages done upon the coast of Spain by the English, which he could recite if need were.

Mem. in writing of R. Beale. Endd. 4 *pp.* [*Spain I.* 57.]

475. *Later copy of above. Endd.* 2½ *pp.* [*Ibid I.* 57*a.*]

Oct. 31. **476.** Rogers to the Secretaries.

No doubt you have heard by report that I have been taken by Colonel Schenk's reiters; but in what manner, I cannot tell if you have been truly advertised. If I could before this have found the way to obtain paper and ink, you may be sure I would have certified you.

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On Oct. 6 I came to Arnhem from Utrecht, because the way by Nymegen was exposed to more evident danger. All the way from Utrecht to Arnhem and thence to Cleves, I was compelled to 'go strong,' accompanied by a dozen harquebusiers, for the avoiding of 'Freibuiters,' who lay in divers places, to spoil such as passed by. At Arnhem I understood that the king's soldiers under Count Renneberg lay about Dotekom, so that the right way, by 'Embrick' to Collen, was interrupted. Yet because the enemy did not always lie still in one place, I was advised at Arnhem, by those to whom the Prince had written on my behalf, to take my journey to Doesberg, which was not much out of my way; and as Colonel Norris was there with his regiment, he would be able to conduct me further. Wherefore on the 7th I came to Doesberg, where I tarried a whole night; but forasmuch as by Mr Norris's talk it appeared that the enemy with his whole camp was then in the way which I should take, I went back to Arnhem; and there having consulted with Count John of Nassau's secretary, on the 9th I crossed the Rhine to come into the Duke of Cleve's country. Those of Arnhem to whom the Prince of Orange had written, recommended me to the 'droste,' as they term a governor there; who sent one of his horsemen with me towards Tolhuis, likewise appertaining to the Duke. So on the 9th I came to Cleve, where the Chancery for the Dukedom is commonly resident. In this town was present Colonel Schenk; who having a castle called Blienbeck, three leagues from Cleve, keeps his wife for more security in the town. I was heartily glad to be come to Cleve, because men persuaded me there that I was now out of all danger and past the territories of the King of Spain. Besides, my host at Cleves, and some of the Chancery, of whom I desired conduct to Xanten, affirmed that the way was safe; because none were wont to molest the Duke of Cleve's country, but Colonel Schenk's reiters, of whom I might think myself assured, for the Colonel was still in the town with his wife. Nevertheless next morning I desired the reiter whom the Drost of Hensen had sent with me to Cleves, to conduct me further. I was minded the same day, Oct. 10, to have gone as far as Meurs, which is a town belonging to the Count of Neuenahr, who desired me to visit him when passing towards Collen, and might have conducted me further if I had heard of any danger in the way. But when I thought myself 'most surest,' I came, against all expectation, into the greatest danger.

I had left Calcar a little behind me on the left, and being come to the castle of Monderberg belonging to the Duke of Cleve, where the prince his son had lodged but two days before, eight reiters 'with a full gallop charged me,' being then accompanied by five of my own company and one of Col. Norris's soldiers, whom he sent after me that he might provide some horses at Collen for his cornet. As soon as they reached us, they bade us surrender, for we were Spaniards. I said I had no Spaniard in my company; we were Englishmen, the rest being my servants, who were sent by the Queen of England to the Emperor and Electors, who were to meet at Nuremberg. The chief of the reiters, who ever since has been my keeper, answered that if it were so, we should have no hurt; that they served the Duke of Cleve, who thought it well to appoint

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soldiers to assure passengers and keep his subjects indemnified. Meanwhile some of them chased my men, after whom I cried, they should not shoot; for we were under and near the castle of Monderberg, and as the reiters said that they were the Duke's, and that they only desired to know who we were, I thought it good to make less resistance. Most of my men's pistols were shot off, Mr Norris's man cast from his horse and shot in two places. I do not know for certain what is become of him; they make me believe he is not dead. One of my men, born in 'Mizen' and called Christopher, escaped to Xanten, the rest I brought together again. The reiters guarded them on both sides and wished us to go with them to prove what we were. "Thereof," quoth I "I need no great probation, for lo his [*sic*] my passport, signed and sealed with the Queen's hand and seal," which I drew out of my pocket. They answered, they did not understand Latin, and therefore we must go with them to their captain; picking as it were quarrel 'unto' us, for that some my men had defended themselves. I replied in such sort as the time and place would suffer, and as any reasonable man might have been contented with. I asked where their captain was, if he was in the castle. They answered that he went thence in the morning, and was hard by, in another castle, where they meant to bring us. As we rode on, always they said we were near the captain. To be short, after we had ridden four hours, they brought us to the castle of Blyenbeck, three miles from Cleves, and not far from the river 'Mose,' and within 3 or 4 miles of Nymegen. Colonel Schenk 'pretends' the castle to be his by right; but I heard at Arnhem that having been at law for it, he has lost his process, which was the cause of his revolt from the Prince, whom he served both in France and in the Low Countries. His castle is full of freebooters, and a company of rakehells, with whom I thank God I was but one night. Here we were searched to the very skin, and whatever money, writing, or thing of value we had, they took. When they saw letters to Duke Casimir, they threatened to bring me to the Prince of Parma. I gave them to understand that they could make no right prize of me, and desired them to bring me either to their colonel, or to the Prince of Parma. The next day, about evening, they bade me pull on my boots, saying they would bring me to the Prince; and accompanied me with 16 horsemen, leading me now southward, now northward, so that I could not tell where I was. They meant to have ridden the whole night; but at the passage of a bridge they found the falling bridges taken up. So as it was very cold they retired to a cottage, and there we sat by a fire the whole night. This was Oct. 11; at which time, about 9 o'clock, I marked an obscure comet, 'which as yet in these places is unobserved.'

In the morning, Oct. 12, they brought me (as it appeared afterwards) through the Duke of Cleve's country, and by Greite we crossed the Rhine. Thence leaving Emmerich on the left, we went towards the camp, which lay before Dotecom, a town of Gelderland belonging to the States. But the same day, about two o'clock, they 'levyed' their siege, because they easily saw that for want of artillery they would not win the town. Here I must tell you that

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after it was known in Cleves that I was taken and carried to Blyenbeck, they of the Chancery came to apprehend Col. Schenk, who was still there with his wife; saying that he had greatly injured the Duke their master, for his reiters had taken the Queen of England's ambassador in the midst of 'Cleveland,' and requiring him to see me restored forthwith. He swore they were none of his reiters and that he was sure I was not at Blyenbeck, and to avoid danger 'got him forth of the town,' and crossing the Rhine came to the camp which had removed from Dotecom. His reiters brought me to Anhalt (Anholt) a town belonging to the Baron of Anhalt, who holds it of the Empire. About evening Col. Schenk came, and caused me to be sent for. I supped with him, and afterwards lay in his chamber. Before supper he caused all the letters that were found in my trunk or about my men, to be brought to him. As they were ready to break the Queen's letters, I besought them to send them whole to the Prince of Parma; protesting that there was nothing in them but a request to give credit to me. But I could not be heard; they opened my letters in the presence of soldiers and rash heads, amongst whom was one half a lawyer, who said he knew me better than I was aware, and knew my dealing with the Estates for the coming down of Duke Casimir, to whom he affirmed I was sent again to levy new forces for use against the king. Withal he cast forth words against the Queen, as though the King of Spain had no other enemy; that she had always fostered the rebellion in the Low Countries, and as she had formerly sent others to defend the Prince's quarrel, so now she had sent Col. Norris, who was the mortalest enemy they had. It appears that Col. Schenk would never have gone about to 'have taken' me, but because of an immortal [*sic*] hatred which he bears to Col. Norris, in whose 'klawes' he has been once or twice. And to say the truth, had not Col. Norris been in Gelderland, 'Over Isle' and Friesland, the Malcontents had compassed their purpose. In all those places, they who follow the king's side, fear the Englishmen as much as they did the Spaniards.

But to return to my accusations. I answered the Colonel that he did not paint the Queen in her right colours. She had done nothing to the hurt of the King of Spain; her cogitations were so Christian that she did not go about to offend any foreign prince. As for Duke Casimir's coming into the country, she consented to it the rather that otherwise by reason of the desperation of the States and the practices of the French, the Low Countries had fallen into the hands of the French. As for what I had to do at present in Germany, they had my instructions, "by which," quoth I, "you may easily perceive that the Queen goes about nothing against the King of Spain," and advised them to look diligently to what they did. They could make no just prize of me; they had taken me against the law both of God and of man, and I required them either to set me at liberty, or to send me to the Prince of Parma.

The colonel answered, he knew well what he had done. He bade me be of good cheer; he would do no hurt to my body, but would make the Queen ransom me with 5,000 crowns. Then the 'demi-lawyer' conferred a little with the colonel; and afterwards the

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colonel said, among my letters were two of the Prince of Orange's by which it appeared that the prince had 'opened' certain things to me, to declare to Duke Casimir. He required to know what those matters were; asking withal, what letters I brought to the Prince of Orange, and what had been my negotiation with him. I told him that this time I had had no letters nor any charge to deal with the Prince; I had only sent to him for a passport, and he knowing of my coming, required me to come to him. "At which time" quod I, "he asked me divers things, and declared to me the state of the countries; also giving me to understand what letters he had received from the States' deputies sent into France to the Duke of Alençon"; and that it was not in my power to hinder the prince from telling me what he listed. Then the colonel said he perceived well I must go to the rack if I would confess no more. I answered that I was sure the Duke [*sic*] of Parma would not deal so with me, and desired him to be contented with the truth. Then began my half-lawyer to say he was well acquainted with the Queen's agents' proceedings, and said he had been familiarly acquainted with Mr Davison 'as' he was ambassador in the Low Countries, who had told him of a league which her Majesty had made with the Protestants of Germany, and smilingly said he thought I had been employed thereabout, and began to speak secretly in the colonel's ear.

Upon this I desired them, seeing they said they would send my letters to the Prince of Parma, that I might go also; giving them to understand that whereas they had read divers letters among mine, written to the Prince of Condé, M. de 'la Gytry' and others in Germany, I was not to be charged with these, both being ignorant of their contents, and they not having been delivered to me, but to one of my men, who had received them at Antwerp. The colonel he was going from thence into Friesland, and was minded to go to the Prince of Parma on his way, and then would take both the letters and me with him. Meantime he said he would leave me at Breforde (Brevoort) a town within two miles of Anhault where I should be safe and well-treated. This was on Oct. 12.

On the 13th he took me with him to Breforde, and there recommended me to the Baron of Anhault, to whom the place has been mortgaged by the king, who has courteously entertained me. On the 14th the colonel with 100 light horse, took his journey towards Groningen. I asked him for a passport for my men, that I might send them to my friends and advertise them what was become of me. He answered, they should tarry with me till he returned, which would be within four days. But promise was not kept with me, for he took them with him on the 14th, and as far as I can understand has left them at Oldezeel (Oldensaal), where three of them lie in fetters; to wit, my brother Ambrose and one of the Knevetts, besides a 'Frize,' born about Groningen, whom I took at London to serve me in this journey. I have left with me the young lad whom I once sent to you from Frankfort.

Before the colonel left Breforde, the men that took me played at dice for all that I had. Some had my chain, some my money, some

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my rings, and my apparel was distributed among them. What they have done with my five horses, pistols, and petronels, swords, &c., I cannot tell. Nor have they left me one farthing in my purse. I took six 'horse' with me out of England, upon good deliberation taken beforehand; for setting down the greatness of the charges at which I should be, in hiring of wagons, which would be at the least 30 or 40 shillings a day. I found it best to take 'horse' with me. In sum, by their own confession, they have taken from me as much as came to 900 French crowns, and as they handled me, so they dealt with my poor servants, not leaving them so much as a shirt besides what they have on. I beseech the Almighty to comfort them.

Now please understand that whereas Col. Schenk promised to return in four days, he did not come till the 20th; and the 21st took his journey toward the Prince of Parma, taking all my 'writings' with him, as he had promised, and I besought him. He would not suffer me to write to the prince, d'Assonleville, Rassenghem or any of his counsellors, but said he would deal with him himself; declaring to me in a rage, in the presence of half a dozen, that if the Prince of Parma should command me to be set at liberty, rather than I should get away free, he would thrust me through. Yet at his very departure he bade me be of good cheer; his meaning was but to have money for my ransom. But what account I should make of him I cannot tell; he seems to me to be led by such furies. Meanwhile nothing grieves me so much as that there is no man to speak for me in the Prince of Parma's Court, and that I have neither leave nor means to send thither. And I am so narrowly looked to, that I can have neither pen, ink, nor paper, and am unable to do anything apart; and were it not that my keeper were drunk at this time with Rhenish must, it had been impossible for me to have written this to you. Since the time the Colonel departed, I have heard nothing from him; but yesterday came to this town Colonel Norris's trumpeter, with letters from Col. Norris and Mr Carlill, as I have learned secretly. The Drost of the castle tells me that my countrymen would gladly know where I was. They have let the trumpeter go away again; but he [*sic*] that brought him hither from 'Deusburge,' which is about 12 English miles from hence, they have put in prison.

I have written thus particularly that you may know the truth, for I doubt not but that they who took me will invent divers things to make me a good prize. It remains that I beseech you to tender my case and to move her Majesty to send letters to the Duchess and Prince of Parma for my speedy delivery. It is now 14 years since my lord of Rycott, then being ambassador in France, desired me to come to him and remain with him. If another man had taken that trouble, both for the advancement of God's glory and for her Majesty's service, which I then took for three years, I would have judged him worthy of great recompense. Since then I have been sundry times with others that have been employed in her Majesty's service, as Mr Secretary Wilson, Sir Edward Horsey, Sir William Winter can testify; and I have been employed myself now six years in matters of great importance, and many a dangerous journey have

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I made. In 'pursuing' my liberty, her Majesty shall animate your spirits to travail with more earnestness for her affairs; and our Saviour, whose glory I fervently desire to be advanced, will reward you in travailing for my liberty. I beseech you not to regard the vain reports which some that envy me (whose virtue and godliness is only in their words) will cast forth against me; and though I did not take my journey so discreetly as I might have done, I think, under your correction, if the Queen wrote for me to the Duchess and Prince of Parma, and dealt effectually with the ambassador Mendoza, and sent the letters to Mr Gilpin—it is but two days' journey from Antwerp to 'Mounts'—they would command Schenk to set me at liberty and restore the things taken from me. I was threatened to be sent into Spain, and before I am set free they will make me pay 'unreasonable' for my charges, unless by your care my liberty be earnestly 'procured.' I trusted so to have used myself in this journey for the obtaining of such matters as were commended to me, that both her Majesty and you should have perceived what my ability (to speak modestly) had been. Now my estate is such that I am to try my friends, among whom I beseech that I may find you the chiefest.—From Bredeforde, the last town of Gelderland, towards Westphalia, last of Oct. 1580.

Add. (seals). Endd. by Walsingham. 12 *pp.* [*Germ. States II.* 6.]

Oct. **477.** Papers Relating to the Invasion of Ireland.

(1) "The examination of Petro Mendiá, a Spaniard born in Bilbowe, taken this last of October."

Ad primum articlum dixit that the six ships which 'came for' Ireland were of 'Sanct Andro's,' and there victualled and manned.

2. Two of the ships were separated from the fleet in a storm, and he hears that one of them is returned to the place whence the first came; but being asked where the other is, says he knows not.

3. Four of them came home from Ireland on Oct. 4.

4. Dr Sanders returned in one of them, accompanied by one bishop and two friars.

5. The 20th of November they looked for the coming of six sail more for Ireland, but how they are funished he knows not.

6. Out of the four ships were landed 400 soldiers, of whom 50 were Italians who are brave and lusty, and 350 Spaniards, very poor and miserable, and most of them sick and diseased.

7. Their colonel and captain-general is an Italian, named Signor 'Cornellia.'

8. There were four captains whose names he does not know. One is dead.

9. Their great artillery in the fort is 8 cast pieces, 3 of brass, 5 of 'yorne.' They have 300 calivers and 200 pikes.

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10. The Irish have desired to be furnished by the colonel of the Spaniards, but he would never give them credit with any of his munition, as this Spaniard confesses.

11. Their bread is scarce, for much of it had 'taken wet.' They have 59 jars of oil, and of wine but one butt.

12. He says an offer was made by their general to Sir John 'of' Desmond to have had the leading of 100 Spaniards; with whom they utterly refused to go, affirming that their general should sooner kill them.

13. Being asked if he ever saw the Earl of Desmond with their general or in the fort, or Sir John his brother, he confesses he knows neither of them, nor ever saw them to his knowledge.

14. Being asked if the Earl is fled with Dr Sanders, he knows not.

15. Not long since their general practised with some of them to have manned their boat one night, and come privily to cut the cable at the 'hawste' of the Queen's ship; which they never dared.

16. The French ship was manned with 50 shot, with very good watch kept in her.

17. Asked what treasure the general has in his custody, he says he is well furnished, but knows not the exact sum.

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(2) "A note of all such officers and others as are no 'Laborers' in the *Swiftsure*."

In the steward's room, 5; cook room, 5; carpenters and caulkers, 3; swabbers, 3; stockfish-beaters, 4; Sugans [*qu.* surgeons], 2; armourers, 2; boys, 12; shipkeepers, 9; gunners, 20.

Of the captain's retinue:—Of soldiers in his livery, 30. Of our whole number of eight score, there ran away at Chatham and Harwich, 10.

These numbers all together come to 105, "so have I that doth rest neat" of labourers or sailors, their officers comprised, but 45.

To advertise your honour how she has heretofore been manned: Sir William Gorge had in her 240, Mr Nicholas Gorge 220, Mr York last 200; so that he that had least, and in the summer too, had 50 more than I have, and 40 more than we were allowed. Reason would that in winter we should have more, for in foul weather and long nights men will forsake their labour, and therefore more are required to give them relief and 'spell.' I do not write this from any doubt I have of performing with reason as much as may be looked for; but what I could and would have done if I had been thoroughly manned, I 'leave to write.' And so wishing that you did but see these poor men, how they have been over-laboured, and held with foul weather on the 'tow' side and with the enemy on the other, who spares no powder nor shot.

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(3) The confession of the Frenchman whom the Spaniards took by the way, who with seven of his fellows were [*sic*] flying away from the said Spaniards, and were met by Mr Clinton and examined by Mr Bingham the 19 Oct. 1580.

1. They were of 'New Haven,' and were homeward 'bowne' from Newfoundland, laden with 55 or 56 thousand fish, in a ship of 180 tons, manned by 30 men and 2 boys. Their captain's name was Craim [?] of the aforesaide town. On their course they were met by these Spaniards four days before their arriving here; and at their taking the captain and 3 or 4 more were slain.

2. He heard them say they were from St. Andero's, with 5 ships and a small galliot.

3. As to what number of men, he heard 1,000, of which 250 with a great part of their ammunition was lacking or lost in two of their ships that were put from them in foul weather. He says they had since heard these were taken by the Rochellers.

4. As to how many they landed, he says about 800 in the other ships, and further, that they were poor 'Byswynes' [*bisoños*] and could not use their pieces, or very few of them, but that there were among them 80 Italians who were proper men.

5. Of the chief leaders and officers that came with them, he says there came in the great ship of 400 tons a bishop-friar, that had the name of the Pope's nuncio, and in the same ship an Italian of good years who was their colonel, and was called Signor Cornelio, with 3 or 4 friars and divers captains, of whom one was hurt at Feonod [?] Castle, whereof he died.

6. He says they had great store of bread and wine and oil; but much of it went from them in two ships that they lost. Of 'harkcebuce' or calivers they had four or five chests full, of pikes good store, of 'close pieces' five, the highest a saker; of chamber pieces seven or eight.

7. As to when the ships went 'for' Spain, he says Oct. 3; in which there went away of soldiers sick and malcontent with their entertainment and country, whom the colonel could not stay, 250 at least. Whether their spiritual men were 'here' or with the earl he could not tell, but in the country they were.

8. The rest of his fellows were prisoners in the fortress, but were forced to labour with the rest.

9. Asked whether they looked for any aid from Spain, he says they expect 4 or 5 sail from Biscay, with a supply of men and munition; and he had heard them talk of far greater power to come.

Add. to Walsingham. Endd.: The examination of Petro Mendia. 5½ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 58.]

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? Oct. **478.** [Walsingham] to [?Cobham].

Sir,—The cold and delayed kind of proceeding, both in the Duke of Anjou in sending succour into Flanders, and in the King touching the treaty of peace, ministers to many in this age, so full of dark practices and cunning devices, just cause to suspect wrong measure. Great expectation there is of the issue of the meeting at Nérac; whereof if no good effects follow, the fraud, if there be any, cannot long be kept secret. The hope of their sincerity has made us build our surety altogether that way; and therefore if it fall out otherwise our danger will be the greater, since we have neglected other helps. So long as the House of Guise enjoys the King's care (in my private opinion) I never 'look' that her Majesty shall enjoy any sound amity that way. And truly we are now reduced to such terms that there is nothing but patience and prayer left us; which if we would heartily offer, I would take more comfort of it than of all the leagues that are grounded and depend upon the arms of man. In our days we have seen that God has then wrought most mightily for us, when in the eye of the world we seemed altogether given over for a prey to our enemies. And therefore though our own sins and unthankfulness give just cause for fear, yet when I consider how dear His own glory is to Him, I doubt not but he will consume in the end the conspiracies and conspirers.

Draft; many corrections in Walsingham's hand. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 171.]

? Oct. **479.** [? Stafford's] speech to the King of Navarre.

When the Queen my mistress dispatched me to you, her Highness having heard from M. de Buhy [Buy], who had been sent to her, that Monsieur was about to treat for peace in France, bade me offer him all her credit and resources to aid in furthering it. To this effect I was to do whatever he might command me, either by letters addressed to you, sir, or by any other means he might direct as the best and most expedient. Luck would that I should find him here, instead of at Tours where I thought he was, assembled with your Majesty and this honourable company to that end. I am as glad as possible, hoping to be able to report the completion of the affair, which will be of profit to Christendom generally, and will give her Majesty as much satisfaction as anything could do. On my first arrival I told his Highness my instructions, and said what I could to confirm him in his good will to so holy a work; whereto I found him as well disposed as I could have wished. At his request, in the name of my mistress, I have made bold already once or twice to speak to you on the subject, but being at this moment on the point of sending a dispatch to the Queen, I venture once more to beg your Majesty to hear me in the presence of these gentlemen who have always accompanied you and been ready to share your fortunes; in order that knowing your answer, I may impart it to her who has long been awaiting news from me, and enlighten her as to the hope I see of a good issue to the affair.

Before you answer, I will ask you to take in good part my presumption, as it might be imputed to me, in advising a prince so

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well-advised, to take good heed of the times in which we are, the great number of our enemies, the means they have to hurt us, and the means which we may have of hindering them. I use the word 'we,' because this business touches you, and us, and all the honest people in Christendom. In the first place, sir, the great enemy of all honest people in the world is the Pope and all that depends on him; and the greatest darling [*minion*] that the Pope has ever had for his aggrandisement is the King of Spain, whom we can see growing as we look, till he becomes formidable to all his neighbours. You see the means that he has always used to hurt us have been, under colour of defending the Catholic Religion and as a pretext to embroil the whole world, calumnies cast against those of the Religion of being disturbers of the public quiet, and the corruption which the King of Spain has effected through his greatness and wealth, the divisions which he has thus caused in France and the Low Countries, where the success has been such that a good man's heart bleeds when he thinks of it. Even in our country he has tried to do the same, but the grace of God has preserved us hitherto; which for our faults begins now to diminish owing to the trouble which he and his holy father have raised up for us in Ireland, which I fear is the beginning of a smoke, and in danger of making a greater flame if God do not help us, and we do not take in time the means He has given us to remedy it.

The means which we have is a general peace and union, and that can be confirmed only by this particular peace; which if it depends in the least upon you, you will give occasion to your enemies to calumniate you, to your friends who are interested in it to wish you ill, to your own country to curse you, and to all Christendom to reproach you, if any evil befall them through the aggrandisement of him who is becoming so great. The only way to remedy this is peace in France, which being made without loss of time, God will grant that, as this realm was the first to recognise Him as God alone, so when united it will hold the balance for itself and its neighbours, and hinder them from being crushed by their common foe, and will finally by the grace of God succeed in becoming the sole instrument to make Him known in His purity to the ruin of His enemies.

What I say, sir, is not to doubt your good will towards peace, which has been so often proved, but to pray you to lose no time, which is the one thing that cannot be recovered. If the enemy gains it, as he seeks to do, he gets what he wants, and will fortify himself so that it will afterwards be hard to dislodge him. You will look to this for the sake of your duty to God, professing the religion that you do; for the friendship you owe to your friends, in return for the aid they have always been willing to give you; for your neighbours, by not hindering the succour promised them and prepared for them; for your country, in showing that you are religious, a Frenchman, a prince of the blood of France, preserving by peace the innocent from ever suffering, blood from being shed and your country from being ruined; for your servants by giving them release from their labours; for Christendom, by gaining such good for it; and lastly for yourself, by saving

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yourself from the calumnies your enemies always seek to lay on you. I have made bold to point this out to your Majesty, and pray you to take it in good part, as from the envoy of her who loves you as her own son. For my own part I am always ready to risk my life in your service.

Endd.: paroles de Staf. au Roi de Navarre. *Fr.* $2\frac{1}{8}$ *pp.* [*France IV.* 172.]

Nov. 2-17. **480.** The Hanse Towns and the Merchants Adventurers.

At a meeting of the cities of the Hanse, held at Lüneburg in 1580 on Nov. 2, and ended on Nov. 17, it was decreed by the delegates of the cities who were present:

That from henceforth the same duty shall in all the Hanse towns be levied on English goods as has since the year '60 been exacted on Hanse goods in England, viz. $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. without any offer of drawback or of restitution as caution, and that no English goods be exported without such payment, notwithstanding they have paid in one or more other towns. Extreme means however to be reserved for further consideration.

All moneys so raised to be devoted to the common purposes of the Hanse towns and their exchanges.

Further an oath in the following terms is to be taken by every person exporting from any Hanse town goods which may be suspected of belonging to Englishmen, or being destined for them; I swear that in the goods which I am exporting either by land or water no Englishman to my knowledge has any part or share; and that they are in no way intended for them or for their benefit, nor to be exported to them to my knowledge or desire.

Copy, certified by Matthias Tost, notary of Elbing. German and Latin. Endd. 2 *pp.* [*Hanse Towns I.* 62.]

481. *Another copy of the Latin version. Endd.* 1 *p.* [*Ibid. I.* 62*a*.]

Nov. 3. **482.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

There is newly come a 'secretary from Germany,' this king's ambassador with the great Turk. He reports that when he came away the messenger from the Sophy was still at Constantinople, having brought requests for the redeeming of 'Tiphlys,' and the razing of 'Carse,' a fortress lately made by the Turks on the frontier; and thereon peace was to be concluded. These demands were refused by the Grand Signior, but afterwards upon news coming that 20,000 Turks had been overthrown when coming to the succour of 'Carse,' which is environed by the Persians, the messenger was desired to stay, for the great Turk will further consider the demands. So it is supposed that peace will be concluded, the rather because sundry of the older and chief Bassas are deceased, and no great choice of experienced persons to supply their places. He reserves the place of first vizier to the Bassa who

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is in command against the Persians, and has for the present appointed a cousin of his own, who married his sister, to supply the place. He has commanded the Admiral of the seas to provide 200 galleys against the beginning of the year, to which they already 'address great preparations.' The truce with the Spanish king ends in January.

Upon knowledge of the death of the Duke of Savoy, part of the horsemen who were in Flanders and appointed to return to Naples, were stayed in the duchy of Milan, where they still remain.

The Duke of Ferrara shows himself affected to the Christian king, and the Cardinal of Ferrara has dealt earnestly with the Signiory of Venice to borrow money for him.

It is advertised that Marcantonio Colonna will pass into Spain to be 'chief of the wars' for Ireland and for those coasts.

Nothing is known for certain of the conclusion of the peace; but they have sent news that Marshal Biron's troops have sought to surprise the King of Navarre; and that notwithstanding this treaty they use hostility, taking castles and strong places.

It is advertised from Scotland that H.M. ambassador had returned from the King, with a secret letter only and small satisfaction.

Sir James Balfour has left Dieppe towards Scotland, though he has given out he went toward Flanders.—Moret, 3 Nov. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. 1¼ *pp.* [*France IV.* 173.]

Nov. 3. **483.** Cobham to [? Walsingham].

The king's keeping his chamber 'in this his diet,' the Queen Mother's leaving Fontainebleau for Chenonceau and her return to Olinville, where she is 'straightly' lodged with a small train, the scattering of the Council and courtiers, breeds a deep doubt lest *aliquid monstri alant.* It seems strange to everyone save those who are acquainted with the 'intrinsecal' meaning.

Queen Mother at my last audience was earnest with me about the matter of Portugal, and to have some further negotiations between the king and her Majesty, as I signified in my letter sent by John de Vicques.

Secretary Pinart upon every occasion seems gracious to me. From him I am advertised of the Spanish king's death (but how truly I cannot tell) upon occasion of sending my man for a passport for this bearer.

The king has now given orders to the captains of his guard next week to divide their companies into three parts, one to be gone before the other, to meet him at his appointed journey to Moulins in Bourbonnais, where he intends to meet his Queen returning from the 'baynes,' and to pass together towards Blois; and that the rest of the Court and the ambassadors shall go the next way to Orleans, and so to Blois.

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I have not heard anything of Mr Stafford, therefore I cannot tell you how far he 'is passed,' or anything else concerning him.

They advertise from Antwerp that the Papists have joined the Lutherans against the Calvinists, a matter which the Papists practise daily in all countries, that they may divide those of the Religion, who profess the abolishing of the Pope.

Pray help me to some final good end of my suit according to her Majesty's liking. I would be glad it were the better, and to some purpose, for I have need of it, and God knows if I shall live to return for another suit.—Moret, 3 Nov. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. 1 *p.* [*Ibid IV.* 174.]

Nov. 6. **484.** GILPIN to WALSINGHAM.

I have received your packet, and delivered M. du Plessis and Fremyn. Richard Some is 'forth a town' upon Mr Norris's business, and I keep that directed to him till his return. The other to the Prince and M. Villiers shall be sent by a sure messenger on Monday or Tuesday next, till which time I stay by the persuasion of M. Ymans, who hopes to procure the States' letters to his Excellency and those assembled in Holland, to 'diligent' their resolution and answer. Those of Flanders and Zealand are not yet heard of, so that I cannot write you anything else of those proceedings than was signified in my former.

Spinola, as he tells me, is minded to depart for England by the next ship, which will be to-morrow, and I myself did and do hope if I can get licence, or you do not command me to the contrary, to make a start over. Yet I would first know your pleasure touching my continuing to solicit the end of this long suit, as one who desires nothing so much as to do you service.

The enclosed Rossel sent me from Ghent, thereby advertising how matters pass in those quarters. And though I know my occurrents to be slender and of small moment, I would not omit to certify them.

In Friesland all continues in the former terms, save that it is reported that the English companies are in mutiny for want of pay and will not be pacified unless all the arrearages for their service in Mechlin and Lyre be paid them.

Meanwhile it is reported that the enemy has environed the town where they lie, and think for want of victuals to distress them; but the river Rhine running along that place, will 'rencounter' their purpose.

M. de Licques, who is governor of Louvain, learning of the Scots' mutiny at Vilvorde, practised to win them, offering to pay all the arrearages, and six months' pay in advance, so that they would yield the place to the Prince of Parma, and accept his service. This offer the Scots made show of hearkening to, and drew 400 of the enemy with M. de Licques to the town walls upon hope to enter;

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and after issuing out with good force of horse and foot, forced them to save themselves by flight, in which enterprise they slew a few of them and took a few prisoners. But the rest escaped, because it was so near night; which time the enemy had taken, fearing, notwithstanding promises, that which fell out.

In Ninove this week there has also been discovered a practice of intelligence to surprise the town; and those that were of the faction having been taken were executed to the number of 16 or 20; the chief of this feat, a corporal, being drawn to pieces with four horses.

The Malcontents that were about Flanders abide in no place, but range the country to and fro, with a show of besieging sundry places, and yet do nothing.

It is said by some that the commons in Artois and 'Henegowe' are so weakened by these wars that the fear of insurrection has so far 'taken place' in the chief of the Malcontents, that they are making suit by the Duchess of Parma's means to the King to desire his consent to grow to some agreement with the States.

Captain 'Mournowe' overthrew a band of the Malcontents' horsemen this week near Dixmuyden.

In this town the Protestants have so wrought this week that another of the Papist churches is to be given them for their exercise; the number growing daily, to the glory of God, and comfort of His people.—Antwerp, 6 Nov. 1580.

Add. Endd. by Walsingham. 2 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 72.]

Nov. 10. **485.** Duke Casimir to Walsingham.

Having at this time no other means of showing my friendly remembrance of you, I have, as I mentioned in my last, sent you some of the choicest wine, red and white, which grows in my territories, and is one of the greatest temporal blessings that the Lord causes this land to bring forth. I am consigning it, with other wine, to the Earl of Leicester, and asking him kindly to forward it to you. Please accept it in good part; and both because wine has been created to give joy and comfort to man, and particularly in memory of me, drink it as heartily as I pray for your health and long life.—Fridelsheim, 10 Nov. 1580.

P.S.—As for the Diet (*journée*) of Nuremberg, which I mentioned in my last, I have just heard that it is postponed.

Add. Endd. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Germ. States II.* 7.]

Nov. 12. **486.** The Marquis of Havrech to Burghley.

I have so vivid a memory of the honour and favour that I received in England, especially from you, that I should be neglecting the due claims of gratitude did I not occasionally send you news of me, though I am much further from you than I was, having left the

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Low Countries seven or eight months ago, and retired to my property in Lorraine, where my wife and relations are and where I shall always be at your service.

There is nothing here for me to impart to you, except that I would have you rejoice with me over God's goodness to me in that my wife is with child after we have been so long married. It gives me hope of seeing some to come after me, whom, if I may bring them up, I shall nurture to do loyal service to her Majesty and my good lords and friends over there.

I am sure you remember the obligation that I gave on my last journey, after the payment of the £5,000, and how after that Messrs Cobham and Walsingham were ambassadors to the States, and treated with them, and received their obligations for the sum in question. Pray have mine cancelled or sent back to me, transmitting it into the hands of my regular agents at Antwerp, Adrian de la Barre and Nicolas Malaperte. I mention this sure way the more willingly for the hope I have that you will sometimes send me news of yourself and of her Majesty's health.—Bayon, 12 Nov. 1580.

Add. Endd. Fr. 1¼ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 73.]

Nov. 14. **487.** John George, Marquis of Brandenburg, to the Queen.

Since in this unhappy age it is laudable, even necessary, that those who profess the name of Christians, and have been divinely placed at the helm of states should join together, we have thought it right not to miss an opportunity of renewing our old amity, which, as mortal affairs stand, may some day be not unprofitable to our peoples. The opportunity has been afforded by Master James Cuno, a man distinguished in all erudition, especially mathematics and astronomy, very celebrated in these parts. He has informed us that he wishes to communicate some invention of his to you, as a Queen having a knowledge and love of such things, and has asked us to aid him with our recommendation; and we have made no objection.

Cuno was attached, with a salary, on the strength of his own reputation, and on the suggestion of Philip Melanchthon to the Court of our father, the Elector Joachim II, to pursue the study of astronomy, a subject with which our father used sometimes to divert himself when public affairs permitted; and to invent automata, as they call them, showing not only the hours, and various kinds of movements [?], but also even the risings and settings of the planets. In his recondite and difficult pursuit he has become the very first among the foremost craftsmen. On the death of our father he betook him with our permission to our University of Frankfort, and has seemed to surpass himself in wonderful diligence and energy; nor has he rested till he had achieved what other students of that art have either left alone or despaired of doing. He lately gave our neighbour, the Elector of Saxony, a proof of the faithful and fortunate character of his study by completing a brillant astronomical work, which everybody thought was impossible. We need not however go into

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this; you will know it all more fully from the description of the great work on which he is engaged and which he promises soon to complete.

As however he has with our full approval selected your Majesty as the person to whom to offer and dedicate that monument of his talent, we beg that you will not reject his respectful wish, but will receive him with your kind favour, and will, even for our sake, and as far as your convenience allows, show him such kindness that he may feel that our letter has been of service to him, and by your approbation be urged on to finish what he has begun. And we will do all that is agreeable to you.—Cöln on the Spree [Suevum; *qu.* Sprevum], 14 Nov. 1580.

Add. (*Seal.*) *Endd. by L. Tomson:* 'in commendation of Jacobus Cunus, an astronomer.' *Lat.* 3 *pp.* [*Germ. States II.* 8.]

Nov. 17. **488.** Antonio Brito de Pimentell to "The Ambassador of England."

In fulfilment of your orders I make this report of the state of affairs in Portugal. I left my master Don Antonio on Oct. 16 at Oporto when I departed thence.

I do not treat of what happened at Lisbon, for you know it. I will briefly say that they were all corrupted with promises and presents, and the surrender was brought about by treason, of which the Duke of Alva was always so good a negotiator as is notorious in Portugal, on the part of many men to whom the king thought he could entrust his armies and fortresses, trained in their profession. He managed so cleverly that he gave some to understand that he had intelligences; to others he wrote letters, and arranged that these should be intercepted and brought to the king to destroy his confidence in those persons. In this way he incapacitated all the men in whom the king trusted for his service; and the more part of the officers whom the king had in his camp received pay from the Duke of Alva, whereby all were corrupted, and in the end traitors.

The king left the field after all was lost, fighting valiantly more like a private soldier than a king. They slew of his men Don Antonio of Portugal, Manuel da Fonseca Pinto, Francisco de Brito my nephew, Manuel da Fonseca Nobrega, Gil Degois, Simaon Vaz de Camois, and other men not of good birth. He went off with two large swordcuts in his head, entered Lisbon, and fearing that it had been corrupted, went off at once by another gate, and made his way to Santarem, accompanied by the Count of Vimioso, the Bishop of Guarda his uncle, Manuel de Crasto, Agostinho Caldra, Antonio da Silva his son, Francisco de Melo, and other gentlemen, arriving at Santarem on the Saturday morning [Aug. 27]. There were with him many other gentlemen and knights, of those who had been in the camp with him. On the Sunday morning he left Santarem, and there were with him 200 horse and about 1,000 foot. He slept 3 leagues away, and on the next day to Tomar, where he was joined by more cavalry, and more than 2,000 foot, and from

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thence to Coimbra more kept joining him, and all the people of all the places which he passed wanted to go with him, and went into the hills to guard the roads. He reached Coimbra and went on to sleep at Tentugal, and thence to Montemor, where he stayed a few days convalescing of his wounds and resting from his journey. And folk joining to advance when it was known that he was there, 8,000 men joined. They arrived at 'Esgr^{a} '[*qu.* Esguiera], and having advanced to a quarter of a league or less, he ordered the [*qu. as bard*^{as}] to march forward. They came to the suburb, whence he sent word that he was there and that they should receive him for their king as he was, which they would not do. He sent again another message, that if they did not receive him he would enter by force and sack it. As they had artillery in the town, and not so little but that there were 17 bronze pieces besides as many of iron and the king brought none, they answered mocking, that they did not know him, but only the King of Castile. He called his soldiers and told them to enter the town and sack it. I assure you, sir, as God is my witness, that in less than a quarter of an hour they gained the bridge at the gate of the town, taking no account of the artillery, and it was not an hour more before the town was entered and sacked. The king stayed there some days, giving orders for justice to be done on the heads of the mutiny, and making ready to go and take Oporto, which had also declared for the King of Castile. At that time news was current that the King of Castile was ailing, and had been let blood. There came a letter from the Grand Huntsman, Manuel de Melo, who had gone there as ambassador, saying that the king had been bled so many times, and often cupped. I do not know what will happen, for the fever does not abate. As the man who brought the letter from Elvas was on his way to Estremoz, a mounted courier came through. He asked him how the king was going on; he said, given up by the physicians. They at once placed guards at Elva and Olivença, to allow no one to pass from Portugal. And this was done because Bernaldim de Taur^{a} [?] and his son-in-law and other gentlemen from Lisbon went to kiss his hand, they sent them away and told them that they could not see the king for the next two months; and they came back—it was already said that the king was dead. And Don Antonio sent a man to Badajoz secretly to learn if he was certainly dead or not; and he came and said that he made diligent enquiry, and he had ascertained for certain that the king was dead, and that they had taken a bier on the road to Guadelupe, to which they published that he was going, ill, to take the *pao* [*qu.* quinine or guaiacum]; and nobody heard it but they at once proclaimed that there was no *pao* at Guadelupe, so that his Majesty had no business to do there; that all were at Catra [*qu.* Alcantara], where the Queen was going and a dispatch would be given him there; and that people began to take in [*romper*] his death more. The Duke of Alva at Lisbon asked that they would swear the prince his son; to which they answered that they had a king, and that to swear the prince it was necessary to call the Cortes of the whole realm. He [the Duke] no longer slept in Lisbon, but on board; all his baggage was shipped and order given.

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The king completed his preparations for the advance, and more people were joining him. He had raised 20,000 or more, and marched on Oporto. He sent forward Don Manuel Pr[a] [? Pereira] uncle of the Count of Afeira with 4,000 men, with which he at once took two forts they had on the other side of the Douro, one in the monastery of the Saviour, the other in the old castle of Gaya, in which they got some pieces of artillery. The king came and stayed two days at the monastery, crossing the river half-a-league from the city at the place they call The Salt Stones. There were 1,200 Galicians on the Oporto side to defend the passage. The first boatful of soldiers that crossed essaying an entrance—there were 17 of them—came to blows with the Galicians, who took to flight and went off to Galicia. The king finished getting his people across towards nightfall. The heads of the rebellion fled, and the rest sent, by the hand of religious persons, to ask the king's mercy, which he granted, but made them pay the soldiers 100,000 *cruzados* that the city might not be sacked. The king entered Oporto. Presently Viana, Ponte de Limo, Guimaraens, Braga, Lamego, Viseu, and the neighbouring parts made their submission to the king, and in the Serra de Estrela, Pinhel, Castello Rodrigo, and many other places. At this time the king heard that Sancho d'Avila was coming to annoy his general. He gave orders to put poison in the springs and the wines on the way they were coming. They began to fall sick and die, men and horses; and before I came away, I heard of 80 horses and 100 men dead. And the king gave orders to make ready people to go on the road by which they were coming, whose captains were Don Manuel Pr[a] [? Pereira] and Joao de Brito de Lacerda, to attack them, three days from my departure; and of cavalry the captain was Manuel Mendez Pimentell, foster-brother to King Sebastian.

Eight or nine days after my departure from Oporto, where the king remained in good health, a French vessel departed which came to la Roche Bernard in 7 days from Lisbon, and brought news that Sancho d'Avila had been defeated, and that the king had 20,000 men, and that Santarem, which is a principal town and fortress, had turned round and declared for the king Don Antonio; and that the Duke of Alva did not sleep in the place, and that there was much talk of Philip being dead, and that he died on Sep. 17; and that the duke wished to deprive the inhabitants of Lisbon of their arms, to which they did not consent. Afterwards came another ship of Olonne (*Alona*), which left Lisbon on Oct. 27 and gave the same news, and another which started later said the same.

With the king there were at Oporto Don Alfonso Anriquez, his chief chaplain, of the blood of the Kings of Portugal; there is the Bishop of Guarda, Don John of Portugal, and the Count of Vimioso his nephew, and the Count of St[a] [ ]; Manuel da Silva, Dom Pedro de Meneses, Diego Botello, controllers of his exchequer; Don Manuel Pr[a] , Joao de Brito, Don Fernando de Meneses, Don Diego his brother, Manuel Mendez Pimentel, Pedro Lopez Giram, Manuel Giram his brother, the *adajãs* of Evora, the *adajao* of Coimbra, Lopo de Sousa, Coutinho Garcia, Alfonso de Vega and Joao Roiz his son, Simaon Palha of Crato, Agostinho Caldr[a], Antonia da Silva,

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Manuel de Brito, Lourenço de Mello and Eitor de Sousa, Don Alonso Duarte de Crasto, Don Antonio de Meneses, Belchior d' Oliveira, Duarte de Lemos lord of Atrofa, Joao Freyre lord of Coya, Joao Freyre da Bobadela, and the Viscount, and Francisco Barreto, and many other gentlemen of Entre Douro e Minho whose names I do not remember, and others that I have forgotten [*sic*].

The Governors are dead; Diego Lopez de Sousa died in 14 days, Don Joao Mascarenhas in 7, and they say of poison. Francisco de Sa, one of his eyes fell out and he was very bad of the other. A friar, guardian of the *vale de piedade* at Oporto, told me that he was dead too, and that his other eye fell out, and that his tongue got so big that he could not draw it into his mouth; and so he died. Don Joao Tello died at Lisbon. The Archbishop was ill, and they said that those of whom I told you, whom for decency's sake I do not name here, talked to him; and that he said that his own should return to its Master and they should not take it [?]

At my departure news came to the king that he was dead. There died some gentleman who went to Castile to kiss Philip's hand. There went thither Don Manuel Mascarenhas, Don Duarte de Larcao, Don Antonio de Larcao, Ruy Lopez Coutinho and others, whose names I have forgotten.

If Joao Roiz de Sousa, the king's Ambassador, is still in those parts, her Majesty can treat with him and declare her will, because he is very loyal, and therefore the king sent him to her.—Saint Maur, 17 Nov. '80.

Add. Portuguese. 5 *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 42.]

Nov. 17. **489.** Antonio de Brito Pimentell to Joao Roiz de Sousa.

The king our master has sent me to this Court to inform their Majesties as to the state of things in Portugal, for they are very different from what the ministers of Castile have disseminated. Before coming I wrote to you and sent you a letter which I brought from his Highness, which was directed to Rouen, to 'Mosior' Lobim to forward to you. If you have not got it you could send and find out from him if they gave it.

I found much welcome here from their Majesties, and they showed much relish of the news that I brought them from the king, and they talk to me much to the purpose. I found at Court the ambassador of that realm, who I assure you, made me no worse cheer than if he had been a countryman. He told me that he was dispatching a courier thither, and had written to you.

The king our master was at Oporto in good case and already quite well of his wounds. People were joining him every two or three days. He sent to meet Sancho d'Avila, who was coming to look for him with 600 men; who were already dying of poison which they had put in the wine and the springs for them. [*Other information as in the last.*] If you can negotiate for some powder and munitions it will be very good; and send them to Oporto by merchants. The post is going.—Saint Maur, 17 Nov. '80.

Add. Portuguese. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. I.* 43.]

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Nov. 19. **490.** GILPIN to WALSINGHAM.

Though the post has not yet arrived, nor anything fallen out since my last writing, I could not omit 'with these few lines to be troublesome'; only advertising the return of the Prince, who by reason of the Princess's sickness being in some danger was sent for and arrived yesterday morning. Finding her somewhat mended it is said he will return next Wednesday. I was this afternoon at the castle to speak with him, but could not have access, as he was in council with the States of Brabant, and 'for' M. Villiers could not meet with him. So I cannot write you what has been done in Holland touching Pallavicino and Spinola's cause, but understand that Villiers has advertised you by your servant Walter Williams and answered you 'largely.' I mean to be 'in hand' with M. Junius to move his Excellency thereof, and procure fresh letters from him for those of Zealand and Flanders, who I hear will resolve depending only upon them of Holland. Ymans is still here, and makes no preparation to go till this suit is ended and her Majesty contented.

The Malcontents in Friesland having, as it is credibly said, taken Dockum and Staveren, which was forsaken without resistance by the States' men, continue still before Steenwick, 'being' defended very stoutly. If it chance to be taken ere rescue can arrive the English are to 'keep a strength' between Campen and Zwol.

The Malcontents in Flanders have drawn towards the frontiers of France with all the forces they can make to encounter the French sent by Monsieur, which makes some doubt lest they have more friends in that country than was hoped.

Last week, 'Beauford,' colonel of the Scots, going out with Capt. Seaton and his company of horse to the number of 100 with intent to charge 3 companies of the Malcontents horse by Oudenborgh, was himself slain with 8 or 10 of Seaton's men. Many hurt, and the rest escaped by flight, yet fought so 'happily' that they overthrew and hurt fourscore of the enemy.

M. de Bours, bethinking himself and doubting further displeasure, has surrendered his government to M. 'Suyuenghen,' so that the labour of those of Ghent with those of 'Cortrick' is turned to nothing.—Antwerp, 19 Nov. 1580.

Add. Endd. 2 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 74.]

Nov. 19. **491.** COBHAM to the QUEEN.

On signifying to the king and queen my desire to be admitted for your service into their presence, I was desired to repair to Dolinville, where they gave me hearing jointly, as follows.

First I declared that whereas it had pleased the Queen Mother upon conference had with me lately at 'Shantyllowe,' while he was keeping his late diet, to show her desire that the greatness of the Spanish king might be considered speedily, she also thought it necessary some counsel should be taken between your Majesty and

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him for the withstanding it, for the better repairing and defending not only of the injuries committed by King Philip in the realm of Portugal, but likewise for the safeguard of the dignities of the Crown of France and England.

It had also pleased him to testify the like disposition to me by the message delivered by M. Pinart, with words of great affection to yourself and your estates. Since which M. Mauvissière had confirmed his intent to you after the same sort. Whereon you have been in just reason moved to find it good to give me commission to treat with him or his Council. And further, you had purposed to have sent others of great trust to deliberate with their Majesties. But it seems they liked this to pass with secrecy.

After I had said this, I delivered your thanks to both their Majesties for their offers of friendship to you, both made heretofore and now earnestly renewed. You trusted they would continue this profession of clear and sincere dealing, which on your part should be requited with great gratuity. You hoped to find them assured in their friendship offered; so that you looked there should proceed from them a royal treaty and firm amity to be continued during the lives of your Majesties, to their and your perpetual comfort.

The king said he was glad you had taken in good part his meaning first delivered by his mother and in like manner signified by Pinart. It seemed to him convenient to be declared to you, and that the ambition of the Spanish king may be duly weighed; having now already 'passed his bands' so unjustly, as if he pretended to give laws to his neighbours. But he doubted not that you two together would be able to defend yourselves and your friends. Now that he understood you had given me power to enter into negotiations, he would confer with his mother and let me know what he thought convenient; which should be imparted to me either that evening or next morning.

The queen seemed to say that the loss of time was dangerous, therefore since you had shown your will to join in this amity it was necessary expedition should be used. I took occasion to add that winning of time was profitable to King Philip, having his force armed, marching and conquering in Portugal. On the other side Don Antonio would suffer many inconveniences. His soldiers were not thoroughly armed, nor commanded by expert leaders, lacking munitions. The king assured me he was in good estate, and that divers towns were revolted which at first surrendered to King Philip.

Lastly he wished me to thank you for accepting his amity, assuring you that his realm shall be employed in your service and run the same fortune yours should.

Next morning M. Pinart came to me with these speeches from their Majesties. The king and queen had well thought on the message I had declared to them, having resolved to join in an unfeigned association with you; but as the king had appointed to begin his journey to-day to meet his young queen, meaning to

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go as far as Moulins, and return to Blois about the end of this month, they wished me to be there about that time, when convenient personages of his Council shall be appointed to negotiate those affairs. He thought it would be M. Bellièvre and himself; but wished me to think on my journey. Thus I have only so far dealt in those instructions which were lately sent me; because I found the queen more earnest than the king in proceeding to this negotiation; and also that the king has deferred me till he comes to Blois.

Notwithstanding, in conference with M. Pinart, I asked him how the chief persons of the Council liked this intended association with your Majesty, especially as it may be some stop to King Philip's greatness. He said the king had not, so far, 'participated' his intent to the lords of his Council, I said it was likely that he might in private talk 'enlarge' thus much of his affairs to some 'confident' persons among his minions, to whom perhaps this amity would not be so welcome as that of Spain. He answered that the king and queen were so united in this that there would be no contradiction on any side, but they must be content to accommodate themselves to their Majesties' will.

M. Pinart enquired of me if those who had landed in Ireland had declared by whom they were sent, and if any Spaniards were among them. I told him I could inform him of no great certainty, for of late, through contrary winds, no certain news had come from those coasts, and those Italians did not at their first arriving pass far from their landing-place.

These are the chief poisons mentioned in my conference with Pinart.

I have visited the ambassador sent hither by Don Antonio, from whom I enclose a letter to your Majesty, and likewise one to me, from which you may see the adventures of Don Antonio, and the state he remained in when he left him about Oct. 26, at Porto [*see No.* 488]. This ambassador, Antonio de Brito Pimentell, informs me that King Philip deceased on Sep. 17 at Badajos, and was laid in the ground at Guadalupe, and that the young queen had removed to Safra [*sic*]. Now advertisements have come from Spain that the queen is dead, and the king not dead but feeble.—Moret, 19 Nov. 1580.

Holograph. Add. and endt. gone. 6 *pp.* [*France IV.* 175.]

Nov. 19. **492.** Cobham to [? Walsingham].

In the last letter I received from you you set down not only the great benefit that would ensue from this 'pretended consociation,' but have specified the very true doubts which being cleared might show assured good dealing. As first, upon what occasion or rather displeasure this king is kindled so earnestly against King Philip. So far as I can yet perceive, he is especially counselled thereto upon the hope of the recovery of Portugal, through which his subjects may reap profit and his minions are promised particular gain. The Queen Mother works therein, either by bringing

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forces to assure her pretence by time and means, or else to frame a marriage with Don Antonio for one of her nieces of Lorraine, which will be the more easily brought to pass since Don Antonio has, as they give out, recovered some treasure, and sent hither 20,000 crowns for the 'conducting' of men and munition.

The king finds that the Spanish king has altogether diminished his credit in Italy, with which he is much discontented, and seeks to repair it.

M. Pinart in my last conference with him let me know that Schomberg was returned, by whom the king learnt that the Spanish king had offered 100,000 crowns to cause the 'roysters' to march into France, but he said they must have 300,000 before they moved.

He further noted that the King of Spain had broken his treaty in using violence to Portugal, for in all the capitulations of peace Portugal was included as a realm confederated with France. He 'shows' to be somewhat frank in his dealings and earnest. What shall be brought forth time will discover. I shall be better able to inform you after some conference, which is not likely to happen till we meet at Blois.

Notwithstanding this treaty, I hope her Majesty will think of the cause she has to deal with all those princes who have put away the authority of the Bishop of Rome. However they dissent in other points of understanding the meaning of our Saviour, yet they may all confederate to withstand the Romish malice and tyranny which is exercised towards the realm of England, and practised in all other dominions. This would encourage other realms to seek deliverance from that tyrannical yoke, however their consciences were addicted. I shall in this negotiation hear therein, and slowly pass on so far as I am instructed, hoping that her Majesty's charges will be diminished through the ability of Don Antonio.

The king likes not that his brother should 'join his power together' before peace is concluded. He has been 'moved from' his Highness that 6,000 Switzers might be levied under his Majesty's 'countenance,' and if peace is not made, they may be the readier to be employed against his Huguenots. The king refuses to do anything before the pacification is established in his realm; he will not have 'two kind' of wars in hand at one time. In this doubtful manner all their actions are deferred and 'lingered.' —Moret, 19 Nov. 1580.

P.S.—I have delivered her Majesty's letter to 'M$^{sr.}$ Martch.' M. Marchemont will write to his Highness for answer to the article touching this king's assisting Monsieur for Flanders.

Add. and endt. gone. 2 *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 176.]

Nov. 20. **493.** Cobham to [? Wilson].

I have written so much in my present letter to your honours that I have little left to write in particular to you, but that I find from

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Secretary Pinart that their Majesties have found Signor Giraldi has secretly yielded himself to the Spanish king's devotion, and has become his pensioner; whereon they hide from him their affairs and meaning towards Don Antonio so far as to cause a merchant to arrest such armour and munitions as the king heretofore at his request had suffered to be transported to Rouen for Don Antonio's service.

But the king has ordered Antonio de Brito, this last ambassador, to have 300 or 400 soldiers embarked, to pass with the said armour and munition to Don Antonio. They can the better do it now that this ambassador has brought 20,000 for the levy and pay of 4,000 men who are looked for in Portugal. Their Majesties have given him audience at Olinville, and the queen has since conferred with him at Saint-Maur for the dispatch of those affairs; whence de Brito returns toward Nantes to have conference with his Highness.

The said ambassador informs me that Don Antonio had appointed two gentlemen to repair to her Majesty. They would take with them money and other stuff of value. By his relation in my dispatch, which I have procured for her Majesty's better satisfaction, you will see the estate of Don Antonio.

The book for which you have written to me has lately had a very high price set on it by some who have sought to send it that way; 'not knowing' whether it have already passed the sea or no.—Moret, 20 Nov. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 177.]

Nov. 20. **494.** COBHAM to the SECRETARIES.

The king seems discontented that the framing of the peace is so long 'lingered.' He has lately written to his brother that though the commissioners for them of the Religion show themselves troublesome and somewhat obstinate, he must not be discouraged, but seek to bring it to some good event; hoping to hear better news of it.

Villeroy and Bellièvre in their letters complain that those of the Religion have not appointed gentlemen among their deputies, but of the commonalty or meaner sort of people, who seem to put divers difficulties in the King of Navarre's head, and yet in private conference promise Monsieur to bring him to more reasonable considerations. This manner of dealing is, they write, taken in ill part, both by his Highness and by the said king. If this is true it may prove dangerous and unprofitable to them of the Religion; the rather that it is found by them that have experience of the king's disposition that he is determined by all manner of means to reduce his state more entirely to his devotion, for which purpose he has such forces ready in so many places as I have already signified to you.

Moreover it is considered with how small a train Monsieur has gone to those parts, as also that the King of Navarre has but feeble forces; so that if the peace be not framed to his liking some doubt what he may be counselled in policy to do, upon so easy an occasion to compass his purposes, wherein he will not want apt instruments.

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They have written from those parts that Bellièvre and specially Villeroy have opened the occasion and manner of the late taking of arms, in which negotiations they have flatly charged some of Monsieur's followers, among whom 'namely' Fervacques; whereon it it is judged some displeasure will be bred at such plainness.

Here it is understood that the Queen of Navarre purposes to come toward these parts as far as Vendôme with the Princess of Béarn; but for the truth of this I refer to the advertisements which Mr Stafford will send, because he is at the place of the treaty, whereby he may be more certainly informed.

Some who enter into judgement of the present dealing between the king and Monsieur, think that there grows a likelihood of some better and more friendly intelligence betweeen them than has been heretofore; so far as it is understood that the king will no longer have this strangeness between him and his brother, but by some means will live together.

The king has been contented with these levies that have been made for Monsieur's service, but suffers no hostility to be used till the pacification is concluded; from which opinion he cannot be diverted.

In my last conference with M. Pinart, upon occasion of my access to the king, I noted to him sundry shows of goodwill which her Highness had offered to the king. Among the rest I declared to him that Mr Stafford had orders, if his Highness thought good or occasion offered, to persuade the King of Navarre and those of the Religion to yield to the king's will and not show themselves obstinate in their demands; as also, if it seemed good to the king, her Majesty would make such further show that way as might be to his liking.

The Secretary answered he had understood from the king I had sundry times made that offer; but wished me in any wise to speak no more of it to the king, because he could not take it in good part that any other prince should deal with his subjects. He assured me the king was resolved to have no other pacification than that which was before established; which he would in all good faith maintain, so that they would on their side perform what they were bound to.

The king has commanded Monsieur's companies to be dispersed, saving those of Balagny and Rochepot, and one other. Therefore many of them have retired. This is supposed to be done by the king on purpose to make them hasten the finishing of the treaty of pacification.

The Queen Mother left Olinville the same day as the king, taking her journey towards Saint-Maur, where she has had sundry conferences with de Brito.

Cardinal Birague is returned from Fontainebleau to Paris. The Pope's nuncio and the ambassador also went from hence to Paris. It is supposed that the nuncio goes to have audience of Queen

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Mother about the bill which was set up on the door of *Sancta Capella* in the Palace at Paris. It was directed to the Court of Parliament; its effect being to beseech them to command execution to be done upon the heretics and Huguenots, till which time the plague and scourge of God would not be removed. Also that they would command all spiritual benefices to be taken from the laity and restored to the churchmen; wherein they touched by name the Chief President de Thou, for his abbey, using towards him some threatening words.

The Viscount of Turenne has taken Sorrèze, where he found four cannon and 80 horses, and razed all the places of strength which those that troubled the country held. So returning into his viscounty of Turenne and Quercy about the end of last month he took and razed Pérignac near Figeac, and on the 14th inst. went to Cahors to take two cannons and continue his enterprise.

M. d'Odou, governor of Foix for the King of Navarre, has taken Tarascon, near Carcassonne [*sic*], and two days after took Pamiers, where the chief gentlemen of Toulouse remained.

Marshal Biron after losing 500 or 600 men before l'Isle-en-Jourdan was constrained to raise the siege.

They of Burgundy have complained to the king of the excesses committed by Monsieur's companies; whereon the king has sent for them from thence.

I enclose the answer to certain points which you sent me in your last dispatch of Nov. 5, together with two copies of letters which Dandino the Pope's nuncio at this Court has caused to be translated into English. Also a 'devise' of Mr Copley, printed in Paris, which may have been sent unto you otherwise, and a copy of Don Antonio's recent letter to Strozzi.

I have received the following advertisements from Paris. That another is clapped in the 'Bastillon,' of whose name I am not certified. The papists give out that the succours her Majesty sent into Ireland are drowned. That Count Schomberg assures the king there are no reiters levying in Germany for them of the Religion. Concerning the advices from Spain: That King Philip has sent back the 30 galleys that came from Italy, and 1,500 soldiers are returned to the State of Milan, and 3,000 sent to the garrisons in Sicily and Naples, beside 100,000 crowns sent for the payment. That there is no opinion had of M. Strozzi's 'pretended' voyage into Portugal; and if the Spanish king had such success in those parts as is there reported it will appear more unlikely.

I am informed by an English gentleman who passed lately by Nantes that there are certain Englishmen in chains in the French galleys, and in miserable estate. If her Majesty is pleased to command, I shall willingly be a suitor to his Majesty for their release.—Moret, 20 Nov. 1580.

Endd. 3½ *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 178.]

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Nov. 20. **495.** COBHAM to [? WALSINGHAM].

Having received the enclosed letter from Signor Cavalcanti, it seemed convenient to send it to you, that you might let me know your opinion touching his intended journey. I defer answering him till I hear your pleasure therein.

I send herewith certain letters written to Mr Waad by some of his friends. Mr Thomas Cornwallis, of whom I advertised you some months ago, is to-day arrived from Spain, having been sick most part of his time, so that he could not undertake any matter of consequence. However, he professes a good meaning toward her Majesty's service; of which you may better judge in conference with him. He brought letters from Spain. I send you the copy of one of them, which concerns the dealing of Lord Hamilton with the Spanish king's ministers; whereof if you think good, her Majesty may be in some sort advertised, for surely his necessity constrains him to seek some relief.

I understand from Mr Cornwallis that some of her Majesty's merchants have lately been put in the Inquisition at San Sebastian. Among them is one Robert Haynes, by whose means I had 'assigned' to pass money to Mr Cornwallis; for I found that Calvi had discovered to the Pope's nuncio his coming to me, and the matters of which I conferred with him.

The merchants to whom Calvi assigned me to serve Mr Cornwallis's turn for letters and money dealt very ill with him, and had like to have caused a further trouble.

You write to me concerning my conference with Marshal Cossé. I have 'signified' this in my former letters. It was in effect but matter of compliment, and to show that the king and Monsieur had disposition to enter into matters which might content her Majesty; not entering into any particulars, though I pressed him thereto, but referred further conference to his return, which he promised should be shortly. I only took occasion at that time to visit him because he came from his Highness, as one of his principal councillors and friends; understanding also he had to do in those affairs for the Low Countries, and to 'make entrance' into the treaty for this pacification; "as also that Monsieur might have some little camp levied through certain order to have it brought to pass to the king's small charge, and little encumbrance to the people," which by complaint of the provinces now appears otherwise.

At that time I had received no command to treat with the Marshal nor had any knowledge from you of the negotiations between the Low Countries and his Highness; but I am promised some better answer from M. Marchaumont touching those articles.

Queen Mother goes the nearest way from Saint-Maur to Orleans to meet the king and young queen, and so to pass on to Blois, if that appointment hold.—Moret, 20 Nov. 1580.

P.S.—At the making up of this letter I received yours by [? Thomas] Walsingham, and shall not fail to accomplish concerning the earl what you have commanded me.

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Since my man has sent me no order for money, and I have to take my journey to Blois, I see not which way I shall be able to content Sir Jerome Bowes; notwithstanding [*rest cut off*].

Add. and endt. gone. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 179.]

Nov. 20. **496.** John Brown to Leicester.

Pardon me for not having written in all this space. The truth is that on my coming into Flanders the companies were ready to depart for Friesland, and Mr Norris was very desirous that I should go among them. I told him the business that I had to do for you, and he answered that he would 'satisfy' by letter the cause why he was forced to use me at that time, and took order withal with his secretary for dispatching to England the armour which I had bespoken. [*In margin:* To answer this: that his cause with Mr Norris was reasonable to excuse him.] It was conveyed to your house in London long since, to my fellow Broune's. It is all in the manner that we use here now, and of pistol proof. I would know whether you like the fashion, and whether you would have any more made, for I am come from Friesland on purpose to write to you and wait here for your answer; for in writing from Friesland I could not be certain of the conveying of my letters to you, nor of answer back again. [*In margin:* The armour was brought to me, and I like it very well, both fashion, etc. But I would have some bigger than this, 50 of them, as soon as they can be ready. I will send present money for them.] The price of that armour is £4, beside the carriage, so that if you purpose to have any more it will be good that you take order by exchange or as you will. Your own armour will be ready very shortly; as soon as it is done I will either bring or send it. [*In margin:* That he haste with my own armour; as also if there be any fair furnitures for horses' caparisons and saddles, that he send me word and stay them for me.] For your bed-ticks also and household stuff, it will be well that you take order for money for them. [*In margin:* To send me word what stuff he has stayed for me, and the money it comes to, which shall be sent; and specially that he provide me a good quantity of napery stuff, both damask and diaper, but not of any great price.]

News I have none but what you have heard. The enemy not long since was about to besiege the town in which we now lie, called 'Dosborth over Risam' [Doesburg over Yssel], a town of some importance though not strong, for it stood on the river of 'Isle,' a place very meet to convey their men to; and by that means would have put in hazard the loss of 'Sutfeild,' 'Devontry,' 'Swoll,' and Campen. We cut off their purpose by busying them so fast every day in skirmish that they quit that place, and got them to another town called Doticum, hard by; where with a false fire from the steeple of the town where we lay, seen to the enemy as well as to the town, caused [*sic*] the enemy to 'grow in some admiration' of the matter, deeming that our forces were gathered together, and that it was a token of some succour, quit [*sic*] the place, and drew towards Friesland. They have besieged a little town called 'Stewnick' and have remained there these 21 days.

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Mr Norris is chosen master of the camp, and has accepted it conditionally that the States will pay the soldiers every month. He is now to go to the relief of Steenwyk with all the power they can make. The towns that I spoke of, Deventer, Zwoll and those, are a free province of themselves, and appertain to the Empire, 'marry' of late usurped by the King of Spain. The town of Doesburg, where our companies lie, borders on the land of Cleve, where Mr Rogers was taken. [*In margin:* That he send to Rog. from me, to know his estate and advertise me with the next.] The Duke and his people wish by this that he had been taken further off, for we have taken a thousand of his since that time; I mean oxen and kine.

The Malcontents of Flanders being come near 'Bridges' encamped in a village, where those of 'Bridges' were advertised. Colonel 'Bafford,' one of the colonels of the Scots, 'salued' out of the town to give them a camisade with a cornet of horse and certain companies of foot; were very well beaten for their labour. They were drawn into two or three ambuscadoes, both of horse and foot, where they fought very valiantly, but in the end were dispersed, and returned not above 6 in a company. One Captain Seaton, captain of the horse, with divers of his company were hurt very sore, and Colonel 'Bafford' slain there on the field.—Antwerp, 20 Nov. 1580. [*In margin and below:* That he procure Mr Norris's leave to dispatch these my business there for a time. To hearken to get two or three good courser stallions, if it be possible, and to send their prices, which shall be satisfied. To enquire for a good marshal or 'ferror,' and he shall be well considered. Item, to procure an armourer to serve me, that is skilful to make or mend armours; and if he could 'skill' in keeping dags and harquebuses for mending their locks etc. it were so much the better.]

Add. Endd. 2 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 75.]

Nov. 20. **497.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Walsingham.

I hear that Hannibal Spinola, nephew of Benedict Spinola, has arrived here in order to dispose of his late uncle's goods. As he has to account for a part of certain matters of stay, affecting the subjects of the king my master, and also of freights [*flets*] of ships, and other things, I request you will make representations to the Council that they may give orders to prevent him from selling or transporting out of the realm the goods of the deceased without giving sufficient caution to answer all lawful and just demands touching what appertains to the above-named subjects. It will shortly be necessary to treat of these matters of stay, and also those affecting Portugal, since it has pleased God to give that kingdom to my master. Begging you to dispatch this case, and thanking you greatly for the letter you sent me for the safety of the ships of Laynes.—London, 22 Nov. 1580.

Autograph signature. Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Spain I.* 59.]

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Nov. 24. **498.** Rossel to Walsingham.

I am leaving Antwerp suddenly, but cannot omit to write a line, having to thank you for your last letters, and for 30 *livres, gros monnaie* of Flanders, which Mr Gilpin has handed to me.

I have been here for about 8 days, waiting to take 4 companies of horse into Flanders, in order, as I told you, to make up an army of 3,000 to 4,000 men while the enemy engaged on the side of Cambray against M. d'Alençon's troops; who, as rumour went, have defeated the Marquis of Risbourg. The 'halting messenger' says that there has been some combat, or re-victualling of Cambray, and not more. From the newly-established Council for War in Brabant I have obtained only two cornets, which will follow in a week.

Letters have come to-day from the deputies in France, but they are of old date. They find us hoping for peace. Meanwhile the King of France is not abandoning the war, for according to letters from Lyons M. du Maine is waging a cruel war in Dauphiné.

As you say, the coming of Monsieur will be very necessary and advantageous to us; for Friesland is being lost, if some remedy is not quickly applied. You will hear the details from Mr Norris, wherefore I leave off, deferring a more ample discourse to the next ordinary post.—Antwerp, 24 Nov. 1580.

Add. Endd. Fr. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 76.]

Nov. 24. **499.** Dr. Hector Nuñez to Burghley.

Last night I received letters from Flanders, and there were two from Portugal dated the 6th and 7th ult. They confirm what was said before, how Don Antonio was very strong and had a number of Frenchmen with him, and how 'Sanctoa de Avola' went against him, and, by one of my letters, was overcome by Don Antonio; and this I doubt, because others do not say so much.

They write also for certain that a good number of Frenchmen were with him also; and 'Senior Descovare' [Escobar] (the 'Portingale' who came here first from Don Antonio) writes now from France that he was ready to go to Nantes to take ship for Portugal, with a good number of Frenchmen.

From Medena [? Medina] it is written to a friend of mine that King Philip, understanding the great power that Don Antonio had, had called out again the soldiers whom he had dismissed, intending to make a new company to 'invade' Don Antonio one way, and 'Sanctoa de Avola' by another way.

They of Lisbon had the Spaniards in great hatred for their evil behaviour; specially those that were newly come from the Indies and Guinea and other places, finding their houses spoiled and their wives and children misused. And every day there were frays between the Portuguese and Spanish soldiers; and the Duke of Alva, fearing the worst, brought all the soldiers into the city, and lodged them in the merchants' houses, which will be the undoing of the city.—From my house, 24 Nov. 1580.

Add. Endd. 1 *p.* [*Portugal I.* 44.]

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Nov. 27. **500.** COBHAM to [the SECRETARIES].

You may know by this that the king has accomplished his journey into Bourbonnais, and is at present on his return with his young queen. He is expected at Orleans to-morrow, where Queen Mother has purposed to be to-night, awaiting their coming. It is thought they will go on together to Blois, whither the principal personages and the Council, who have been dispersed abroad, mean to repair. It is purposed that all affairs will be thoroughly managed and accorded on, as occasion serves.

The queen had received no letters from his Highness for eight days; but by a letter received three days ago she heard from him that the peace-conference had like to have been dissolved without anything effected; but they have since grown to better terms, with greater hope than hitherto to have peace concluded. The courtiers cast the fault on the troublesome demeanour of the commissaries for those of the Religion, 'imposing' to them that they are wrought with some Spanish artifices to continue the troubles of the realm. How unlikely this is, I 'report me' to you; for those who look into the government of this state, rather judge that the Italian faction will by all means trouble the uniting of the princes and nobility lest they should enter into the old consideration of them, which 'heretofore has been so often stirred in,' and they thereby be put in great fear. The occasion is rather taken to be that the king has by their discourses been long dissuaded not to consent to the interview between his brother and the King of Navarre; as also that no peace would contain them of the Religion within any assured limits of obedience, but that they will be a continual impediment to foreign enterprises.

The Italians have misliked Matignon for observing so well the composition made at la Fère. They blame the Duke of Maine for using the like at la Meure in Provence.

Howbeit hitherto the king shows by his commands that he has a will to continue the pacification made at Nérac. Oftentimes of late, both in his private passages to his houses, and at Olinville, he has been put in fear of the companies levied for Monsieur (which marched not far from his Majesty's 'being'), through the secret malicious advices of those who would continue the jealousy between him and his Highness. Monsieur has likewise, by Fregoso and other Italians, as I am given to understand, been practised with; first, in laying before him deep considerations, that he was to go into those parts with some forces, lest he might fall into the hands of the king through Biron's companies, or else be intercepted by those of the Religion, whereby they should better assure themselves of his person. Otherwise he was counselled that it would be very dangerous for him to persuade the King of Navarre to disarm, if assured of his frendship; for his forces would be his defence, and a cause for the king to regard him the more.

I hear also that they of the Religion have been advertised of sundry secret attempts prepared against them, whereby they should be induced to demand such difficult assurances, as may seem to the

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king altogether unreasonable, and that so the 'treaty' might pass without any good fruit. While it is not performed the king is constrained to abstain from all foreign enterprises. He has hitherto deferred the determination of entering into any other foreign actions as to resolve on the propositions made by the deputies of the Low Countries, treated on with his Majesty by Marshal Cossé, until the treaty of peace is concluded or dissolved; whereof, I suppose, his Highness has informed Mr Stafford for the satisfaction of her Majesty.

The courtiers report that if the King of Navarre does not consent to the peace the friendship between him and Monsieur will be broken.

I have been assured by M. Marchaumont that the king has suspended all things till peace is concluded, and nothing resolved on the matter of Flanders, but when peace is effected he supposes Monsieur will reserve that, to advertise her Majesty.

There have been many pretty devices spread abroad by the Catholics in France to trouble the king's mind from having peace with his Huguenots. The burning of the church of the Cordeliers is imputed to the Italians. Some gentlemen belonging to the Ambassador of Savoy, walking by the church to see the spoil made by the fire, were apprehended by sergeants and carried to the Chief President, whence they were brought as prisoners to the ambassador's house until they were avouched by him to belong to him, and so released.

At Paris they have small opinion of the conclusion of the peace.

The King of Navarre has desired the Viscount of Turenne to come to him, which was some cause of the stay in the conference.

The Prince of Condé is said to have passed unknown through Switzerland with a small train, and [been] rifled by the way in a little town; whence he took his way through Provence to enter France. But nothing is certainly known.

There is 'a treaty procured' to restore Captain Anselme to the king's grace. He has agreed to surrender the forts in Saluces which he now commands if the king will pardon him and give him some other strong town and 50,000 crowns. The king is pleased to give him 20,000, and the captainship of such a castle as shall be thought convenient by the Governor of that country.

I hear from Lyons, under date the 13th inst., that they of the citadel of la Meure, having first abandoned and set fire to the town, had valiantly defended themselves, being of the Religion; but afterwards for want of water, wood, and sustenance were so famished that they drank their own urine. They made in the end a composition with the Duke of Maine to depart with their arms, without ensigns or drums, and their matches quenched. Without this composition they were resolved to make a sally and venture their lives. They were but 800 in number. Their eight ensigns were brought to the king, as I have already advertised, by young 'Livrot.' The

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Duke of Maine leaves a garrison in the town, meaning to dissolve his camp and make no other enterprise this winter but go to Grenoble.

I enclose the advertisements from Spain of the 2nd inst. The like is confirmed from Lyons. It is much contrary to those that Antonio Brito de Pimentel delivered to me before.

It is confirmed that 4,500 soldiers from Flanders have returned from Spain and been placed in garrison in Milan, Naples, and Sicily.

There has been some bruit in Paris that Nérac is taken.

Count Chanfrey, ambassador from the young Duke of Savoy, had audience of his Majesty before he left Olinville, and was 'referred' to come to Blois for further conference; whence he is determined to repair to his Highness.

The Duchess of Nemours, mother to the Duke of Guise, the other day had a dangerous bleeding at her nose, since which a swelling has fallen into her legs, not without suspicion of hazard to her life.

The Earl of Westmorland left Rouen about the 6th inst., embarking at 'Newhaven' for Spain about the 8th; being, as I am informed, advertised from Spain by one Muckett, a Kentishman, that the king's pleasure was all Englishmen should be restored to their pensions. He had supply of money at the hands of Humphrey Shelton, upon certain centributions that came from England.

Some of the papists give out that the Spanish king has sent for him to be employed for the affairs of Ireland. Howbeit, I understand from those that love him for his professions towards the Pope and indisposition to her Majesty, that they think him not a fit person to be employed in any great enterprise for some defects which they impute to him.

I enclose a proffer made by a Jesuit in England, which is dispersed here among the Papists; and a little pamphlet newly set forth of the taking of Saint Agreue [*qu.* Santarem], with a discourse of the enterprise of Portugal, and the Turk's receiving of the Ambassador of Persia.—Moret, 27 Nov. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. 4 *pp.* [*France IV.* 180.]

Nov. 28. **501.** Cobham to [? Walsingham].

I have just heard that there is some doubt of the king's going to Blois, because of the plague which 'should be' in the town.

Advertisements have come that Marshal d'Aumont has taken the castle in which M. de Beaupré's wife and children were, having razed it. Beaupré is with the King of Navarre.

Montbreny's brother, cousin to Mme d'Aubigny, is slain before Montaigu.

Mme d'Estampes died last week and M. de Chartres [la Châtre], who is a follower of Monsieur, has sent a company of his servants,

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who have entered her castle and seized her goods; 'challenging' to be one of her heirs by right of his wife.

The latest letters from Lyons certify that Don Antonio is taken. —Moret, 28 Nov. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. ¾ *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 181.]

Nov. 28. **502.** Cobham to [? Walsingham].

I have not failed to let M. de Marchemont know how her Majesty greatly desired to be informed from Monsieur or by his means, of the answer the king gave to the articles agreed upon between his Highness and those of the Low Countries. To which he has answered that the king could not in any wise be induced to deliver his resolution for the according of those articles before peace was established, having deferred all suchlike affairs till then. Therefore he says Marshal Cossé did not make any 'overture of those causes' to me, since they remained unconcluded on. So it seems the king intends to reserve his meaning, the secret determination of his further progress in those enterprises, till his realm is in repose; which God send.

Nevertheless Mr de Marchemont assures me the king marches with an upright and sincere meaning in these negotiations.

I have sent Mr Waad to 'Rone,' where he purposes to stay some days for the better deciphering of the earl's enterprises; whereon I have caused this post to repair to him, to receive such intelligence as he shall there gather of those professors of the Pope's authority; among whom the earl is not reported so valiant and sufficient as to take any important enterprise in hand. Copley showed a letter of his which he wrote to him, of his departure for Spain in the company, as I hear, of Dacres, by sea from 'Newhaven'; being afraid that his Highness would have him taken and sent to England.

The Pope's nuncio remains 'in evil opinion with' the king, ever since the intimation of the bull of *Cena Domini*. He has made means by Cardinal Birago and old M. de Lansac to be admitted to his Majesty's presence; but he cannot be permitted, nor have as yet any hope thereof. By the intimation of the bull, according to the Romish institutions, the king would remain excommunicated. You have long ago heard of this 'fact' of the nuncio, so I 'leave' to rehearse the circumstances in detail. Meantime the nuncio remains condemned of indiscreet handling of its publication.

I have reminded you of this matter to have occasion to move you that I may know whether her Highness's pleasure be that in the conference which I may have at Blois with their Majesties I shall in some way touch on the excommunication used by the Pope against her, or certify to the king how certain articles of confederation are agreed upon against her between the Pope, King Philip, and the Duke of Florence; a copy of which I sent some months ago. The Queen has most just cause to confederate herself against the usurping power of the Pope.

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Two silly fellows have been apprehended in the church of St. Eustacius, suspected of setting fire to the Cordeliers' church.

The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Bourbon are gone together toward Orleans to meet the king there to-morrow.

The ambassadors are resolved to start on the 29th on their journey to Orleans, and so to Blois if the king's mind do not alter.

After I had written thus much, Lord Hamilton hearing of my 'short departing' hence sent the enclosed letter, beseeching he may receive an answer at your next convenient leisure.

I have not heard from Mr Stafford since his repair into France; therefore I cannot advertise anything of him.—Moret, 28 Nov. 1580.

P.S.—I have delivered 100 crowns to Sir Jerome Bowes; the rest he shall shortly receive.

Add. and endt. gone. 5 *pp.* [*France IV.* 182.]

Nov. 26-28. **503.** Occurrents in Portugal.

(1) "The copy of a letter dated in Antwerp the 26th of the last month" [*i.e. Nov.*].

From Lisbon we have letters of the 19th and 25 of the last month [*i.e. Oct.*], containing that 'Santoa Deavola' and his company were marching toward 'the port,' and on the 16th was 16 leagues from Lisbon, and stayed there by reason of a great flood, and afterwards went forward, and was passed 'Quinborowe' [Coimbra] and Monte Maior without resistance, because the plague was very busy at 'Quinborowe'; and so went to 'Averoe,' and when 3 leagues on 'this' side of it, wrote to Lisbon for more soldiers, understanding that Don Antonio was very strong; and they were sending him 4,000 men.

The new sickness was very busy in Lisbon, and a great many died of it, especially Spaniards. It was also very busy throughout Spain, and on the 26th ult. the Queen of Spain died, being with child of a boy. The king lamented her decease very much, and was himself very sick of 'it' all the month of September, and many noblemen died of it, and most of the Queen's gentlewomen.

From 'the port of Portugal' we have letters of the 15th ult., containing how Don Antonio was very strong there, and making ready to meet the Spaniards. He had also laden three ships 'of' sugars to be sent to England, to get with the 'proceeding' thereof all manner of victuals, of which the country was greatly destitute, and other things for his wars. When he took 'the port' he hurt no man, nor any of his goods, but only them that were against him.

(2) "Of the 28th of November."

This day, being Nov. 28, arrived here John Martin, an honest mariner of 'Rosco.' He left Malaga on the 1st inst. and says that on the 18th he met with a 'Brytaine' at the beginning of the

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Channel who was in 'Bayon' 8 days before, that is Nov. 10, and there was news that Don Antonio was very strong and did much harm to the Spaniards; which is clean contrary to the news we hear from 'Vyctorye' of the 10th inst. that he was overcome by the Spaniards, and either 'prisoned' or dead. Which news we think here to be untrue. John Martin says that in 'Malager' was never an English ship to lade but only two, which came with fish from 'the new found land.'

Two of the Governors of Portugal were dead—some say that they were 'helpte'; and the rest now confess their evil behaviour against their own country.

From Flanders it is written also that the king had arrested my any [*sic: qu.* many] Hollanders and Britanny ships to go to Oran.

In same hand as Dr Nunez' letter (*No.* 499). *Endd. by Burghley's secretary:* 26 Nov. 1580. 2 *pp.* [*Portugal I.* 45.]

Nov. 28. **504.** Roger Bodenham to Burghley.

In June and July last I wrote you a letter or two. I hope they were delivered. There would be no small danger for me if any of them should come to my enemies' hands, the more to be feared because there is much search made here 'of' such as write anything from hence, and there is more danger for me in our own Englishmen than in the Spaniards; though there are Spaniards in England that would gladly find such an occasion against me. If you gave them their passports and sent them away, no small service would be done by it. You know that in the Court here no man is suffered that may in any way be suspected. I do not know what the cause is that Don Bernardino is suffered to remain there; but I am most certain that he does much harm by being there. Also there is another come to England of late called Pedro de Subiaury, with another who is a 'ladger' there called Alonso Basurto. These men are maintained by certain merchants of London, who in that behalf have small regard of their duties towards God and their country. They have done much harm, as is manifestly known. As for John Baptista de Sanvitores, he 'plays of both hands'; and if you make enquiry of the merchants what these Spaniards be, you shall find they will extol them to the highest degree, having only a mind to their gains, let the rest go which way it will. What I understand of this country is that the king has much feared what way the Queen was bent; and to know this has sought all the means he can, for which these men have been instruments. If it might have been kept from him, no attempt had been made by them in Ireland at this time, nor any other ways. But now that the king has Portugal at his will, it may be that the Spaniards will enter into such vain pride as to attempt something, though there is less cause for it than there was before. I am of opinion that 'and yef' the Queen's proceeding 'may be made doubtful to them which way she will deal,' the king will take another course than he has hitherto done, for surely England is much more feared by Spain than France is—and good cause why.

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You have heard of the 'fame' which was written of by many, of the great army which the king prepared to enter Portugal. It is most true that when it was at the greatest there was not 20,000 men with the Duke of Alva when he entered; nor among all the provision, being mostly strangers, 'yet there was not indeed so many,' and it was much feared here that some aid should have come from England or France to Portugal. If it had, it is well known that Portugal had not been Spanish now, nor for years hereafter.

The great navy which was so much spoken of in like manner was of no force to serve anyone further than where they are, which is in Portugal. The truth is that the king's power by sea to be employed towards our ports is of no force. Thus much I am bound to say, because I have some understanding in seafaring matters by reason of my long experience in them. I am most desirous to do you any service that lies in my power, and therefore I am 'boldened' to write you 'thus large.' The king is preparing to enter Portugal personally with all speed, and so to pass to Lisbon. I think he will have enough to do to put things in order there, for three or four years at least; as he was three years and more in making this army at incredible cost. I do not think he will break with England, 'by no manner of means.' There are great reasons why he should not.—San Lucar, 28 Nov. 1580.

Add. Endd. $1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.* [*Spain I.* 60.]

Dec. 3. **505.** Rossel to Walsingham.

I am come back, in hope, as I said in my last, that by directing a small army we may divert the plans of our Malcontents; who for fear of the French had all hurried in the direction of Cambray to hinder help from thence. A little combat took place there, by which the French were pushed back to Valcourt to await reinforcements. The Prince of Epinoy having long had designs on the town of Condé in Hainault ventured, while they were occupied in those parts, to assault it, and took it by surprise on Friday the 24th ult. [*sic*; *Nov.* 24 *was Thursday*]. The English from Tournay and others entered by escalade without the loss of a single man. I know not whether because there were too few people, or whether they attended to the plunder before forcing a little country-house (*château de plaisance*), or that there were very few people in the town [*sic*], but the enemy having some cavalry near came to the rescue; which so alarmed our people, that abandoning that important position they quitted it with their booty so disadvantageously that about 80 were slain in the retreat, without the loss of any officer. This event has delayed our plans and cooled our phlegmatic friends. It is true that since the Council of War was established they have set up a common war-purse, and with the consent of the people one *tallar* will be levied on every barrel of strong beer, which will be an incredible sum if it is managed as it should be, and better than the *moyens généraux*, which nevertheless remain as they were,—not reckoning the ecclesiastical property.

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The Malcontents are spreading a report that the King of France has written to the Prince of Parma that if the French advance into the territory of his brother the Catholic king he gives them leave to defeat them and pursue them four leagues into his kingdom. This reassures them and removes their fear of the aid of M. d'Alençon. They likewise proclaim the total defeat of Don Antonio in Portugal; and further rejoice over the pitiful state of Friesland, of which I will say nothing more, judging that Mr Norris will report it in full.

You will probably have heard of the defeat and death of the King of Poland by the Muscovite; also the death of the Queen of Spain.

The king is already by common opinion remarried to the Queen Mother, to make a good *oille podride.*

We have news, as to the certainty of which I have my fears, of the release of M. de la Noue in exchange for certain Spaniards who were or are prisoners at la Rochelle; among them one called Juan Bautista Taxis and the *contador* Navarete. I do not know if it be they; but I know for certain that they have taken the gentleman in question from Tirlemont to Limburg beyond the Maas, which cannot have been without some object (*céremonie*). The report comes from Mons by the Countess of Egmont, who in deep grief at the ignominious death of her brother de Hèze presages his own life shortened and death in a few days to the count her husband, who has no such apprehension or belief, so stupid is he.

Meanwhile we await always the so much desired peace in France, without which we look for no salvation here, but must provide new means of defence.—Ghent, 8 Dec. 1580.

Add. Endd. Fr. 2½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 77.]

Dec. 4. **506.** GILPIN to WALSINGHAM.

The last two posts I have received no letters from you, nor all this week could I do any good in the suit I have so long followed, other than 'per' my last was signified. Ymans told me he understood that Flanders had certainly passed their grant, but had no particular advice of it. Junius protests that those of Brabant can do no more till their commissioners are sent into Holland, where they will do their uttermost endeavour to further the cause. But I doubt, unless the Prince being there takes it to heart, that no effect but delays will follow. Yet two provinces having passed their grants, I would hope the others might be the sooner brought to follow.

For news, the Prince being absent, I hear no certainty, for the posts from all places follow his Court. By the last letters from the Commissioners in France it is signified that Monsieur was still with the King of Navarre, awaiting the deputies of the Reformed Churches; and they hoped that peace would be concluded. Which finished, he would come directly into Picardy, and then gather his forces to enter these countries.

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The overthrow which was so certainly said to have been given near Cambray is turned to uncertainty; yet the Malcontents daily direct all their forces to the frontiers.

Condé, which was taken by the States' men at Tournay, was again abandoned next day, 'doubting' the enemy's forces, which made that way, and possessed the place without resistance.

From Friesland we hear nothing.

The Malcontents have, it is credibly said, taken 13 ships or great boats coming down the Rhine from Cologne, very richly laden with Italians' goods, in value £100,000; so that it will greatly impair and hinder the trade to this town.

This week the 'magistrate' of this town was altered, and new made, whereto none are called or elected but such as are known of the Reformed Religion; two excepted, who are indifferent.—Antwerp, 4 Dec. 1580.

Add. End. 1¼ *pp.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 78.]

Dec. 8. **507.** SIMIER to BURGHLEY.

Mr Stafford having done me the honour to see me in passing, I wanted to recall myself to your kindness, and beseech you to take account of my service and maintain me in her Majesty's good graces. Mr Stafford will tell you the state of my affairs, and my desire to justify myself at all points.—Bourgueil, 8 Dec. 1580.

Holograph. Add. Endd. by Burghley, 13 *ll.* [*France IV.* 183.]

Dec. 10. **508.** COBHAM to the QUEEN.

On the 5th inst. the king sent M. Pinart to me, to enquire whether according to the 'purpose' Queen Mother had 'passed' with me at 'Chantillowe,' which was afterwards communicated to me by himself at Dolleinville, I meant to confer on the treaty, because the king's meaning was to accomplish his intention towards your Majesty, which he has signified lately by his ambassador and by me; desiring to finish the treaty before the departure of the commissioners for England, that they might have it ratified by you when they are at your Court.

To which speech of the Secretary I answered that ever since your Majesty's last power was received by me, I remained ready to hearken, at the king's further pleasure, touching the entrance into this negotiation, having come to this town at the time appointed by him, before any of the other ambassadors.

To this M. Pinart said the king would presently take order herein; 'showing me in the way of conference' that M. Mauvissière had lately written that your Majesty desired the coming of the commissioners. Likewise that his Highness has written by Secretary Villeroy to request that the commissioners might repair to your realm; upon which occasion he had sent Marshal de Cossé, who was expected here within a few days.

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Since the arrival here of the articles agreed on by Monsieur and the King of Navarre, which were sent by Villeroy, the king makes great difficulty about having M. de Leusac [*sic*], captain of la Reole, removed from his government, being a matter included in the articles of treaty, which may breed some longer stay in the ratification of it; therefore Villeroy does not return to Monsieur until the king receives answer to a dispatch sent by a courier touching that point.

The king seems to take in very good part his Highness's dealing in these matters of pacification, having been well satisfied with a letter which he lately sent, full of duty and affection towards him. Howbeit, he remains of constant opinion not to give aid to his enterprises until peace in the realm be not only made, but clearly and fully established; being altogether unwilling to abide that any, of what quality or estate soever, shall have power to command any of his towns or rule in any of his provinces unless at his devotion. His mind therein is so well known to his Highness that he is inclined to satisfy the king fully therein; purposing as I hear not to return from Guyenne until he has established affairs there to the king's liking, whereby he may induce him the rather to be favourable to him in his designs, which are principally the marriage with yourself, and the enterprise of the Low Countries.

The king shows in his late speeches that he likes your Majesty's alliance. Queen Mother has lately in secret conference highly commended you for your wise and peaceable government, wherein she thought you are the happiest princess living. Besides she esteems you to be by nature not desirous of revenge, but merciful in shedding blood; not ambitious of other princes' states, nor yet grievous to your subjects by impositions and taxations; compassing all your affairs with the counsel of your counsellors. Which I hope she spoke as unfeignedly as it may be truly reported of your Majesty.

Maldonado the Spanish secretary lately, after discoursing to the king and provincial personages of the Court on the defeat and death of Don Antonio, which is not altogether believed here, declared that the King of Spain had sent to you to treat of marriage, with renewing of his old love. It is not accepted here for a verity.

I have sent the Secretaries certain letters of M. Pinart to me with copies of mine in answer to be shown to you. They concern the commission you last sent me for entrance into the treaty; which it seems was looked to have been in Latin, according to the form used before in the like cases. Notwithstanding, when I showed to M. Pinart that the instructions were signed in your Majesty's hand, it appeared that the king would sign the like power to those who were to confer with me. So consequently within a day or two to enter into conference of the affairs; which I thought good to advertise to your Majesty.—Blois, 10 Dec. 1580.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson. 2½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 184.]

Dec. 10. **509.** COBHAM to the SECRETARIES.

At my last conference at Olinville I had signified to the king and Queen Mother how the Queen my mistress after receiving the

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earnest demonstration and desire which they had commanded M. Mauvissière to declare to her in shew of their good will, had also resolved to show herself grateful, liking well their purposes; whereon it had pleased her to empower me to enter into conference with such as they should appoint.

But as they were then upon departing, they 'referred' me until their coming to this town; having since, on the 5th inst. sent M. Pinart to me, with show of his Majesty's determination to enter presently into the negotiation of those causes. I offered to be ready at their pleasure.

The same night, after leaving me, he wrote to me for the copy of my commission. I enclose his letter with my answer.

The next day, with his letter of the 6th, he sent me the copy of a commission in Latin, bearing date 25 May, 1572, which authorised the Earl of Lincoln, Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir [*sic*] Francis Walsingham to take King Charles IX's oath for the confirmation of a treaty passed in April of the year before. But not being satisfied, he wrote me a letter on the 7th, which I likewise send.

Whereon I repaired to his chamber, certifying that her Majesty had given me a commission, which I showed him signed with her hand; wherewith he was somewhat satisfied, though he said the customs had been to have such commissions in Latin. Therewith he opened a book in which were written divers commissions of treaties between the Kings of England and France; and 'namely' that before-mentioned. So it seems they look for the like manner of proceeding, if such may be her pleasure. Meantime he 'pretended' to me the king would give the like to some of his Council, who should confer of these affairs.

It seemed by M. Pinart's speeches to me that the king meant to prepare for sending the commissioners to her Majesty, upon what his Highness had written earnestly to him; for which purpose Marshal Cossé is on his journey hitherward.

In the last conference M. Pinart had with me, yesterday, he declared that the king intended to send him to her Majesty. He seemed very willing to take that journey in hand; though he doubted it could not conveniently be done, since Secretary Villeroy had to return to Guyenne for the 'effectuing' of the pacification, whereby M. Brulart would be 'overcharged to dispatch' meantime alone all the affairs of the state.

It appears from Pinart that the king and queen will not be persuaded to remove M. Lussac [d'Ussac], governor of la Réole, from his charge, because both the Catholics and those of the Religion within the town are content with his government and beseech the king that he may continue; fearing that if they come under the government of the Viscount of Turenne they might be drawn into trouble for the private quarrel he has with some gentlemen of that country. This is alleged for the excuse of his Majesty's will therein. The king offers nevertheless to give them in exchange some town of

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like quality thereabouts which may be to the King of Navarre's liking. But this may breed some alteration and staggering in the negotiations for peace, because the King and Queen of Navarre so far 'shew to like' the viscount, that Monsieur has, as they say, been persuaded to give him the place of chief gentleman of his chamber; which is not accepted, because the government of Anjou was not bestowed therewith. Monsieur intends not to depart from those places till peace is established, and is not looked for by his ministers here till he comes to take leave of the king for his journey into either England or Flanders.

As for the enterprise of Flanders, it is thought it will be entertained till winter be past, as M. Villiers, late captain of Bouchain, who passed through this town in post on the 6th, reported, returning from Monsieur with some order for his Highness's affairs. He purposes to send one to Cambray to let them know that he has commanded Balagny to enter that place, if he may, with 500 shot and certain other 'carriages' of wine and victuals, with further promises of relief from him, as soon as the season of the year permits. M. Villiers proposes to take ship at Calais, to pass toward the Prince of Orange on message from his Highness.

The commissioners from the Low Countries are upon their return.

Letters have been intercepted from the King of Spain to his minister dealing with the Electors about the causes of the Low Countries, in which he wills him not to consent to their dealing with the compassing of any peaceable order in that country, for he hopes shortly to be able to dispose at his will of his subjects in those parts; which is contrary to his own promise made to the Electors by his own letters. Therefore these letters surprise, and will shortly be sent to the Electors for the better discovering of the king's double dealing.

M. Pinart in his last conference told me that the princes of Germany had sent to this king to offer him their friendship and forces to join with him for encountering the Spanish king; particularly some allied to the House of Austria. This he affirmed to me with very deep oaths.

At Marshal de Cossé's last being here, he discoursed to the king of many ways to make the Spanish king *petit compagnon*, as he termed him, all which the king found to be good; wherewith the marshal returned with some satisfaction. Howbeit, the king deferred his resolution till the pacification were thoroughly established. Now, again, though the marshal is to deal with the king, both for the marriage of her Majesty and the cause of Flanders, yet I understand he will not 'discover himself for' the enterprise of Flanders until his Highness has conferred with him.

The Duke of Maine has sent to the king to know if it is his pleasure that he may winter his men in Dauphiné. His Majesty has resolved to have his camp diminished, and to return them to their garrison if the determination hold; notwithstanding they are advertised that the greater part of the companies from Spain are staying in the duchy of Milan.

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The king has heard from his ambassador in Spain that the queen's corpse was brought to Madrid, and they are in some doubt the Catholic king is not well, because he has not for a long time been openly seen.

James Hamilton, called 'Bodilaugh,' has returned from Spain, and is at present at Moret with the Scottish ambassador.

Advertisement has come from Nantes that Tassis, the Spanish king's agent, has arrived.

I do not trouble you with advertisements from Portugal, because I find that M. Mauvissière has written the king a large discourse of the defeat of Don Antonio, whereby I am assured you are plentifully informed of those affairs. He has let the king know her Majesty's gracious manner of using him in her progress.

Hans Hess, an Almane, sometime marshal among his nation, has lately made certain preparations by sea; and 'disguising' with the king in some advertisements and affairs, is now apprehended and brought to this town, where he is imprisoned, being by command of the king 'disgraced' of the order of St. Michael, and condemned to death; which it is thought will be executed on him some day this week. He was lately much in company with Colonel Strozzi.

M. de Sancy, the king's ambassador with the Swiss, has returned with good satisfaction of their services towards his Majesty.

A private quarrel happened in the king's chamber between M. Montigny, captain of the king's gates, and one Fleurac, by occasion of play; whereon the king has given order to the Duke of Guise and the captains of his guard that no play shall be used in his chamber.

I enclose a copy of a letter from the great Turk to the Vaywode of Wallachia.

The Earl of Westmorland departed, as I told you, in a Spanish bark hired by a merchant of 'Newhaven,' laden with 60 bales of canvas for Seville; accompanied by a servant of the Bishop of Ross, called David. He is now landed at Bilbao. The Lieutenant of Newhaven 'cheared' him.

It is confirmed that the Prince of Condé has passed through Dauphiné, coming first to Gap, thence to Die, and so into Languedoc.

Monsieur and the King and Queen of Navarre have repaired to Coutras, where they mean, as I understand, to continue this Christmas.

To-day Carr the Lord of 'Fernhurst' is come in post to this town from Nantes, accompanied only by John Ashaw, one of the king's guards. He met the Earl of Westmorland at Bilbao; and the earl asked him how had sped, and that [*sic*] his meaning was to seek relief. The said 'leard' was with the king at Badajos, by whom he was very graciously received, and directed for his reward to Cardinal Granvelle, of whom he received *por ayudo de costas*

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between 2,000 and 3,000 crowns, as he himself reported to a dear friend of his in this town, with whom he spoke in passing. He further reported that the King of Spain will not be able for these 12 months to 'address' an army for any place, but the first succours he sends will be for Flanders. Further, that the king enjoys peaceably as much of Portugal as his army has passed through. It does not 'exceed above' 6,000 or 7,000 soldiers, 'having seen and viewed them with his own eyes,' when they first passed from Badajos. So the opinion in Spain was that if this king had sent succour thither in time, the Portuguese might have been able to withstand the Spanish enterprise. He reports that in the Court of Spain the desire is that the Spanish King might match with the Scottish queen. Howbeit, Maldonado has given a contrary report.—Blois, 10 Dec. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. 4 *pp.* [*France IV.* 185.]

Enclosed in above:

Dec. 6. **510.** PINART to COBHAM.

The king having taken a little medicine to-day, I have not seen him or spoken of what we settled yesterday evening. It seems that it would be to the purpose if I were to show him the duplicate of your powers, if you will send it me; and that you may see that the same thing was done on the last occasion by your Queen's deputies, I send you the duplicate which they handed in, signed by them.—Blois, 6 Dec. 1580.

Holograph: Add. Endd. by Cobham: From M. Pinart, by his son, with the copy of the commission, which was signed by my lord Admiral, Sir Tho. Smith, and Mr Walsingham, appointed commissioners in Anno 1572. *Fr.* 10 *ll.* [*Ibid. IV.* 185*a*.]

Dec. 11. **511.** GILPIN to WALSINGHAM.

The Commissioners for Brabant departed last Thursday towards Holland, and having the day before conferred with M. Scheurmans, who was one of those that went for this town, 'did promise me' he would deal very earnestly in the cause of Signor Pallavicino. Since I received your letter, and according to commission having got leave of Mr Governor, who at your desire was most ready to conform himself thereafter, I resolve to depart towards Holland about the middle of next week, to which end I am settling my business in good order with all the endeavour I can, and have given M. Junius and Ymans knowledge thereof. They promise their earnest letters to the Commissioners; as also to those of Flanders. Though my provision towards charges is not very plenty, I would not be in default to accomplish my duty, for all I have is ready at all times and my body if need require, to do you acceptable service.

The news of Ireland were no less joyful than welcome amongst all good patriots, wishing they could once come forward to make such good wars, thereby to ease their troubles, which multiply daily.

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If I might, by your order, hear during my stay in Holland what passes in Ireland or at home, it would not only be a means to procure the understanding of what these parts yield, but also greatly pleasure his Excellency and those of Holland, who will not a little rejoice to hear of the Irish overthrow. I will leave orders with my man for the conveyance of letters from you or for you during my absence.

From Friesland no particulars are heard, only that the States' men are gone to the rescue of Steenwick, a place of small importance, but worthy to be cared for, for the valour of those who defend it.

The Englishmen have done great service ever since their being there, with small loss of their side; having plagued the Duke of Cleves' country for favouring the enemy. Mr Norris is said to have taken one of the Duke's chief men, called his 'overste Marschalke,' and will not release him till Mr Rogers is set at liberty.

The States from all sides, and united provinces, are together in Holland, and begin to treat of their affairs. Here there is now no more meeting of any of them, nor yet of Brabant; but the late new Council erected to direct the business of this province is established, and meets daily. They have since their entry, to begin good orders seized upon all suspected receivers, treasurers, and paymasters; calling them to account for their dealing since these troubles, and the States Government.

The Court of Chancery, which has this good while been kept here, must depart to Brussels, as the chief place of wonted residence.

The camp of the four Members of Flanders that was lately gathered there lies before Alost. They are minded to 'lay battery' before it, having taken two or three strong houses which the enemy had seized not far from 'Dermondt,' to the great annoyance of that town.

The Flanders Malcontents lie round Cambray, distressing the town greatly, so that if the French do not make haste, there is no doubt of danger of that place.

There has been great talk here of the King of Spain's death; and reported for certain that in all towns which the Malcontents hold, prayers and processions were made for his health.

Monsieur is said to be on his journey hither; the peace concluded and proclaimed; and the King of Navarre's forces to make for these countries. But the greater sort believe nothing less.

We hear here that Don Antonio has had an overthrow, but not wholly discomfited, nor yet 'Port Port' lost, as was reported.

The Hollanders as yet, it is said, will not hearken to the coming of Monsieur, though they can abide to hear of his help and suffer Flanders and Brabant to accept it.—Antwerp, 11 Dec. 1580.

Add. Endd. 2 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 79.]

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Dec. 11. [Lettres de C. de M. vii. 299.]

512. Queen Mother to the Queen.

I would not let this bearer Mr Stafford return without this word merely in order to refresh your memory of the best sister and surest friend that ever you will have, and who desires to be by all means continued in your favour, and to see the friendship between us closely confirmed and increased. Every time that I see a need for putting off the effect so desired by me, I cannot help regretting it as much as if it shortened [? *ambregayt*] my life; and it would be a great displeasure to end it before I can have the happiness of calling you daughter instead of sister. Now that the commissioners are going to you, let me entreat that nothing may turn you aside from making such a prompt and good conclusion that before I die I may see you the mother of a fair son, and have the greatest joy I could desire in this world.—Blois, 11 Dec. 1580.

Holograph. Add. Fr. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 186.]

Dec. 12. **513.** Cobham to the Queen.

The king commanded MM. Chiverny, Villequier, and Secretary Pinart to enter into conference with me, appointing the place in a garden beside the Court, where to-day I met those personages. Our conference tended to this effect: that the king determined to 'able' Monsieur, if you would favour him likewise with your means, to be the person who might oppose himself to the Spanish ambition. This should be done by sundry attempts, as their 'tempting and tasting' speeches showed. I have enlarged on this conference to the Secretaries. Your Majesty will I suppose be advertised of it by M. Mauvissière, for I understand the king has ordered what passed to be signified to him.

The king has given order that Marshal de Cossé and the Count of Soissons should come to Court, to 'prepare themselves towards' England.

The Queen Mother says now peace is made in France, she hopes no further mischances will happen, but that they may enjoy their wishes, and this long desired alliance.—Blois, 12 Dec. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 187.]

Dec. 12. **514.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

On Sunday the 11th inst. Mr Secretary Pinart came to tell me that the king had assigned M. Chiverny, M. Villequier, and himself to confer with me, appointing a place of meeting in the king's garden apart from the Court. I repaired there to-day at 7 o'clock.

After I had walked there some time they came together towards me; when, after salutations, M. Chiverny showed me that his Majesty had commanded that they should spend some time in treating of the affairs concerning the king and the queen my Sovereign. On entering the room prepared, M. Chiverny said they

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would impart to me the good news his Majesty had that instant received, how the point of difficulty for the exchange of Réolle was 'accorded on,' the king of Navarre being pleased to take Montségur and Puymori (Puymirol). I assured him the Queen would receive it as great good news, knowing it to be a matter which the king seemed to have found very convenient for his state, and would also conceive it to be an advancement of Monsieur's honour and dignity, which she desired.

Being set down to enter into conference, M. Chiverny said that the king desired not only to continue the amity and treaties made heretofore by their predecessors, but further coveted exceedingly to have a more entire intelligence and mutual benevolence to pass between them than hitherto had been; for the present estate for divers reasons so required, and he also supposed the Queen would find it good, considering the time.

Therefore they were sent to understand of me if her Majesty had the like will. If she had, would I declare to them what she required to be added to former treaties, either for the increase of the amity and strengthening of their Majesties, or the better assurance of the traffic, which he thought had not had so free course as was meant by the last treaty, since divers of her Majesty's subjects had complained, and likewise many of the king's subjects on the sea-coast lamented on the injuries done them by depredations. So the king had commanded them to do all things necessary for the satisfaction of the Queen, not doubting but that she would do the like.

Whereon I said that as I understood from M. Pinart it had pleased the king to command me to repair to that place, perceiving how I might conceive good hope that his pleasure is to mean well to my sovereign; considering he had appointed three such persons as M. Chiverny, who for his knowledge of the laws and experience in the government and ordinances of this realm had the honour to be Keeper of his Seal; as also M. Villequier, whose worthiness had made the king use him as a most private servant, having employed his counsel in his greatest affairs, being entrusted with the government of his chief city, and the Isle of France; and M. Pinart, one of his chief Secretaries of State, managing the affairs not only of a good part of this realm, but of regions adjacent.

So that for wise consideration of matters of importance, his Majesty could not have made greater choice; which may also move the Queen to think that he now intends thoroughly to go forward in this treaty; as it has pleased him of late, both by messages delivered by M. Mauvissière, as also by speeches uttered to me of great show of goodwill, for further entrance into straiter amity with her; which is confirmed by the present relation of M. Chiverny. In return for this I lately delivered to his Majesty at Olinville my sovereign's entire thanks, assuring him that she not only accepts in singular good part his offer of friendship, but also binds herself in honour to shew 'gratuity' in deeds.

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Further, whereas the king has signified, both by his ambassador and by me, that he thought it convenient both for the better satisfaction of his own mind, respect to his commonwealth and country, and the good consideration he has for the repose in which her Majesty has so long governed, that they should enter into mutual consideration how they might by due means oppose the greatness of the Spanish King.

Which purpose the Queen has not only liked, but has commanded me to confer either with his Majesty or with such as he shall appoint to deliberate on affairs to that end.

M. Villequier then said that the king not only meant to enter into amity with the Queen more particularly than with any other prince, but also had commanded them to deal as frankly with me as if I were a natural Frenchman, being disposed to satisfy the Queen in anything for the better defence of her states if occasion required.

Then M. Pinart. seeing me silent after those speeches, said there were certain points in the last treaty which had not been hitherto fully accomplished; as the point to have two 'Estaples,' one at Rouen, the other at London, for the English and French merchants, which would be a good means for the quiet and commodious traffic of both nations. Likewise there had been certain 'notes of order' devised (which I delivered from her Majesty) which were considered by the king and his Council, and something added thereto by M. de Meilleraye, which being sent to England were never returned. The putting in use of these might serve the quiet trafficking of the subjects of both nations. In this, or anything else which might be thought convenient, the king had commanded them to declare to me his willingness, if I should move any matter.

I told M. Pinart that for the two staples, it was a thing with which I was not acquainted, being a treaty of 1572, and not considered since my entry into this service. I answered the point in this sort, because I had understood in England and perceived by conference with English merchants here, since my coming, that to have a staple at Rouen would be very prejudicial and dangerous to the Queen's subjects. To the other point, concerning the articles of piracy and depredations, I showed that the Queen having ordered the matter by the advice of her Council, commanded those articles to be sent to me, and I delivered them to the king. They were afterwards considered by the Court, but what effect they have since taken, I have not heard.

But M. Pinart not being satisfied with this, wished (according to the conference he had with me concerning the increase, altering, or mending of the contract made in 1572, or for matter of offence or defence which might be for the benefit of both realms and contentment of the Queen), that I would propound, and they were ready to hearken and take order therein.

On this M. Villequier said the point of offence or defence was chiefly to be considered as a cause of great moment; forasmuch as the Spanish king had already sent forces into Ireland, which country, though it belonged to her Majesty, the king had 'in

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recommendation,' as all other her states. Besides, how far his ambition in time might stretch, the king thought it good in policy to be provident. Wherefore if it seemed good that either succour might be sent thither, or forces employed elsewhere to withdraw the Spanish king from those enterprises, 'if I would declare the same, they meant to consider thereon with me.'

On my remaining silent after these speeches, M. Chiverny took occasion to say that the employing of forces toward the frontiers of Italy or some such place might move King Philip to withdraw his enterprise in Ireland and his forcible manner of proceeding in Portugal.

M. Pinart added that an occasion might now be taken hold of for the king to deal underhand in favour of Monsieur, if the Queen would join him; 'upon that' the Albanese and Spanish Malcontents had 'distressed' certain of Monsieur's companies.

Villequier said it was a very good occasion for the king to help his brother underhand, if the Queen would 'do for' him.

Chiverny gave as an example that when Charles V made war against the Protestant princes in Germany, the king's father helped the Landgrave and other princes with the sum of 100,000 crowns and other favours, that they withstood the malice of the Emperor.

To which I replied that the Queen would very well like anything to be done for the advancement of Monsieur's honour, or to content him; but it might seem to them, as men of judgement and experience, that it was necessary for them of the Low Countries to be of confederacy with the king, or if he intended anything in Italy, it was no less convenient to be known what assurance of amity he had in those parts. Upon knowledge of this the Queen might assist him with such intelligence as she has there; otherwise the King of Spain would 'prevail' himself over them, and make the enterprise more dangerous to this king.

Villequier took occasion to say that it was not honourable for the king and the Queen to have them of the Low Countries, being another prince's subjects, to join in confederacy with them, nor 'were it much pertinent to have any other of those mean princes' of Italy or Germany made privy to the treaty. It would suffice if the king's and Queen's power were united, having the person of Monsieur as the enterpriser, maintained and backed by them; notwithstanding he should be so restrained that he might not make any further enterprise than to both their Majesties should seem good. "This," said Villequier, "is the matter and person whereon we may take the best subject for this treaty, as a ready means to impeach the greatness of the King of Spain." They wished me therefore to make no further difficulty, but to 'utter myself' so far as I had commission, as they had done for their parts. For, M. Pinart said, matters are now so passed, that there is great intelligence and sincere love between the king and Monsieur. Besides other good demonstrations, Monsieur's late travails for effecting the peace have stirred up and confirmed the king's good

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will towards him so far that he esteems him his good brother, friend, and son; purposing to favour him in his actions, if the Queen will join therein, as they hope.

To this speech of M. Pinart's I replied that the Queen had sufficiently testified her good will and 'gratuity' towards his Highness, and now would be most glad to understand the king's affection to be so entirely settled on him; which being signified to her, it is very likely she would willingly resolve to accompany or assist Monsieur above any other prince in Christendom, the rather when she understands that by the mouths of such confident ministers it is declared that the king is bent to advance his enterprises with all his means and forces.

'Wherewith pausing,' M. Villequier said he thought the present occasion was to be taken, and no time to be deferred; saying that though our meeting would be cloaked, yet men of judgement would penetrate into the consideration of it. And since the peace was now concluded, the king having armed men in readiness, and the season of the year approaching, the sooner the resolution were had, the better provision for the 'effectuing' would with like speed be put in readiness.

M. Pinart further said, he doubted the Queen continued in the opinion she was wont to show, that she mistrusted there was some assured association and secret intelligence between the King of Spain and his Majesty.

I answered that what her opinion therein was, I had not heard; but it might appear that other princes deemed so much, as the king perhaps may find by their manner of negotiation with him. But when given clearly to understand the contrary by his frank proceeding against his only competitor, King Philip, it was likely that other princes, both Protestants and Catholics, would declare themselves his friends in better manner than perhaps hitherto has been discovered. Therefore it were pity that a prince of magnanimity should seek by dissimulation to compass his affairs; but rather with valour and courage in a just cause to [*sic*] make himself known.

Whereon M. Chiverny said that the king determined to show himself as they had clearly dealt with me; so to spend any further time were but labour lost. He wished me to utter my opinion in the causes they had propounded.

I said that it had pleased the king to make good demonstrations to the Queen of his desire to enter into further amity; but how particularly, or in such sort as had now been discovered, I suppose she had not been made privy to. So I could not be so fully instructed as to her commands, to satisfy them as they required at that instant. The chief 'purposes' in which it pleased the King and Queen Mother to confer with me lately, were for the succouring of the Portuguese, in which matter my sovereign is ready to join him, and accomplish her part.

Then M. Pinart said, the cause of Portugal, if Monsieur were helped by the Queen with money and shipping, would be a good

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ground on which his Highness might take occasion to enter into further actions; though they doubted that, matters being so far altered since my conference with Queen Mother, it were to be considered whether the aid would profit them or not. Howbeit they would tell the king what had passed, and as occasion served, I should hear his further dispositions.

I have thought good thus 'with all the circumstances to dilate the conference I had, in order that it may be the more clearly 'induced' and discerned by her Majesty and yourselves, whether they seek hereby to discover her mind, or would be content to make overture of their 'pretended' actions, which as yet seem to me to remain doubtful. Please let me understand her Majesty's mind as to acceptance of them, for my case is earnestly bent to satisfy the charge committed to me, so that she may be satisfied in every respect; as also what further answer she thinks may be made to the proposition for joining with the king in aiding Monsieur in the aforesaid intended enterprises.

As to what has passed in deliberation of framing the peace, and the end it is drawn to, it seems to me that Mr Stafford is well instructed.

Of the defeat that has been given beside Cambray to M. Balagny's and other companies belonging to his Highness, Mr Stafford has been advertised by M. Marchaumont and otherwise.

There seems to be an opinion here that the troubles of Ireland will be continued and nourished by the Spanish King. Of this M. Pinart says her Majesty has long been advertised; as also that there are in her own realm certain 'indisposed' persons, pensioners to King Philip, who have also been heretofore signified to her.

It is written from Scotland, I know not how truly, that Sir James Balfour is at that Court; and that Earl Morton and the Douglases are 'persons disgraced,' having retired to the borders of England.—Blois, 12 Dec. 1580.

P.S.—Before the making up of this, M. Pinart came to me, telling me that Chiverny, Villequier, and he, having been with the king, declared to him the effect of our conference; wherein he had already signified the same to his ambassador M. de Mauvissière word by word as it passed. The king wished me likewise to signify it to the Queen. Whereby I conjecture they are dissatisfied that I had not larger powers to confer with them in more ample sort.

Endd. by L. Tomson. 6½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 188.]

Dec. 13. **515.** COBHAM to [? WALSINGHAM].

I thank your honour for the good news of the happy success in Ireland, of which I advertised M. Pinart and M. Marchaumont. It shall be distributed among the rest of the ambassadors 'this next day.'

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Now that peace is concluded, M. de Lancôme is come from Montagut, and the Duke 'di Mena,' the Admiral of France, has put his troops into garrison in the towns of Dauphiné, himself remaining at Grenoble.

The Count 'Mounta Reall' is passing through Lorraine 'accomplishing with' that Duke; whence he takes his journey towards her Majesty's Court with the robes and order of the Garter sent from the young Duke of Savoy, with whom Marshal de Retz still remains, treating of the marriage with the Princess of Lorraine, and to get a French party in that Court.

They of Rochelle have taken a Portuguese ship laden with sugars. The king has written for the release of it, because Don Antonio's ambassador has written to him of it.

I refer the declaration of the king's health to Mr Stafford, who well marked him.

The Queen Mother since her coming here, has sermons on Sundays in her own chamber.

The king gives out that after 'Nuyerstide' he will go to Paris.

The King of Spain has given Cardinal Riario, late legate in Spain, 5,000 crowns a year pension out of the bishopric of Seville. The Nuncio Monsignor Suoto (?) is dead in Spain. Duke Medina Sidonia goes to be governor of Milan.

Count Olivares is expected at Rome as ambassador of the Catholic king.—Blois, 13 Dec. 1580. I have received the cipher.

Add. and endt. gone. 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 189.]

Dec. 15. **516.** STAFFORD to WALSINGHAM.

I have sent you the articles as they are now fully agreed upon, and Villeroy is in a day or two to go to Monsieur to have the peace published. Marshal Cossé comes to the Court tonight or tomorrow, and the king according to Monsieur's earnest request means to dispatch him shortly as may be. He means to send the Prince of Condé's youngest brother, because the Cardinal of Bourbon bawls still after him that he will undo the other, that the Pope threatens wonders if he go this journey against him. He says he will send him with such company that her Majesty shall have cause to like him.

Pardon me though I scribble this in haste, as 'John Fourrier' passed. I hope to be home almost as soon as he, though I was never so 'tayled' with so long a journey, so vile weather, and worse ways.—Paris, 15 Dec. 1580.

Add. ½ *p.* [*France IV.* 190.]

Dec. 17. **517.** HODDESDON to WALSINGHAM.

I thank you for your courteous letter of the 3rd inst. finding therein matter of comfort to refresh me as it were in the midst of the trouble here. The enclosed I received lately from Embden,

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and thought good to send you, as it touches on the proceedings of the Hanse.

It seems also that Count Edzard of Embden mislikes that her Majesty's last letter was first delivered to his younger brother. We have of late found great courtesy at his hands, and he is in a manner the only man that can of himself benefit her Majesty's subjects on this side the seas, having in effect the absolute government of East Friesland, though in name his brother is conjoined with him. Wherefore I beseech you that his good liking towards our Company there may by all means be so entertained and nourished that they may still feel its continuance in him.

The messenger sent to her Majesty from the King of Denmark is still in this town on his return homewards. He makes a very good report of her here, greatly commending the order of her Court and manner of government, which we who are subjects cannot but rejoice to hear.

Touching Mr Alderman Martin's cause, I find our Company very willing to do what they can at your request, so far as his admission do not turn to their prejudice in opening the way for others to come in. In my next I trust to advertise you more at large.

Yesterday Mr Gilpin departed for Holland, according to your order.

In this town the people are so discouraged, partly with the long dalliance of the French, partly with the departure of the Prince of Orange, and partly with the good success of the Malcontents, that I am in doubt we shall be forced ere long to retire into Holland or some other part for our better security; the trade of this place waxing daily less and less, and the danger increasing 'by heaps.'

It is advertised from Italy that the great Turk has lately received a great overthrow from the Persian; his eldest son being slain in the battle and himself very sick and in great peril of life.—Antwerp, 17 Dec. 1580.

Add. ("per me, W^m. Paige post m^r"). *Endd. by Walsingham.* 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 80.]

Dec. 17. **518.** Col. Thomas Morgan to the Prince of Épinoy.

I received here at London on the 8th inst. your letter from the Castle of Tournay, dated the 2nd ult. From it I learned, very late, that you had wished one Robert Dennis appointed my lieutenant in place of him who lately, to my great regret, was killed. Having heard of his death soon after it took place, I did not like to be idle in providing another to supply the place of the late lieutenant; and on consideration I assigned his post to my ancient, a person who has deserved well, and to whom by right of our discipline the place belonged. Nevertheless I am infinitely vexed that your letter arrived at a time when my power had been transferred to another; for I beg you to believe that the chief thing at which I aim is to

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comply with and obey you in all things. To this end I will shortly send you a reinforcement of 400 English soldiers, hoping further, by your favour, to have the means of forming two ensigns more in the Tournay district, to serve, if you think well, under your government and not elsewhere. Please let me know speedily if this is agreeable to you.

You will also be glad to hear about our rebels, how the Spaniards who had drawn up (*pris fil*) in Ireland are defeated, their fort razed, and all slain; their commander only and 18 of the chief men spared, and brought here to be examined more fully; with the discomfiture of the other rebels.—London, 17 Dec. 1580.

Draft. Endd.: To the Pr. of Pynoys from Colonel Morgan. *Fr.* 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 81.]

Dec. 19. **519.** COBHAM to [? WALSINGHAM].

There were delivered by my order at Paris to Sir Jerome Bowes, 100 crowns first, and now upon receipt of my money from England, I gave order to John Touper that Raymundo Raymundi should deliver him 220 crowns in full satisfaction of the £100 which you had commanded me to deliver me (*sic*) after that rate and in the same sort as I had received it from England. For whereas my servant Adams had delivered to Corsini in London, the 24th of last November, £300, I received from Raymundo 'after 10 days' sight' 947 crowns, and in that sort I would have served Sir Jerome. But Mr Wade writes to me he refuses to allow any interest. For my part I seek for none, but have the money delivered to him as it is to myself; having dispersed my money so long 'a freehand,' and yet to this day I cannot recover but £400. I 'wished' that Sir Jerome had been satisfied of my well meaning. I refer the ordering of the matter to you wishing it might content him to respect me, and 'injury' me no further than is meant on my part, or shown in words or deeds.

I sent the letter to Raymundo by John Touper, and a quittance, but nothing accepted. What you further command, I shall accomplish.—Blois, 19 Dec. 1580.

Add. and endt. gone. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 191.]

Dec. 19. **520.** STURMIUS to BURGHLEY.

In view of her Majesty's new order that no pensions are to be given to foreigners, Jeremias Nonius defends himself by the Queen's paper that what has been promised him is a reward for services rendered.

Even if he had not this defence, I think I have a just ground for interceding; not that he asks me to do so, but because I think he is a person whom it is useful and honourable to the Queen and the English realm to benefit.

Neither your distinguished occupations nor your foresight and judgement make it desirable for me to say more. But I thought

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I ought to write this, that I may intercede and you may consider what is fitting for the Queen and her realm—truth in regard to promises.

If this does not avail, at least let my intercession be of some avail with one so excellent as yourself.—Strasburg, 19 Dec. 1580.

Add. Endd. Lat. 1 *p.* [*Germ. States II.* 9.]

Dec. 20. **521.** JOHN GARDENER to CHRISTOPHER HODDESDON.

By your letter to the 'generalty' of the 10th inst. was 'touched' the receipt of a letter from one Anthony Knevytt and his fellow prisoners at Groningen, English gentlemen, 3 in number, as they write, servants to Daniel Rogers, with whom they were taken; also of our letters written to the Senate of Groningen for their release, and sent by an express messenger at our charges, with our letters to the prisoners, concluding that if their release were not obtained by the lords of Groningen, and they directing their letters to their friends in England, would send them to us here, we would see them conveyed. Since which the messenger having returned, brought us answer from the Senate, that inasmuch as they were the king's prisoners and not under their power they could not, though they would willingly if it lay in them, consent to their release. Likewise by another letter from the Englishmen, it is by Knevett and the rest (not without some quips) again required that we would send them money to meet their expenses, which already, as we hear, are above 100 dollars, and likewise become surety for their expenses hereafter, and for their liberty, 'as true prisoners not to start away.' But as it seems they are not willing to write to their friends in England for money; as by their last letter, taking themselves for persons sufficient to repay us. Wherefore, inasmuch they are unknown to us, and much doubted to be the persons by them given out, which is, that Knevytt is a worshipful gentleman, the second, one of Mr. Daniel Rogers's brothers, 'yea, so much the more' because the third man in Knevytt's first writing is now found to be of Groningen town, no Englishman, as also that the company have been heretofore cozened by suchlike persons, and money has been disbursed for gentlemen which is not hitherto repaid, we have as yet 'desisted' either to send them money, or to enter into suretyship. I therefore thought good to write, that having your and the company's opinions we may so deal with them as their persons and necessities shall be thought to deserve.—Embden, 20 Dec. 1580.

Add. (*seal*). *Endd.*: M. (*sic*) of a letter to Mr Hoddesdon from Embden. 1¼ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 82.]

Dec. 20. **522.** COBHAM to [? WALSINGHAM].

I send herewith copies of two French letters, beseeching you to let me know your opinion of them, whether they seem to be true copies, or framed as these intelligencers will devise to procure money. In my judgement they are to be suspected, because in one place it is said there was a conference had with the Cardinal of Ferrara in

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Rome in November, whereas he has not been there since September; besides, there are other parts which are not 'perfect and to be weighed.' According as I am advised by you, I will proceed with the party.

M. la Fin is come to this Court, having negotiated earnestly with their Majesties for support towards the maintenance of his Highness's pretence in the Low Countries; which message, as I hear, proceeded upon request made by the Flemish Commissioners who are returning.

La Fin has reported to their Majesties the compliments and affairs he passed with the Duke of Savoy and them of Saluces, with which the King seems well satisfied, and likes that Monsieur may be mediator for the appeasing of all those matters. Meantime letters are now come reporting that the castle of Carmagnola is restored to the king upon the entreaty of Marshall de Retz.

Today Marshal de Cossé comes to this town, and M. Marchemont is departed to meet him this morning passing forward towards Gien. He is sent for by his Highness, it is supposed to receive his instructions to deal with the Queen.

The king has declared his mind to M. Marchaumont, that he is of opinion this alliance and amity with the Queen should first be compassed and finished before any further progress is shown towards Flanders or elsewhere; doubting otherwise how the Queen will suffer any invasion or hostility to be employed that way unless her consent and advice be obtained and joined with theirs.

The king promises his brother to send such commissioners as he will like, to further the matter of his marriage so far as he may. With this dispatch M. Marchaumont is departed, and la Fin returns this week likewise.

Fervacques is come to 'Towers' with Monsieur's commission to be his lieutenant-general in Flanders. He is accompanied by Count Montgoméry. It is doubted how Rochepot and Balagny will be contented to be commanded by him.

Biron's troops have skirmished with some of the King of Navarre's, whereon Monsieur has taken strait order.—Blois, 20 Dec. 1580.

P.S.—It has pleased Sir Jerome to receive the rest of the money, as Mr. Wade writes from Paris.

Add. and endt. gone. 1½ *pp.* [*France IV.* 192.]

Dec. 21. **523.** Cobham to [? Burghley].

Since my last letter to your Lordship nothing more has happened with the certifying. I have been lately informed that the 'Larde' of Fernherst and Hamilton who murdered Earl Murray, both newly come from Spain, have practised with Lord John Hamilton to become the Pope's man; delivering him large promises from the Spanish king, as that he should give him 12,000 crowns a year

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pension, 50,000 in ready 'quoyne,' and to pay 4,000 men, if he will go to Scotland to serve the said king and Pope in the conquest of Ireland.

I am also advertised that the Bishop of Glasgow has lately used very earnest persuasions to Lord Hamilton to depart from his religion, which he has hitherto refused. Wherefore knowing these temptations to be great, and perceiving his necessity to be almost insupportable, I have thought it convenient to recommend his estate to you, that you may have compassion on a noble personage, 'which so rarely abideth religious,' supporting poverty for God's cause, receiving afflictions and deep temptations. You may be the more encouraged to move her Majesty in his behalf, since he has vowed, as I have already informed her, to become her servant if she will support him and give him maintenance.

Thus much I assure you proceeds from myself, nor is the said lord or any of his privy thereto, nor shall be till I hear from your what the Queen is pleased you shall do herein, and that direct me further, or command me to stay with this motion only.

I am further given to understand that Sir James Balfour is in Scotland. His unquiet disposition will trouble that Court, as it is supposed by those who best know him.

The king has not his health perfectly, as I think Mr Stafford may have informed you.

The Pope has 'braved with' the ministers of the King of Spain, at Rome and in Spain, by means of his collectors about the tenths and spoils of the Spanish bishoprics. The Almighty might shew great mercy to suffer that papal pride to have a fall.—Blois, 21 Dec. 1580.

Add. endt. and gone. 1 *p.* [*Ibid. IV.* 193.]

Dec. 22. **524.** Cobham to [the Secretaries].

The king sent M. Pinart to me on the 15th to 'congratulate' her Majesty's victory in Ireland; which I had signified to their Majesties by the said secretary, and was confirmed by Pasquier, sent from M. Mauvissière. He wished that they might often hear like happy events in her affairs. It may please her to 'take knowledge of' their kind dealing.

M. Pinart further mentioned that they understood the Queen misliked that the conference on the treaty was deferred till their coming to Blois. It could not have happened otherwise, considering that the king's journey to meet his young queen was appointed for the day after I had audience at Olinville, and continued till he came to this town.

On the 17th, Hans Hess,* an Almayne, was brought by the *Prévost d'hostel* at 3 o'clock P.M. to a gibbet which was set up 20 paces from the Court gate. Being at the said place of execution, upon

* L'Estoile calls him *d'Efle*. *Qy.* Elz.

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the ladder, he spoke aloud in French to the people, lamenting that having been with Colonel Strozzi at Nantes with intent to enter into such service as should be required, whereto he had bent himself for the good liking he bore to him, Strozzi had persuaded him to come to the king with great assurance that he would shew him favour and employ him in the enterprise of Portugal. Whereby he found himself now betrayed, being apprehended, imprisoned and condemned on matters whereunto he takes God and his conscience to witness he was not privy, nor guilty of them. Lastly, that he was brought to this place of execution, being a stranger, there to suffer an infamous death; hoping that God would have mercy on him, and that Strozzi would in time feel punishment for betraying a gentleman in so wretched a manner under colour of friendship.

The friar wished him to leave those worldly matters, to speak so of M. Strozzi, and 'tend' to praying to God.

He answered, he could not but discover to the world so wicked a treachery, being thus miserably brought to his end. Then commending his soul to God, he was turned from the ladder and hanged.

The Queen Mother stood openly in a little gallery over the gate all the time of the execution and somewhat after. Beside her leaned M. Villequier, behind her M. la Valette, and the king privily 'shadowed' behind him, but so that he was easily discerned. The rest of the nobility and ladies were in the windows beholding the execution. I send herewith a discourse of the causes of the King's displeasure against Hess, and the course he had taken, with the manner of procuring him to come to this unhappy end, as I have been informed.

Likewise I enclose a brief note of the state of the affairs of Saluces.

M. Pinart informs me that about the 10th inst. Strozzi sent 700 or 800 men from Nantes to Don Antonio, but the winds have been contrary. These soldiers are commanded only by French captains, as *le jeune* Bra . eres, with whom is gone 'Pierredor,' the consul to the French nation, and Antonio d' Escovir [Escobar] who was sent to England by Don Antonio long since. In their company is gone Polydor [ ] an Italian, brought up in the Court by Queen Mother and by her greatly trusted, who has of late been secretly employed in Portugal.

I learn otherwise from Nantes that about that time 500 or 600 men, and 6 or 7 sail were in readiness to go that way; but for the better knowledge of the truth I have sent one to Nantes to see how things pass there, by which means you shall shortly be more truly and particularly advertised.

News is come from Spain that they of Algarve in Portugal have revolted from King Philip, acknowledging Don Antonio for their king. Also that Tangier, Ceuta, and Masagan on the frontier of Africa are at Don Antonio's devotion.

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I am just informed that the above-mentioned ships were sent by Strozzi from Nantes, and departed about the 13th.—Blois, 22 Dec. 1580.

Endd. by L. Tomson. 2 *pp.* [*Ibid. IV.* 194.]

Dec. 20-23. **525.** Affairs of Flanders.

(1) "Extract from a letter written by M. de Lapret to M. de Bonele, first *échevin* of the city of Ghent, 22 Dec. 1580."

A peasant of this neighbourhood came to see me this morning, with a note recording how a gentleman of M. de Montigny's said at Lille the day before yesterday that that gentleman had a design either on Bruges, or Ypres, or Menin; and that in fact he has drawn a good number from the garrisons in this neighbourhood. I sent the note at once to his Excellency [Prince of Epinoy], not having leisure to go myself by reason of pressing engagements. No more to write to you.

(2) The note referred to above.

To M. de la Pré or M. la Cappelle, to let them know that today, the 20th, some friends heard in the town of Lille, from a gentleman of Montigny's, that some treason is toward against Bruges, Ypres, or Menin. He would not say the last (*sic*), saying that his oath was concerned in it.

(3) The Prince of Epinoy to the Four Members of Flanders.

Gentlemen, I think it well to let you see the letters of the 17th inst. which I have received from M. d'Inchy. It is true as I said in my last, that there entered the town of Cambray the last day of last month four French companies in full strength and well armed, and a small quantity of provisions, under the command of Colonel Balagny. After dinner the Albanese to the number of 300 horse came and made a pretty skirmish before the town, in which the French and the old garrison behaved valiantly, and but for night coming on, not many of the Albanese would have escaped. They left 20 dead on the ground, and 3 prisoners, among whom was an Italian, a knight of the Order of Savoy. Next day the Albanese had their revenge on four French companies of the regiment of M. de Chamois, who were quartered at Prémont [*qy.* Brunémont] away from the others who were at Bouchain. But apart from the capture of officers and flags the loss of the enemy was greater than that of the French. The notice which I have taken of it pretty sharply to M. de la Rochepot will make him be better on his guard. M. d'Inchy had also spoken to him before. In fact he retired with all his troops to Cressy, awaiting his cavalry which is collecting by degrees.

As it seems to me, Cambrai has no lack of anything as yet; though M. d'Inchy writes me that they only have corn and water for half-a-year; 2,000 soldiers and 2,000 armed citizens, all well-advised, and the town quite orderly. M. de Villers, governor of Bouchain, writes him from France that the Duke of Anjou's

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army will be fine and large; and the duke himself writes to M. d'Inchy on the last of last month from Cotrous [Coutras] that peace is fully achieved, and that he is compelled to make a little stay there in order to complete certain points in it. This will be done in a few days; and meanwhile he has sent Marshal de Cossé to the king, to back him up by the word he has given him. The Guisards too have offered him their services, as M. de Villers writes—but he did not want to take them with him—offering to attack Burgundy or Luxemburg, or to send four regiments. Further, that the King of France is so satisfied with his brother on account of this peace that he has told M. de Marchaumont he would pawn his shirt to further his schemes.

Since M. d'Inchy's letter to me, fresh advertisements has come of the approach of the Duke, accompanied by the King of Navarre, M. de Toure [*qy.* Turenne], Marshal Biron and others. He does not name the place. These are the most recent and certain news that can be sent you from Cambray. I am astonished that you have favoured me with no news of yourselves for the last fortnight. I am told however that you have had your hands full with the defeat of some of your troops between Alost and Ghent; but I cannot find out the truth of it. I do not want to believe it, because it is said to have happened on the 14th, and you will have had notice that the enemy was marching on the 12th, and consequently time to withdraw them.

I send you herewith a little note with information. From the same quarter I have had several others, and very often true. You will do well to communicate it in the proper place.

Further, you give me no answer about the payment of the English, the four months will be up tomorrow. The excuse in your last, that no garrison is better paid than mine, is not to the point. Mine is not on a par with others, if you consider what I wrote you in my former letters. If you do not attend to it incontinently, do not be surprised if you find the five companies at your gates, for I cannot hold them by force. Meanwhile I will remain at the work, and in the keeping of God, whom you ought to care more for, if you desire your own benefit.—Tournay, 23 Dec. 1580. (Signed) Pierre de Melun.

P.S.—Once more I beg you will attend to the matter of the English by action, not by words or excuses; otherwise I shall certainly believe that you care neither for me, nor for the keeping of this town.

Copy. Endd. by L. Tomson. Fr. 3 *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 83.]

Dec. 24. **526.** The Merchants Adventurers to Walsingham.

By letters from our brethren in London we learn your request for the admission of Mr Alderman Martin into our society. Which being propounded in our general Court, and there weighed and debated, was for sundry respects found very dangerous and prejudicial to the state of our fellowship. Nevertheless, considering

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how ready you have always been to further our cause, and what good turns we have from time to time received at your hands, we thought it our part to have more regard in this to your desire than to our own commodity; and therefore devising some way that might both satisfy you and meet the inconveniences that are otherwise likely through his admission to pursue us, we have willingly consented to receive Mr Martin into our fellowship, so far as it may please her Majesty and her Council to direct two letters to us in the nature of the two copies enclosed. Without these we see ourselves as it were disarmed against divers assaults, and a way opened to let in all those that seek by the like means to enjoy the benefit of our freedom.

We doubt not that having considered the grounds of this request you will not only judge it reasonable, but also very necessary for the preservation of our general corporation, and trust that as you have heretofore been in a manner our patron and defender, you will now and hereafter extend towards us your favourable assistance.—Antwerp, 24 Dec. 1580. (*Signed*) Christopher Hoddesdon, Governor.

Enclosures in the above, being drafts for letters:

(1) From the Privy Council. Whereas we understand that 'at the contemplation' of our letter to you dated 18 May 1578 you are now willing for the better service of her Majesty, that Mr Richard Martin, Alderman of London and Warden of her Mint, should be admitted to the freedom of the society of Merchants Adventurers, if it were not for the ill precedent might grow thereof, and specially for that her Majesty by her former letters has enjoined you the contrary; we like both your inclination that way, and your regard for her Majesty's command. She has now written her letters of warrant to you for his admission only, her former letters notwithstanding; but enjoins you withal that no other be hereafter admitted otherwise than by your orderly course and laws has been accustomed, nor contrary to the tenor of her letter of 31 Dec. 1559; which we also require you to have in such regard that the Queen's command be not broken, nor the admission of Mr Martin be drawn into 'president' for any other.

(2) From the Queen to the same effect.

Add. Endd. by Walsingham. 1 *p. and* ¾ *p. and* ¾ *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 84.]

Dec. 24. **527.** Hoddesdon to Walsingham.

How our company has proceeded in Mr Martin's case you will see by the general letter directed to you. There is another matter in which I am bold to crave your advice, for it seems to be of importance, and may touch me and the company. The sum of it appears from the enclosed copy [*see No.* 536], which I thought good to send you with the letter, that the delivery of it might be ordered according to your appointment. The truth is that I am unwilling to disturb the quietness of the Church, and loth to incur her Majesty's displeasure; insomuch that I intend either to resign my place here

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and repair home, rather than offend in one or the other. Pardon my continual boldness if in all my doubts I make recourse to you as to a refuge wherein I never missed the help which I sought. In which respect as I must acknowledge myself to be without comparison beholden to you, so I will not fail to show the effects of that service.—Antwerp, 24 Dec. 1580.

P.S.—Mr Rogers's servant, who is now going to England, tells me that he has commission from his master to require of me fresh letters for the £200 that were to be paid him at Nuremberg; wherein also I crave your advice.

Add. Endd. by Walsingham. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 85.]

Dec. 27. **528.** [The Privy Council] to Hoddesdon.

Her Majesty has upon earnest solicitation from Horatio Pallavicino and Baptista Spinola for satisfaction for the debt grown to them from her, by her being bound for the States of the Low Countries, committed the hearing of their demands to us, to the end that such order might be taken as should be found best for her honour and indemnity. Forasmuch as the state of the matter being looked into by us was found dangerous to her Majesty unless she might be better provided for from those parts than in former years she has been, she thought good, before coming to any conclusion with them, to have the States and the Prince of Orange earnestly dealt with for due regard to be had by them to her honour and indemnity; and therefore made choice of you to treat with them about the matter, giving you letters of credit to them, and for your direction therein commanded us to deliver to you the instructions that you will receive herewith; of which we doubt not but you will have a care according to the trust she reposes in you, that further delays may be abridged, and a final order taken to her Majesty's satisfaction.

Draft. Endd. with date, by L. Tomson. 2¾ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 86.]

Dec. 27. **529.** Gilpin to Walsingham.

As soon as I had settled the Company's business in order, I departed on the 16th towards Holland, by way of Zealand, the other passages being frozen; and passing thereby, 'moved' to some of the Estates of that province, who are most commonly assembled at Middleburg, the cause of my going to Holland, and requested their consideration in so reasonable and just a suit. I was answered, their conformity should be found, and their deputies who were at Delft had sufficient order to deal therein.

I did not arrive here before today by reason of stormy weather and contrary winds, so that till my next I cannot write you of any likelihood of good success in my proceeding, only for the time to advertise my arrival. Please answer one of my former letters touching the order I am to follow for the taking of such assurances for the satisfaction of interest yearly following as the States shall

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offer for the forbearance of the principal, and such further commission for the receiving of the money already due for interest as you may think requisite, and the States thereby think me sufficiently authorised, without longer delay upon other excuses.

The Prince and his wife, who is lately arrived from Antwerp, with all the train, are both in very good health. His Excellency keeps council at his house; the chief about him are M. Villiers and M. Languet, and when any occasion falls out among the States wherein his advice or help is requested, certain of them repair to him or else he goes to their assemblies.

Steenwick in Friesland is still besieged by the enemy, and so well defended that there is hope the force preparing to rescue them will be in time.

Three companies of Englishmen were left at Swart Sluys, while the rest went with their Colonel to Campen, there to join with certain ensigns of other nations serving the States; whereof the enemy having advertisement came with 11 ensigns of foot and 600 horse under the Count of 'Rhenenbourgh' (who of late has shown himself on their side as chief commander and in other ways) and charged the Englishmen; who defended the place so stoutly that they not only repulsed the enemy, but issuing out of their trenches charged them. During the skirmish the colonel arrived with the rest of his men and others, who so seconded their friends that they put the enemy to retreat in great disorder with the loss of 300 or 400 of his men, besides divers prisoners; and had the States' men been sufficiently provided with horse to encounter the enemy's, whose chief strength lay therein, they had altogether overthrown them. This piece of service has got the colonel and his men in great honour and good report. There were but few Englishmen slain, and none of note; only Captain Ellys, who was too venturous and forward in service.

There is a town called Hattam, that lies between Deventer and Campen on the river, and has a small castle kept by the Drossaert (as the office is termed) of that place. He was so wrought by practice of the enemy that he would have surrendered it by intelligence to the king. But being discovered by the people of the town, they sent for aid from Deventer and elsewhere, and thereby prevented the Drossaert of his treacherous purpose. He with his confederates is keeping the castle, which is besieged by those of the town, and it is hoped will soon be got by composition or otherwise. The place was and is of great importance; for by it the enemy could not only have stopped the river and passage between Campen and Deventer, but also have put those towns and others thereabouts in danger.

Since the assembly of the States-general at Delft, little, so far as can be learned, has been done. An order taken by them was published last Friday that no trade shall any longer be suffered, especially in victuals, munition, and the like, to or from the provinces and places possessed by the enemy; and that upon pain

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not only of confiscation thereof, but also the land and goods of such dealers with the enemy to be confiscate to the State and common cause.

The assembly is very great from all provinces. Those of the Union are likewise here; so that it is thought conclusions will be taken for the government, better assurance, and defence of the country.

News is come for certain to the Prince that peace is concluded in France, so that Monsieur will shortly resolve touching his repair into these parts. So far as I can learn, he must overthrow the Malcontents "ere any sure account can be made on his side to enjoy these provinces," especially Holland and Zealand, who love him and his as they did twenty years ago.

The Scots regiment that served under 'Beaufordt' has been divided into two, and two colonels appointed; but Colonel Stewart will be chief of all the Scots, and the others be all at his direction.

The Ireland news much rejoiced the Prince and all those in this country that love religion; "and was greatly desired" to understand the particulars.—Delft, 27 Dec. 1580.

Add. Endd. by Burghley's Secretary. 2½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 87.]

Dec. 30. **530.** The Prince of Épinoy to the Four Members of Flanders.

On the 22nd inst., the Princess my mother sent to me to ask permission to pass through this town with her suite, as far as the '*Chartrous*' a quarter of a league from here, where she said she had business. She asked me also to come and see her without delay, which I did, with a good escort. After the due reverences, she took me into a room, accompanied only by my sisters, and spoke as follows. She had brought with her a personage to whose discourse which he would make to me she prayed me to listen; and at once called in Councillor Richardot. I was much surprised, and said a few words; but to please her, and remove the idea they have that I hold my position from sheer obstinacy, I listened quietly to him. He held much grand talk, lots of promises from the king, all the posts, governments, titles, goods and other things that I could demand, and great assurances from the Prince of Parma, with *carte blanche* from the king for it all. To which I gave him in detail so good a reply that he will be well able to assure his masters of my resolution being stronger than ever to live and die with the popular cause (*la généralité*) as promised and sworn, and to shed the last drop of my blood for the defence and freedom of our country.

I thought I would tell you of this, in order that whatever rumour of it you may hear, you may be able to give a true reply and make the facts known to whomsoever you think fit.

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I have received yours of the 26th, in which you send word that by the 6th prox. one month's pay will be ready for the five companies in garrison here. I must beg you to have ready two months' at least; one month is as good as nothing. I shall not be able to keep the *gendarmerie* if you do not send me two months' pay. You will not believe what I have written to you. You must understand that provisions are double as dear as they used to be. Plunder does not get along (*les butins ne vont pas leur train*) as it used to do. There is nothing more to be lost round about here; the soldier has no more profits. Wherefore, gentlemen, believe me implicitly, if you do not send me two months' by the 6th, it is clear to me that I shall lose all the soldiers.—Tournay, the last but one of Dec. 1580. (Signed) Pierre de Melun.

Copy. Endd. by Burghley's Secretary. Fr. 1¾ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 88.]

Dec. 30. **531.** JACOBUS CUNO to the QUEEN.

Your Majesty will perhaps wonder what has induced me, a German and unknown to you, to venture to address you. I will briefly disclose my reasons, praying that you will not be annoyed.

It is more than thirty years since, having completed my course in Arts and Philosophy, I devoted myself by the advice of my then teachers, Philip Melanchthon and Erasmus Reinhold, wholly to the love of mathematics and astronomy; and having made such progress as neither I nor those excellent masters had reason to repent of, I began to pursue my aim not only more ardently, but even with pleasure, since no kind of literary life seemed to suit me better. But after the late Elector Joachim II had summoned me to his Court there seemed all the more reason, even necessity, to cultivate the science to which I had addicted myself from my youth, and for the sake of which that learned and excellent prince had summoned me from Wittenberg. And as I not only was aware that the art of making *automata* was germane to the profession of astronomy and mathematics, or rather, if it would win the suffrages of the intelligent, ought to issue from it as a daughter from a mother; and as I further observed—let me not be suspected of arrogance—that the ordinary makers of such things often blunder grossly, while my prince was aware of this, and wished the blunders to be corrected, if possible, and ordered me to do it; then, having carefully considered everything, and wishing to try if my small powers could do anything in that line, I did my utmost to discover the causes which had hindered other people; not with any view of blaming them, as is often done, but of setting right what was demonstrated by the evidence of reason, and of the work itself. What I have achieved in this way, I would rather leave to the testimony of others, especially my prince, and the late King of Poland, Sigismund Augustus, than mention myself in a way that might be invidious. On the death of Joachim II, I obtained from his son, the Elector John George, leave to fix my abode at Frankfort, (which I had decided upon as a haven of rest when age began to weigh on me, and my health was not very sound, and I found the

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Court ill-suited to study), and to pass the rest of my life there; and endeavoured to complete what I had begun. Among other things at which I worked perhaps not unsuccessfully, as to which I can cite the Elector of Saxony as witness, I went so far in my desire to illustrate the art which might be called αὐτοματοποιία, that I ventured to attack a piece of work of great difficulty, appearing incredible to some; nor do I doubt that if my health had held out, I should have finished it. For I discovered a certain and handy method whereby what had been lacking elsewhere, and unknown to those who called themselves craftsmen, in order to show the true motions of planets and stars, and what is necessary to indicate the variations in the length of the hour from day to day, might be made clear and obvious.

Not to weary your Majesty with details, I send herewith a description, or so to say epitomic synopsis, which I have published, embracing and explaining all these things; and I trust that by the Divine favour all I have promised therein may be accomplished, lest men complain that I have raised their hopes in vain. But to tell the truth, what I want is a great and a fortunate patron, so that if I venture to complete the work which I have sketched out, and some of whose parts I have experimentally finished, I may not, in the absence of a patron whose authority I may follow, and by whose resources I may be sustained, incur great cost to no purpose, and seriously damage my own affairs. For, while no one, I think, could look at the completed work without pleasure or fail to set a high value on it, no private person, however well off, is likely to spend money on such a thing or buy such beauty and excellency of art at any price. But when I look round for a suitable patron, your Majesty occurred to my mind, as one by whose aid and kindness, celebrated throughout the world, I was confident that my desire of completing what I have promised to construct on the soundest astronomical principles, would receive a lift and assistance; of which if I were to endeavour to explain the utility to the life of men I might seem to do it rather to sell my wares than for the sake of truth.

Again, could I find any more worthy than yourself to possess this beautiful work? So far as I can learn from the judgement of men most worthy of confidence, in knowledge even of the science which I have ever most valued, you not only excel your own sex, but leave behind the greatest kings and most chief men. This and other reasons which I do not now propose to enumerate, have moved me to address you, and respectfully beg that you will let me know whether you approve my counsel in investigating the work promised in my description; whether you think I shall do well to proceed with it; and lastly, if when it is finished I may bring it over and offer it to you for sale. In deliberating upon this matter, if it be taken into consideration what an ornament such an unprecedented work will be to your palace, how much pleasure will be afforded by the sight of a machine imitating the positions and revolutions of the stars, of how much service it will be found by those who want to calculate the dates of past events or foretell the future movements of the heavens, I venture to hope that your

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Majesty will not only choose to be the one person to whom the work should be dedicated, but also will do nothing which may make me seem to have been mistaken in the expectation which on no slight grounds I had formed. As far as concerns me, I assure your Majesty that I am not aware of being moved by ambition or avarice, nor borne on by levity of mind to promise what I cannot perform. If I hear that I have your approval, and that you do not shrink from the outlay needed to complete the work, which after all need not be enormous, I shall greatly rejoice at the support given to my labours. As soon as the season and my health permit, I shall, unterrified by the length of the journey and the intervening ocean, repair to your Majesty, and treat with you so that you shall learn you are not dealing with a covetous man, but one to whom fraud is most alien.—Frankfort-on-the-Oder, 30 Dec. 1580.

Add. Endd. by L. Tomson: Dedicat his work of the clock which he intends to make, to her Majesty. *Lat.*. 7½ *pp.* [*Germ. States II.* 10.]

Dec. 31. **532.** Gilpin to Walsingham.

Since my arrival I have not only dealt with M. Villiers to move his Excellency for the advancement and ending of the long suit, but also dealt privately with most of the States. Those of Brabant abide by their former resolution for 7,500 guilders; those of Flanders will not be to seek for their part; others agree to do the like. They of Zealand do not altogether refuse to conform themselves; but the Hollanders after a sort allege that it touches them not, but those of Brabant and others that had used the money and given the bonds, to which they had not consented. The deputies of Antwerp and Brussels requested me to have patience 8 or 10 days, till the States had passed some or most of the principal general matters wherewith they were at present very busy; first of all to make an order of finance. That done, the next was, how debts were to be 'answered' and paid; among which the chief should be 'given first contentment.' If I may believe what was told me by one in secret, there have been earnest speeches to have her Majesty satisfied; wherein I judge there is some other mystery, but leave it to your judgement, also not finding it convenient (for causes) to write thereof further.

The news that came from France of the peace was brought by him that was Governor of Bouchain. Monsieur has not only confirmed the articles sent by the States, but the king 'avouched to' see them maintained, promising to help his brother against the King of Spain *en sec et en verd*; which words run here in most men's mouths, and have stirred a hope of help with encouragement. I perceive the accepting of Monsieur will be generally after a sort allowed, so that he do some act agreeable to what is expected; for those provinces that lie further off will be lookers-on, and the Prince's lodging in this town is accommodated as if he would remain for ever. In my opinion he will not lightly remove at least the Princess and children, until he see by 'likelihood' what will be the 'success' of next year.

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The repulse given to the enemy in Friesland made such a doubt of further danger in his camp before Stenwick, that as it is reported 'of truth,' by Mr Norris's order, 30 men entered the town each with a bag of powder, of which there was great lack, on his neck.

Certain small ships or boats are also ready at Enckhuisen, to be sent 'upon the sudden' to rescue Steenwick; and for their readier passage the 'dytches' will be cut so as to bring in the water the next spring-tides. By this means it is hoped that not only the town will be helped, but the 'siege' be forced to remove without further damage.

A letter from you to the States of Brabant, and another to those of Flanders, or a general one to them all, would do good, and urged them to forward the suit, which I wish were ended.—Delft, 31 Dec. 1580.

Add. Endd. 1⅔ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 89.]

1580. [After June 30.] **533.** "Extract out of a Letter written to the Prince of Parma."

The legate Riario is at great variance with the ministers here over the affairs of Ireland, which the Pope thinks much of, and will do the more, since they write that the Catholics have a great footing in that island with the aid that he has in these days sent them. The captain wrote that if 4 or 5,000 soldiers are sent from hence, it will be the easiest thing to get possession of that island; and from this good beginning the enterprise of England can then be set on foot, which is the Pope's principal aim. He has just offered the King of Spain 300,000 crowns whenever he makes up his mind to that enterprise, and the king has begun to give ear to this practice, and has deputed Don Juan Diaquez [Idiaques], the secretary Delegado, and Zoaial [*sic*; *qu.* Zayas] to meet the legate, and treat of this matter, and they meet every third day.

Copy, in hand(?) of L. Tomson, and endd. by him. Ital. ½ *p.* [*Spain I.* 61.]

?1580. **534.** A general view of Spain and Portugal, with names and revenues of the nobility, names of cities, note of harbours and shipping, copy of the king's muster-book of 1571, course of the principal rivers, &c.

MS. book of 26 *pp. stitched.* [*Ibid. I.* 62.]

?1580. **535.** Report to the Secretaries of all such persons as are delivered by the Queen's letters out of the 'holy house' in Spain and those remaining there.

Delivered:— Randolph Shawe, William Melsam, John Dobson, William Cundey.

Delivered and yet remaining captive in the galleys:— Roger Hankin, Edward Taylor, Thomas Celye, one of the Queen's guard, William Collins, Thomas Kelley.

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Remaining in the prison perpetual, commanded to wear the coat, according to the order of the house:— Robert Massey, John Birche, William Bland.

Remaining in the holy house:— Robert Fitzwilliam.

The five remaining in the galleys are condemned for four years, and after that to prison perpetual during life.

All the persons named are troubled only for saying service in the churches in her Majesty's realm and saying it in ships at sea according to her laws and 'proceedings,' for which they have sustained all their troubles, the fact being done before their arrival.

Endd. 1 *p.* [*Spain I.* 63.]

[?24 Dec.] **536.** [Hoddesdon] to Burghley.

(See No. 527.) Having, contrary to my expectation, found Mr Cartwright, at my coming over, in the ministry of our Church here, and fearing such displeasure as might grow both to myself and the company by retaining one against whom I doubt her Majesty to be offended, I endeavoured by all means so to remove the danger that our Church might nevertheless be sufficiently provided for. Thereupon, after conference with the rest our company, it was thought convenient to write to Mr Travis, being then in England, and lately elected for our preacher, that either he should repair to his charge here, or send some fit man to supply the room. Whereupon he procured one Smith to come over to us, who being sundry times requested by the company to take the function upon him, refused, I know not why, to do so. So we were forced to write again for Mr Travis's return, with express order set down in our general Court that if he did not come by Christmas at the furthest, his stipend should forthwith surcease, thinking by this means to have hastened him forward. But he being resolved to remain in England has answered that he cannot repair again to us. I have also dealt by letter with other learned men about coming over, but none will meddle with the place so long as Mr Cartwright continues in it; for which cause I moved him to abstain from preaching any more in our church, considering he was neither chosen nor entertained by our company. To this he alleged inasmuch as he received no allowance at our hands we had the less to do to restrain him from preaching, and that he thought our Church was as free for him in that respect as for any other minister; which allegation, as the time and condition of things stand at present, I cannot greatly impugn, especially as he is very well thought of by the preachers and learned of this town.

What course it were best to take, I desire your opinion, hoping to use such secrecy and wariness in following it as shall agree with your good liking. I have not frequented his sermons since my coming, 'for doubt of the worst.' If I might do it without danger, I should be loth to be absent from the public exercise, yet I rather

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mind to resign my place here and return home, than do anything to incur her Majesty's displeasure. But by your direction I trust to be thoroughly resolved touching this matter.

Endd.: The copy of the letter sent to my Lord Treasurer. 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 90.]

?1580. **537.** On April 24 last, the *Emanuel* fell with the North Cape.

The *prima* May she came to Typone [Tiepna] near Cola, where they fished, and tarried there till the 16th.

Thence they went to Aragooba, about 14 leagues from Cola and there fished till the 29th.

On May 30 they went to Kildyna [Kilduyn] to fish and to meet the boats which were to come from St Nicholas [*i.e.* Archangel] with merchants.

They tarried at Kildyna till June 4; and that day in the morning came one of the company's [?] ships, called the *Brave,* to them; the master of which told them that there were 14 sail of the King of Denmark's ships and galleys coming for that place to take such ships as trafficked there.

The same night came seven of the King of Denmark's ships which found them at an anchor. The *Emanuel's* boats being at sea fishing (in which were 20 of her men) espied the king's ships and forthwith came aboard their ship; and then the ship let slip an anchor and cable and put to sea with three boats and a skiff at her stern. But when they perceived the king's ships, which were all 'in the weather' of them and fetched upon them, they sent away two of their great fishing-boats with certain Russes to the shore, and ran off, with their own boat and skiff at their stern, to seaward, the ship being wholly untrimmed and not well able to bear sail; and the *Brave* also ran off with a skiff at her stern. The master of that ship promised to keep them company, but his ship being in good trim went from the *Emanuel* and cut off his skiff from his stern. Which when the master of the *Emanuel* perceived, and seeing that the king's ships fetched upon them, he cut off his boat also and made as much sail as he could to get away; one of the king's ships still to weather of them and on their broadside, and a great galley on their quarter, still plying them with terrible shot. Yet they durst not lay them aboard, because the other five ships were not able to fetch them. Thus they ran off with them 24 'owars' or thereabouts, one shouting at the other; and when the king's ships saw they could do no good they cast about and left the *Emanuel.*

After this the merchants requested the master to go to St Nicholas, and thereupon they set their course for it and lay close by a wind till June 9; upon which day they espied a tall ship of the King of Denmark's, of 300 tons by their judgement, to leeward of them. And immediately the mariners went to the top and said they saw 3 more great ships to leeward of them, of the same

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company as they supposed; whereupon they kept close by to keep the wind of the four. And then the merchants and the master judged it to be true, what the master of the *Brave* had told them, that 14 sail of the king s were come to that coast, which they judged would go to St Nicholas; whereupon they determined to come back again for England. Yet within two days after the merchants and the master would have had the ship return again for St Nicholas, but in no 'ways' would the company consent to it, but said they were content if they met with the rest of the fleet to go back with them, but else not.

Endd. by [?] R. Beale: The report of those of the *Emanuel.* 2 *pp.* [*Denmark I.* 10.]

?1580. **538.** Suggestions as to the Conduct of the War.

It seems to me that there is no means more expedient for getting the war in these Low Countries off our hands and of restoring the required religion and authority, than an invasion of Portugal on behalf of Don Antonio, in force and with all diligence; to the end that that kingdom may serve as a barrier between Spain and England, and that the King of Spain may have war in his own country, with the result that the resources of his country and of the Indies will be lost.

The Queen of England to attempt nothing against the Hollanders and their associates here until Portugal is secure, and the places which hold for her service to be well secured meanwhile, succours from England being always continued so that resistance can be made during the expedition to Portugal, and that we may not be undone here for want of good men; while the English conduct themselves gently towards the people and soldiers of this country, to win their affection and remove all rancour and jealousy.

When the expedition to Portugal is secure, then will be the time when her Majesty will be able to use more authority here in matters of government, in virtue of her rights under the treaty made with her in consideration of the said succours, until a prince of great power is established in these countries having the means to maintain religion, authority, and justice; and for this she holds keys and fortresses enough, from the moment she is assured of Portugal.

There must be a powerful prince in this country, or it is impossible to maintain it in repose, true religion, and justice; for it is too rich and strong by nature, with too many fortified towns, and the people too much used to arms, arrogant and petulant through wealth, which ordinarily makes them mutinous against prince or magistrate, or at least causes them to make war one on another, province against province or town against town, or even one lot against the other within the towns, as has been from of old the custom for the smallest cause, as the histories show, till about 100 years ago their princes increased in power.

If God take it not in hand, by the means of the Queen of England, we must be sure that it is all up with religion and justice

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and the countries will either have constant civil war, or not only lose ordered liberty, but fall into slavery to our enemies, whether Spaniards or French; whereby either one of those realms may receive such increase as the realm of England may feel seriously, inasmuch as but for this present war no one knew the forces and riches of this country. And if governed by a prince with authority it will be as good as the mightiest realms of Europe, and will have the means to keep more than 50,000 fighting men constantly in the field, the country remaining in good condition.

Thus acting, it seems to me that her Majesty will do the best thing for this country and for her own realm; for there they will have a fine guarantee against that horrible beast of Rome, and deliver us and our posterity from all these miseries of civil war; which cannot be done if steps are not taken in time to deal with the proceedings of certain who only further democracy and a liberty too great in a country furnished with so many strong towns and so much wealth, if I am to refer to the judgement of the wisest.

The realm of Portugal being assured, and her Majesty having the opportunity to have more authority, notably in this country of Brabant, many noblemen who have done good service in these parts might be recompensed there by some Church property, of which there is great quantity there, very pleasant and profitable.

Copy. Fr. 1½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 91.]

1580. **539.** Certain Edicts which the King will employ to raise a sum of money:—

First, an Edict of Registries (*greffes*).—We call *greffiers* those who put into writing the decisions given by the judges, whether supreme or subordinate, and the place where these acts are kept and the office performed is called *greffe*.

All *greffes*, alike of parliaments, bailiwicks, and seneschalries, belong to the royal domain. The greater part of them have been alienated since the reign of Louis XII, and those not alienated are farmed by the year, by the king's receivers-in-ordinary.

Those who make the arrangement with the king do it on this wise. For the space of 10 years they are to enjoy the *greffes*, alienated or not, reimbursing the purchasers of them, or paying them interest on the sum which *bona fide* entered the king's coffers, at the rate of 5 per cent.; and they shall enjoy them as their own property. At the end of the time all the *greffes* shall revert absolutely (*francs et quittes*) to the royal domain. They provide the sum of 600,000 crowns, or 1,800,000 *livres*.

Second Edict.—All crowns *soleil* shall bear the king's mark, and pass at 5 *sous* (*marginal note:* which is 6*d.* sterling) more than others.

Third Edict.—On all contracts executed before notary and witnesses, whether purchase, redemption, obligation, mortgage, the king will take 1 *liard* per *livre*, i.e. 9 *deniers* in the crown.

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Fourth, Edict of Fees (*espices*).—*Espices* are the remuneration which judges get for the decisions given by them, and thus put so much into the fund *pro speciebus*.

The word comes from the fact that the judges when occupied in judging causes, took no remuneration except some refreshment, as they called it; and what was called anciently 'bringing spices' was bringing this refreshment. But now the spices are so excessive that sometimes they exceed the sum at issue (*le principal*).

Endd. by Burghley's Secretary: 1580. Edicts pour amasser quelques sommes de deniers. *Fr.* 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 195.]

540. *Extracts from the 'Apology' published by the Prince of Orange in reply to the King of Spain's Ban. Headed and endd.:* Matters objected to the King of Spain by the Prince of Orange in his Apology against the proscription published against him by the King of Spain. *They refer to* 'his incestuous marriage with his niece,' 'murder of his lawful wife, the sister of the King of France,' suffering Don Carlos his son 'to be sentenced by 3 or 4 friars and inquisitors and put to death,' *etc.* 1 *p.* [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 91.]

[? Dec.] **541.** *Another copy, in a hand of late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.* [*Ibid. XIII.* 91*a*.]

1580. **542.** "Discourse containing the reasons and causes for which we are entering upon a divorce with the King of Spain; issued about the close of the year 1580."

MS. pamphlet of 74 *pp. setting forth the grievances of the Low Countries, bidding the King take warning by other sovereigns who have been rejected.* "Let him above all set before his eyes the reason why Hugh Capet Count of Paris was preferred to Charles Duke of Lorraine, the true successor and heir to the Crown." *In defence of their recourse to a French alliance, they point out that Gaul is all divided into three parts, of which the Belgae are in that from the Seine-Marne to the lower Rhine.*

Fr. [*Holl. and Fl. XIII.* 92.]

[? 1580.] **543.** "Proposition on the behalf of the Emperor for the reducing of the Low Countries to their ancient estate before the troubles."

Endd. as above by [*?*] *R. Beale.* 15 *pp. stitched. Fr. translated from German.* (*May be any time from* 1580 *to* 1583.) [*Ibid. XIII.* 93.]

ADDENDA.

1579.
Dec. 31. **544.** M. D'INCHY to the STATES-GENERAL.

I make no doubt that his Excellency has told you of the treaty passed between M. de la Ferté in the name of the Duke of Anjou and myself. I sent it to his Excellency, after having had his advice upon it; whereof you must hold me discharged. It refers everything to the Prince of Epinoy and me, and although the prince does not approve the execution of it in any way, considering the position of this place and the conjunction of affairs, of which I take a very different view from the prince, I see no more obvious means for my own preservation, since it is impossible for me to hold out much longer in this state, besieged by the opposite side. Cateau Cambresis gives me most inconvenience, on account of the presence of him who is there. By continual prohibitions and threats he hinders this town from getting any succour in money or otherwise. It has no great resources, not having up to this moment more than 20,000 florins raised in my name. It will not and cannot go on, as much owing to the persuasions of the aforesaid, as because going on is burdensome to everyone, which as times go might easily serve as the pretext for a revolt.

You may have seen that the treaty is only conditional, in the event of urgent necessity. This I feel is hourly approaching, inasmuch as all communication with his Highness, your Lordships, his Excellency, and the Prince of Epinoy, is forbidden to me, since I cannot find people to risk themselves, and seeing the danger there is of important letters falling into the hands of our adversaries, whereby they might profit. They have fully determined to place a small camp between Saint Amand and Bouchain, and have already begun to make it, having placed people at Denain, Marchiennes, Hasnon and Vicogne, and other places, bringing up for that purpose some companies of Albanians and Spanish, who we hear are about Bavay. Besides this the garrisons of le Quesnoy, Ardanes [*qu.* Avesnes] and Landrecies daily take possession under my nose, to-day of one strong place, to-morrow of another, which I must bear as patiently as you may judge. Further, having handed money to several men-at-arms and archers of the Marquis of Havrech's company, after administering the oath anew, seeing our small resources [if] other provision is not made, I hold it to be money thrown into the water (*au leau*). All these things considered, if I am not by some means instantly reinforced, I shall be compelled to proceed according to the treaty, or fall into certain ruin. Do me the honour for the last time to send me word as soon as you can which you prefer. If, meanwhile, owing to too much delay any unpleasantness arises, I hold myself blameless towards his Highness, your Lordships, his Excellency, and all the world.

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Count Mansfeldt is to start to-day for Douay, and thence to Lisle, to hold his council of war there, with a good number of cavalry. And to secure the goodwill of the town of Valenciennes he has feasted magnificently the magistrates of the place with other burghers, as I doubt not he will do in the other towns.

The Prince of Condé arrived yesterday at la Fère with a good troop of horse, and took possession of that town.

As for the letters to the officials and soldiers of this place, it can do nothing but good, in order to keep them in their posts, to write in conformity with mine of the 3rd ult.

For the rest, I find myself much hampered with many difficulties and much to do in the government and maintenance of this place, town and country. Do me the honour, as soon as possible, to send me some men of experience as well political as military, by whose advice I may so conduct myself as not to fall into disorder and confusion.—Citadel of Cambray, the last of December,* 1579. (Signed) Boudewyn de Gavre.

Copy (rather careless). Fr. 2½ *pp.* [*Holl. and Fl. XII.* 55.]

[1580.] Feb. 8.

545. Cobham to the Secretaries.

The king gave me leave the other day to remind him that some order must be taken for punishing and avoiding the insolence of pirates, as also to move him for the particular suits of certain English merchants, as commanded by the Lords and your letters. I found him very gracious in that behalf, promising me expedition in those affairs. I left with him memorials of them. In this conference he spoke of his devotion towards her Majesty, expressing his desire to see the good success of the cause they have so long looked for, and asking me of Mr Stafford's return. In answer, I made demonstration of her Highness's amiable dealings with him and all his, and that in 'affection of amity' she was as much French as any prince not born in France, which should be manifested, if it had not already been sufficiently shown; and with other such words I parted from the king, leaving him in his cabinet, and addressed myself to Queen Mother, to whom I delivered what I had 'passed' with his Majesty, beseeching her assistance toward the effecting of my demands, which she granted me, adding that the Queen's causes were more recommended to her than those of any other prince, and trusting she should receive that comfort at her Majesty's hands which none else could give her. She seemed to hearken after some good news that Mr Stafford might bring. Upon occasion of this, she spoke of the Spanish king and his ambassador, whereon I took occasion to remind her of the troubles that continued in her own realm. Meantime she suffered King Philip easily to carry away the inheritance of Portugal, to which it was thought she might lay just claim.

* In the copy printed by Muller and Diegerick, *le Duc d'Anjou et les Pays-Bas*, vol. iii., this date is given as 2 Dec. They point out, however, that the seizure of La Fère took place on Nov. 29, which suggests that *dernier* may be correct, but *Novembre* to be read for *Décembre*.

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With this the king comes down from his cabinet, and came toward his mother with two or three reverences. She began to say: "My son, you are happened well hither, for we were 'entered into the purpose' of King Philip, and of his greatness." Then I began again upon the matter of Portugal, showing the king the opinion was, the right belonged to Madame his mother, so that it was looked for he should undertake the enterprise in her behalf. Likewise the troubles of Flanders laid open that country for him to think thereon, thereby to draw to him such ancient right as his ancestors had sometime enjoyed.

The king's answer was that it would be a good enterprise for his brother when he should be married to the Queen, and thereby they might be strong enough for King Philip.

I said: "Sir, how first for the disposition of the Queen, she has shown always to have only mind to maintain those dominions which her father left her, not being ambitious to aspire to the seats of others' estates, as many proofs have been made, on occasions when she was so tempted. As for Monsieur he could but serve his Majesty in these rights, for the inheritance was in his Majesty's person." Methought in speaking these words the king privily jogged the Queen, both his hands being in his furred *manchon*.

The Queen Mother thereon said the realm of France had been so 'travailed' that as yet they had found no good means to enter into war. So they folded up those purposes. And both she and the king still fell into their tune of marriage; which seemed to me rather a shifting from the purpose to cover their other meaning. So I left them with those speeches, and resorted to Chiverni, keeper of the seal, to whom I delivered the complaints of the merchants as the king had directed me, with a note at large of all restitutions made to the French by the Queen's command. I received from Chiverni good words and gentle promises. Since that time the causes for pirates and the notes of the English merchants have been committed to the consideration of M. la Mothe-Fènelon, whom I have solicited in their behalf. I understand from him that the Council have had my requests in deliberation; so that order is assigned according to the quality of the merchants' complaints, of which my Lord shall be advertised when the resolutions are received.

M. de Puygaillard is come from Monsieur to lament to the king that he has not been made privy to the affairs which pass in the Court, and particularly of the levies which the king promises in Germany; to which as yet the king has made no answer.

Monsieur continues his 'determinate' journey to Bourges [*qu.* Bourgueil], which it is thought will move the king to seek to content him, for as yet he is 'nothing pleased.'

The King of Navarre has sent M. Bouchart to signify to the king the urgent causes which move the Reformed Churches to keep the towns which should have been surrendered last September. His declaration has been reasonably well accepted, and the king has a mind to send some Counsellors of the Parliament of Paris to

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administer justice in Languedoc and those provinces where the disorders are greatest. The King of Navarre has sent M. de Haucourt to the king with very favourable letters on behalf of the Prince of Condé. In some parts of Languedoc and Guyenne they are like to have some stir, and ready to take arms if a remedy be not appointed presently.

Copy. [*France IV.* 40(5).]

[July]. **546.** The Queen to the French King.

If our actions, my dear brother, were always judged by our intentions, I should have no fear of any verdict condemning my tardy decision. But we princes being better able to judge of what concerns us than the ignorant spectators of our affairs, shall be careful, I hope, not to condemn each other rashly. I am persuaded that your experience of the way in which time furthers many difficult transactions while haste often spoils the best plans, will excuse me. If there has been any fault on my part, I shall be worthy of pardon, since delay injures me most. And to put an end to this long waiting I shall pray God for this grace only, that it may so crown this work that you may never have cause to regret this opinion nor Monsieur ever find reason to repent his choice. For my own part I firmly believe that my happiness will be only too great for an old woman to whom paternosters will suffice in place of nuptials.

Nevertheless I shall be always ready to receive the Commissioners when you please to send them, having consideration of such time as may seem to you most convenient. And I beg you to believe that if Monsieur finds anything to object to in me, he will have great reason to complain of you, who have always so sought this cause. Wherefore look to it, that you are receiving admonition before penance.

One assurance I can give you: that as old people do not seek war, I shall not abandon that quality of theirs in the instance of France, and shall not fail to promote good feeling between you two, who are already allied by so close affection.—'*De non pareill*' [*i.e.* Nonsuch; *where the Court was May-July* 1580, *and not again till Sep.* 1581.]

Holograph draft. Fr. 1 *p.* [*France IV.* 123 *bis.*]

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The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London.

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39. Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne a present nomme Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin. Vol. I., Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399-1422. Vol. III., 1422-1431. *Edited by* William Hardy, F.S.A. 1864-1879. Vol. IV., 1431-1447. Vol. V., 1447-1471. *Edited by* Sir William Hardy, F.S.A., and Edward L. C. P. Hardy, F.S.A. 1884-1891.

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